

49

1 May – 30 June 1959

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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1 May – 30 June 1959

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49



The *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* has established its position as the single most important, authoritative, and reliable source on Nehru's life, work, and thought. It is indispensable to the scholar, fascinating to the layperson, and at times something of a primer in politics, democracy, and world affairs, as Nehru intended his periodic letters to his chief ministers to be. It provides a panorama of home and the world as seen from the centre of power in India by an acutely sensitive observer and skilful player. Given the literary talent, creative urge, and singular position of the author, it is a continuous source of pleasure, sometimes of amusement, and always of enlightenment.

The first series took the collection up to 1 September 1946 in 15 volumes; the second series starts with 2 September 1946 when Nehru assumed office in the Interim Government. This is the 49th volume of the second series and it deals with the events of May and June 1959. The extensive annotation to the documents makes them especially user-friendly.





**Selected  
works of  
Jawaharlal  
Nehru**

**خارج الحدود**

# حديث فطير لنهرود؛ لسنا صانعوا معجزات!! كارل ماركس انتهى وقته..



نهرود

## لكل شعب طريقه الخاص وإلا فقد روحه

يؤرم على المساواة ، واتسام الطبقات ، حيث يستحق كل شخص منحه الهداية بفرص ومزايا متساوية . مجتمع تستخدم فيه اقمى طاقة للانتاج ، ويوزع فيه الانتاج بانص عدالة سكنة . واعتقد كذلك ، ان اى نظام ولو بد الثورة الصناعية الأوروبية ، سواء اكان ذلك النظام هو الرأسمالية ، او الماركسية . او الاشتراكية ، او الفاشية .. لا يستطيع ان يلام يبه وبين ذلك الشتر الذى تلاخذه الآن ، لابد من تغيير حائل فى النظام نفسه .

اننا نشهد عصرنا مليئا بالتحول الحضرى .. وعمل التلم ان تلام بينها وبين المصير نفسه ، لا ان تفرض نفسها على طبيعة عصرنا وعمل الشعوب .

وساله الصحفى :  
● ما هي عيوب الديمقراطية ؟  
فقال نهرود :  
- ان الديمقراطية تزيد من حيوية الشعوب ، ولكن الديمقراطية تفسد بين المبادرة والماديين .  
ثم حاك عيب آخر ، هو انها تؤخر درجة التقدم ، وتؤخر ما يمكن ان نسميه : بايقاع التقدم .  
● هل تعتقدون ان الهند الآن ، ديمقراطية ؟  
- من الناحية الدستورية ، نعم . فى قلوبنا ، وادراكنا ، نعم . ولكن ماذا قصد من ذلك بالغبض ، هل هناك ما وراء هذا السؤال ؟

فقال الصحفى :  
- اتنى لا اعتقد ان التمسب لم الهند ، بالغبيته ، قاصر على الاضترالى من الحياة لديمقراطية .  
- الآن ، هناك حق .  
ولكنك تعلم ، ان هذا الصعب ، ليس ان يتسلح باية اسلحة يتسلح  
ان يتسلح باية اسلحة يتسلح

سيرج جروصار الكاتب الصحفي الفرنسى قابل اخيرا جواهر لال نهروود رئيس وزراء الهند . اعتاد جروصار ان يقابل شخصيات العالم السياسية الهامة ، فقد قابل من قبل ايزنهاور وغروشوف وديجول وسالازار وماوكسى تونج ، واعتاد ان يكون حديثه الصحفي صورة ، شبه كاملة ، للشخصية التى تعال اليه بحديثها .. صورة لارائه ومعتقداته ولجوارمها ومولده حتى توليه منصبه الكبير ..

لخصت نهرود عن عشرات المشاكل الحظرة التى تواجه الهندوآسيا والعالم ، وتنتفح من الحديث بمضى تقاطع الهامة

قال الصحفي انه قابل نهرود فى مكتبه ، وكان يسمع وردته الممتدة فى عزه تربه انوسى ، ونهرود سيس ، والسيين فى نوفمبر القادم . وتطالع وجهه تعلق بكبر السن ، ولكننا لا نعد على الصبغوخة ..  
سأله الصحفى :

● انتم تعتقدون ان الاستثمار الذى يتعهد على القوة ، والذى عرفه العالم قبل الحرب الثانية ، قد مات . ولكن هناك شكل جديد من اشكال الاستثمار ، استثمار يتخذ صيغة شرعية ، وهو الاستثمار الاقتصادى . وله اشكال عديدة ، فما هو رأيكم ؟

- بلما ، اعتدركه ايضا . ان الاستثمار الاقتصادى الاجنبى لابد من البلاد ، از لراق . وطنى هام يثقل استثمارا لا سمد له ، تماما مثل الاستثمار القديم . ان المال لا يمشى باحدنا ، ولا يبرد كل شئ ..

فالامة ، والتنمية اقتصاديا ، تحتاج الى مولات عديدة ، والمول الكبرى وهدما حى التى تستطيع تقديم مسند الزيدات ، فاذا حاولت مسند الدول الكبرى استثمار ابراج هزله الذى تقدم لهم المساعدة ، و تحويل قاتة الدولة التى تثقل اشباعه ، ان لعب ودى ، لرابى الى مسند المحاولة تزبيح البحر ولاسند الطبع ، ولكنها جد شظرة ..  
وسعى حتى يتصير القفضل الاجنبى بليل الذى يميل للمساعدة على مرد طلب الانضمام الى فليس الاكثار الاقتصادية

## تطبيق الاشتراكية بجراحة قلم: كارتة!

التى تؤمن بها الدولة التى تقدم المساعدة .. لهذا التمدخل لا تقبله ..  
فلكل شعب ان يسجر فى حريفه الخاص ، والا لقد وسمه ..  
● هل انت ديمقراطى ام اشتراكى ؟  
نهرود :  
- انا ديمقراطى واشتراكى .. ولكن يجب ان نزل ظروف الشعب والمصر الذى نعيش فيه .  
ان تطيق الاشتراكية فى الهند - بجرة قلم ، يمشى : كارتة .  
اتنى الاشتراكى ، ولكننى اومن بالارد . الفرد ، لا الشغل الصالح وسما لاجامير . اتنى من انصار للاشتراكية الحية ، التقدمية ، الهندية .  
ان المجتمعات ، يمل خصوما تديجا للمؤسسات الفردية .  
واعتقد ان زمن الرأسمالية مسجول يولى ، وان الهباد الرأسمالية هي ، حسن ، لان الاشتراكى كتملى بم، معما

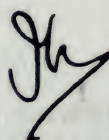
# Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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MADHAVAN K. PALAT



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## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

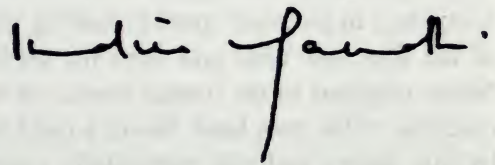
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

## EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume goes on to the months of May and June 1959, of which the centrepiece is the billowing crisis in Kerala. Nehru visits Kerala to meet leaders and the public across the political spectrum and returns to Delhi to prepare strategy. The first draft and the final versions of the AICC's Central Parliamentary Board resolution on Kerala, followed by the secret instructions to Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, are of exceptional interest. At the other end of the country, gurdwara politics and the Punjabi Suba question continue to simmer, leading to numerous exchanges between Nehru, Kairon, and Tara Singh. Communalism is never far from the surface, but now it erupts in Mubarakpur, Sitamarhi, and Bhopal, leading to yet another round of furious and exasperated inquiries and instructions from Nehru. While innumerable corruption cases are sensational in various ways, the discussions from customs to Cabinet levels about the nature of *Lolita* and whether it should be admitted into the country are riveting. This volume also contains the *Rose Al Youssef* Arabic version of Nehru's remarkable interview to the French journalist, Serge Groussard of *Le Figaro*, which was published in volume 48.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. The letters to the chief ministers are reproduced from an earlier series, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, ed. G. Parthasarathi (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1985-1989), 5 vols. Emendations have been made where necessary, but the annotations differ in some respects. Unless otherwise noted, all items are from Delhi or New Delhi. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons

may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and China has been reproduced from White Paper II of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons. Mehrdad Samadzadeh of the University of Toronto very kindly supplied a copy of Nehru's interview in *Rose Al Youssef*. I cannot thank him too warmly for the time and effort he expended in procuring it.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Syed Ali Kazim, helped by Fareena Ikhlas Faridi and M. Christhu Doss. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Neelabh; the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari and finalized by Neelabh. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat



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## I. GENERAL

### (a) Chief Ministers and President

#### 1. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

May 18, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

I write to you after a long interval. What is it that makes me fail in my normal duty to write every fortnight? Is it just the burden of age or work or perhaps a certain disinclination to do something which I can postpone? I do not know.

2. It is true that these last few months have been heavy with work and problems. I have found it difficult to keep pace with the urgent demands from day to day. Inevitably I have given priority to the day's burden lest an accumulation of these matters overwhelms me. Events have happened also which have taken up much of my time and filled my mind. Our domestic problems always take the first place. To add to them has been the development of the situation in Tibet.<sup>2</sup>

3. During the last two or three days of Parliament, the Congress Working Committee met,<sup>3</sup> to be followed by the All India Congress Committee<sup>4</sup> and later by the Planning Committee of the A.I.C.C. This was hardly over when a delegation from the World Bank under its President, Mr. Black,<sup>5</sup> came to Delhi,<sup>6</sup> to talk about the Canal Waters question – a difficult and intricate problem which has troubled us now for eleven years. It was only day before yesterday that this World Bank delegation left Delhi and went to Karachi.<sup>7</sup> After their departure, the pressure of immediate events somewhat lessened and I could look round a little; and now I am writing to you.

1. File No. 25(30)/59-PMS. These two letters have also been published in *G Parthasarathi (ed.) Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 233-261.
2. Sporadic uprisings against the Chinese for some years culminated in a large-scale rebellion in Lhasa in March 1959. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa on 17 March for an unannounced destination; he reached India on 31 March 1959.
3. It met on 8 and 9 May 1959.
4. Held at New Delhi from 10 to 12 May 1959. See items 159 and 160, pp. 399-410
5. Eugene R. Black.
6. The delegation visited Delhi from 12 to 15 May 1959.
7. It visited Karachi from 16 to 18 May 1959.

4. I shall take up first the Canal Waters issue, even though I cannot tell you very much about it at this stage. Even a relatively simple problem, if tied up with national rivalries and passions, becomes difficult of solution. If years pass, layer upon layer of fresh difficulty is added on. The Canal Waters issue was and is essentially a problem of engineering and human welfare. Naturally we are primarily and deeply interested in getting this additional water for development of vast areas of our country. Indeed, the Bhakra Nangal project was thought of many years ago with this object in view. Not only parts of Eastern Punjab have been badly in need of these waters, but there are also the desert areas of Rajasthan which thirst for the rejuvenating influence of water. We have few sources of supply for these areas other than the waters from the Bhakra reservoir. That is one side of the question. The other, the Pakistan side, is also in need of water for irrigation and like purposes in Western Pakistan. We do not deny this and we have always said that we should like to accommodate them to the best of our ability. Obviously we cannot do so at the expense of our own urgent and vital needs. We had said, right at the outset that in our opinion there was enough water in the Indus basin both for India and Pakistan. Vast quantities of these Indus basin waters go to the sea and could, with engineering skill, be diverted to useful purposes. This diversion could take place principally in Pakistan, though something could be done in India also.

5. At one stage of the argument we put forward a proposal to construct a tunnel – the Marhu tunnel – in Indian territory, which would enable us to add to our supplies to Pakistan when the Bhakra waters were diverted to the Rajasthan Canal. Pakistan, however, did not agree to this because they said that this would make them entirely dependent on India's goodwill. The question thus was what Pakistan could do in its own territory to add to these water resources, and how long it would take to do this. We had agreed some years ago that we would be prepared to pay for such works in Pakistan as would enable them to replace waters which we would divert for our own use. No exact figure was mentioned then, but according to the calculation of our engineers, some four or five years ago, this was estimated to be between sixty and seventy crores of rupees. This was a substantial sum, but we were nevertheless prepared to go that far in order to get a firm settlement and the full use of our own waters, without cavil or complaint.

6. This has been the position ever since. The World Bank, five years ago, had suggested that the six rivers of the Indus Basin might be broadly divided up into three and three, three to be principally used by India and three by Pakistan. We had accepted this broad principle when it was put forward, but Pakistan had raised many objections and for all these years we have been talking round and round this subject. All kinds of alternative suggestions were

considered and rejected. Ultimately Pakistan accepted the broad principle of the World Bank proposal, that is, the allotment of three rivers to Pakistan and three to India. The question again resolved itself into one of a certain payment by India and the period during which the changeover should be made.

7. The World Bank people on this occasion came again with their old proposal, but this was worked out in some greater detail. We did not like it as it was put forward as we felt that this involved too great a burden on us. After much discussion, certain variations were suggested and certain principles accepted.<sup>8</sup> It is not easy to say even now what the ultimate outcome will be. There have been so many failures in the past that one hesitates to be optimistic. Yet there does appear to be some chance of a move towards agreement.

8. At present the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four countries as well as some others are meeting in Geneva.<sup>9</sup> If one took seriously what has been said in the opening gambits of this meeting, one would be inevitably led to the conclusion that no advance will be made there. But we have become used to these preliminaries and rituals. Each party puts forward its own case well knowing that that will be rejected by the other party. Obviously anything in the nature of a settlement will involve the giving up of rigid attitudes. Probably after these ritualistic speeches and gestures have been made, a more realistic approach will take place. Even so, it is rather doubtful if the Foreign Ministers will achieve much. If anything is to be done, it will be by the so-called Summit meeting which might come later. There can be no doubt that all over the world, including the countries represented by the Foreign Ministers of the Big Powers, there is a longing for a settlement and a much more realistic appraisal of the situation than would appear to be the case from the speeches of the Foreign Ministers. Right at the beginning of the Foreign Ministers' meeting at Geneva, a certain comic and significant discussion took place. This was about the shape of the table round which they were going to sit. Should it be square or round? The Western Powers wanted a square table, the Soviet Union a round table. I wonder what future generations will think of us when they read an account of how the great ones of the earth managed their discussions over vital issues.

8. There was agreement in principle on (1) India's financial contribution towards construction of link canals in Pakistan, (2) reasonable adjustments to be made by India in the deadline for complete withdrawal of water supplies, (3) the Bank's assurance to assist India in the construction of reservoirs near the river Beas to ensure an uninterrupted supply of water to canals, and (4) loans to be raised by the Bank from friendly countries to expedite completion of link canals in Pakistan and developmental works in India.
9. They met from 11 May to 20 June 1959.

9. In my last letter to you I wrote something about the Tibetan developments. Since then much has happened. The Dalai Lama is in our country, and so are more than twelve thousand refugees from Tibet. Possibly some more might come. We have been heavily occupied with making arrangements for these refugees. The immediate problem was to give them shelter and rest, food and medical treatment. Camps have been made for them in the foothills of Assam and West Bengal. But soon we shall have to face the long-term problem of what to do with them. There is little chance of their returning to Tibet in the foreseeable future. We can hardly keep large camps running indefinitely. Twelve thousand persons is not a big figure for India, but we must remember that our cup of refugees from Pakistan has been more than full. The Pakistani refugees were at least our own people who could be fitted in here; the Tibetans would be an alien element. Also it is not possible to spread out these Tibetan refugees over the plains of India as they cannot endure the heat. Thus the area where they can stay is limited and confined to the mountains. It will not be good for them or for us for a dole to be given to them. They should work and be productive. These problems have to be faced for most of them.

10. A more far-reaching problem for India is the future of our relations with China. It has been a proud boast both in India and China that these two great countries, often with a common border, have not had any military conflict during the last two thousand years or more of our relations. This is indeed a remarkable record. Both the countries, through long periods of history, had a certain vitality and expansiveness. On the whole, India's expansiveness stopped at the Himalayas and our forefathers crossed the mountains or the seas on cultural and religious missions. As is well known, they went all over the south-eastern seas, carrying their art forms. There is hardly any evidence of any major military adventure outside the confines of India. It is true that during the Kushan period and later under the early Mauryas, these empires spread to a large part of Central Asia. The Chinese spread much more both in Central Asia and in the South-East. India and China came into close touch with each other in the islands and mainland of South-East Asia. But there are no records of any major conflict. Both of them have left their strong impress over this vast area in South-East Asia; probably the Indian impress is the greater in the islands and part of the mainland.

11. Tibet was never looked upon by India as a political appendage or sphere of influence, except to some extent during British times, following the Younghusband Expedition in 1904. In those days, the British were apprehensive of the designs of Czarist Russia. China, on the other hand, was frequently trying to impose its domination or suzerainty over Tibet. In the early years, the Tibetans were tough and war-like and resisted this and even invaded parts of China

proper. But, on the whole, the power of China imposed itself on Tibet and some kind of sovereignty or suzerainty was exercised there. Partly because of the very difficult terrain of Tibet and partly because of the lack of communications, no effective control could be exercised by China over Tibet except for very brief periods. The Manchu Dynasty of China exercised quite considerable sway over Tibet. After the revolution which put an end to the Manchu Dynasty in China, Tibet functioned autonomously and, to some extent, even as an independent country, though at no time did China acknowledge this independence. It was only after the new Communist Government came into existence in China that China decided to revert to its old rule and enforced its overlordship of Tibet. This was eight or nine years ago.

12. At that time there was no choice left to India but to recognise Chinese suzerainty. Indeed, even the British Government had done that, and we could not go back upon it. Practically we could do nothing. We endeavoured, therefore, to lay stress on the autonomy of Tibet under China's suzerainty. Some people say now that it was wrong and weak on India's part to have done this.<sup>10</sup> I find it very difficult to understand this argument. It has no basis either in constitutional law or in the practical facts of the situation. For us to refuse to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty would not have helped Tibet in the slightest. It would have meant not only a complete break with China, but also a much harsher occupation of Tibet right up to our frontiers, as India would then have been considered a hostile country with designs on Tibet.

13. When the present position arose in March last, we could not go back on our old policy. This would have been neither practical nor in keeping with our treaties. At the same time, the fact of the harsh suppression by Chinese armed forces of the Tibetan uprising created naturally a powerful reaction in India.<sup>11</sup> In China this led to angry and wholly unbalanced references to India.<sup>12</sup>

14. I confess that the statements made by many important leaders in China and in their newspapers were quite extraordinary in their virulence and often

10. By Atal Bihari Vajpayee and J. B. Kripalani on 8 May 1959 in the Lok Sabha.

11. On 30 March, Atal Bihari Vajpayee said that the Chinese aggression should serve as a warning to India while it was also a test case of China's adherence to *Panchsheel*. The Chinese action in Tibet dominated proceedings in Parliament throughout the Budget Session and press comment was hostile.

12. On 15 April, the *People's Daily* commented: "Indian enthusiasts mistook a handful of rebels for the entire Tibetan people" and "sympathised with the rebels." Chou En-lai, on 18 April, claimed that the Dalai Lama had been abducted to India. On 25 April, *Ta Kung Po* accused India of seeking to turn Tibet into a "vassal state" as the British had done earlier, and of "expansionist plans for interfering in China's internal affairs."

lack of truth. It is obvious that the Chinese authorities were very angry and had lost all balance. I hope that it would be recognised that insofar as the Government of India is concerned, our language has been restrained, even though we have stated our position firmly. This cannot be said about some statements and writings by others in India.

15. The Communist line in India over this issue has been completely out of tune with Indian sentiments.<sup>13</sup> In fact it has been a repetition of what the Chinese have said. Quite apart from the facts, this shows how little the Communist Party of India is affected by powerful national feelings and sentiments. There appears to be a certain barrier between them and nationalism. Nationalism, of course, need not always be right and often it is narrow-minded and may become aggressive. But, in the present case, it does seem odd for any party in India to support the Chinese case against India.

16. There has been a slight toning down in the Chinese attacks on India, but there is always a note of warning. If India continues to criticise us, we shall hit back. So far as we are concerned, we shall endeavour to hold to our present policy and use language of restraint, trying to avoid needless provocation, but obviously we cannot submit to any kind of dictation from China in regard to the Dalai Lama or the other refugees. This friction between India and China is a hard test for us. We have to show how we can be firm and yet continue to be courteous and friendly. The Government will follow this policy. I would wish that others also did the same.

17. You will have noticed that the relations of the United Arab Republic and Iraq have been very strained and the language used by the authorities on either side as well as the press and radio has been virulent in the extreme.<sup>14</sup> There is just a little toning down now. We have regretted this development very greatly because we are quite sure that this is not good for either the United Arab Republic or Iraq; it can only profit other countries.

13. The Communist Party of India on 31 March, rebuked Tibetans for "fighting neither for democracy nor for freedom", for conspiring with foreign help, and claimed that Kalimpong might become a hotbed of intrigue. The Executive Committee of the Party on 12 May attacked the campaign "to provoke India against China", maintaining that "Tibet was an integral part of China" and that whatever happened there was its "internal affair."
14. The UAR's press attack on Colonel Kassem's regime ceased on 22 February but resumed on 9 March when Iraq accused the UAR of supporting the army mutiny in Mosul. On 22 March Nasser charged Kassem with being "an ally of Britain." In reply, the Iraqi media described Nasser as "a new Pharaoh seeking to build his unity on the skulls of millions", and of being a "cat paw of western imperialism."



18. Why is it that responsible statesmen, whether in Egypt, Iraq or in China, suddenly descend to these low levels of vituperative language? I do not know. Perhaps we have been saved from this kind of thing by the long training under Gandhiji and also by our past heritage. I hope that we shall hold to that heritage.

19. Tibet and other problems may be discussed in our newspapers and elsewhere. But the basic problems for us continue to be food and food prices and the Five Year Plans. Fortunately we have had a very good harvest and yet this has not had enough effect on prices. It is said that farmers and agriculturists are holding on to their stocks. We shall have to give continuous attention to this problem as well as to food production which is basic to our planning.

20. The Planning Commission has been in a state of mental ferment, chiefly thinking about the approach to the third Five Year Plan. Every aspect of this is being examined by working parties as well as by the Commission and innumerable papers are produced from day to day. I confess that I am totally unable to keep pace with this abundance of material. All this shows, however, how we are being progressively conditioned to thinking on planning lines. In particular, perspective planning has very much come into the picture and we are constantly having detailed papers on agricultural and industrial aspects; on foreign aid; on economic co-efficients for organised industries in India and the inter-relationship between investment, gross output, value added and employment; on the development of machine-building industry and the oil industry, etc.

21. It is not only the Planning Commission that is thinking hard about these matters, but also the A.I.C.C. which, as you know, appointed a Planning Committee some months back.<sup>15</sup> This Committee has met repeatedly and they are having now a seminar at Ootacamund beginning on the 30th of this month and lasting for a week. I hope to attend this seminar. I think that this widespread thought and attention that is being given to these problems is a very healthy and significant sign in India today.

22. A development of importance and of special interest to us is going to be the formation of a new Government in Nepal as a result of the elections.<sup>16</sup>

15. The sub-committee set-up at the Hyderabad Congress in October 1958 under U.N. Dhebar, recommended: (1) speeding up land reforms and enacting suitable legislation by the end of 1959, (2) raising agricultural production, (3) encouraging cooperative joint farming, (4) State trading in wholesale trade in food and assuring fair prices to the cultivator, and (5) panchayats and village cooperatives leading the effort to help the farmer achieve these targets.

16. Under the new Constitution of 12 February 1959, B.P. Koirala formed a Government on 27 May 1959 after his party, the Nepali Congress, secured an absolute majority in the elections to the lower house.

The King of Nepal has invited me to visit his country and I hope to go there in the second week of June for three days.<sup>17</sup>

23. I have been greatly distressed by the communal disturbances which took place recently at Sitamarhi and Akhta<sup>18</sup> in Bihar, Mubarakpur in Uttar Pradesh and Bhopal<sup>19</sup> in Madhya Pradesh. I cannot say how far they were pre-arranged. Probably not. But the continuance, in speech and writing, of communal attacks is itself an incitement to such disturbances. What is very distressing is the realisation that below the surface there are these deep passions and fears which can be roused so easily. If those fears continue, then our foundations are weak. For this reason probably there is nothing more dangerous for the future of India than the communal approach. Communalism and nationalism are wholly opposed to each other, even though some forms of communalism adopt the garb of nationalism.

24. This type of Hindu and Muslim communalism is more or less confined to North India, chiefly the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. The South is fortunately free from this although it has its own variety of communalism. In the Punjab, again, the problem is different and is said to be between Hindus and Sikhs, even though they are remarkably like each other in everything, including their failings.

25. At the moment, however, I am concerned with the Hindu-Muslim aspect of it. This was the dominant aspect before independence and, indeed, it led to the partition of India. Vast numbers of Muslims remained in India after partition; many of these had supported partition and may be said to have been emotionally attracted to the idea of Pakistan. Nevertheless they remained in India and tried to adapt themselves to the new conditions here. There was no other way for them. I think that by and large they did adapt themselves. The fact that India was going ahead while Pakistan was static also helped in this process. But there was always a trace of apprehension in the minds of many Muslims about their future in India. The reason for this was partly the existence and activities of the Hindu communal bodies. Still we hoped that with the passage of time this apprehension also would go. Occasional communal disturbances such as have taken place in the U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh revive these old fears and undo the quiet constructive work done during the past decade. It is this aspect that distresses me more than the disturbance itself. We have to start afresh and build anew.

17. Nehru visited Nepal from 11 to 13 June 1959.

18. 17-20 April 1959; 16 persons were feared dead. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 280-281.

19. 29 March - 4 April 1959, leaving three dead. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 317 & 290-291.

26. It must be recognised that Muslims in India cannot, in the nature of things, adopt aggressive attitudes. Individuals may do so or occasionally small groups. But conditions in India are such and their numbers are relatively so small that any attempt at aggressive action would recoil on them. It is only when they become afraid that desperation seizes them and then they may act wrongly and aggressively. This fact has to be kept in mind because without realizing this we shall fail to act correctly or take proper measures. Basically, the responsibility for communal peace rests on the majority community, that is, the Hindus. If there is a breach of this peace, I would start with the presumption that it has been caused by Hindu communal elements who have created a situation leading to fear and conflict. Indeed, this is not a question of Hindu or Muslim, but of the majority always being responsible for this kind of thing.

27. We must also remember that Muslims are very poorly represented in our Services today, whether civil or police or military. They have thus a feeling of isolation. Many of our servicemen, however much they may try to be impartial, as they do, may still have some background of prejudice. Because of all this, State Governments, District authorities and the police have always to remember this background and to keep wide awake. They must not permit any type of communal propaganda in speech or news-sheets and nip this in the bud. This is not usually done and I have seen some news-sheets and reports of speeches which are highly objectionable and yet nothing has been done. District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police are more particularly responsible for any wrong development or disturbance in their areas. I have long been convinced that if the District authorities are competent and wide awake, there will be no communal disturbances there. Because of this conviction I start with the presumption that where there is a disturbance, the District authorities have failed, to some extent at least. It would be a good thing if these District authorities are made to realise this fully. In particular, they must realise that it is their duty to gain the goodwill of, and to protect, the minority communities.

28. During these recent disturbances, especially in the U. P. and Bhopal, charges have been made of partiality on the part of the police as well as of far too much aggressive action. These charges are, I think, exaggerated. But I am also inclined to think that they are not without foundation. When a conflict arises, the police is put in a difficult situation and we must sympathise with them. When this conflict is communal, their own prejudices come into play and every rumour coming from one side or the other is believed. The thin veil of law and order is broken for the time being and people begin to throw their weight about.

29. Whatever the actual facts might be, even if an impression is created that the police are not impartial, this is bad. It should be the function of the

police to establish a reputation for impartiality and good service.

30. Whenever any major communal disturbance takes place, there should be an enquiry. I do not think it is right for us to follow a policy of hush-hush in such matters or be afraid that in case of an enquiry the morale of the Services might suffer. Morale suffers more by allowing wrong things to happen and then keeping quiet over them.

31. Such enquiries cannot be very helpful if they are conducted by the local District authorities themselves. It is not fair to burden them with this responsibility for they themselves are often involved, to some extent, in the whole business. I do not mean to say that there should be judicial enquiries with all their complicated procedures and delays. An enquiry should be rapid and effective and normally should be undertaken by some independent persons or, at any rate, a person on whose judgment people rely.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Chief Ministers

May 28, 1959

My dear Chief Minister,

In another day, I shall be going to Ootacamund for our planning seminar.<sup>20</sup> I am rather looking forward to this. Partly it will be a change to pleasanter and cooler surroundings after the heat of Delhi, partly because it will enable us to discuss and think in a somewhat more leisurely manner the problems of planning. In Delhi our days are spent in rushing from one place to another or from one activity to another, and we do not have the advantage or time for leisurely thinking. Perhaps Ootacamund might provide this rare commodity for a few days.

2. Whatever advance we might have made in our various schemes and projects, I think it might be truly said that we have learnt much more about planning and realised that it is not a mere expression of pious sentiments and wished-for results. It is a scientific and carefully calculated approach to the objectives we lay down. Inevitably, however much we might calculate and pile up statistics on statistics, there are uncertain and variable factors which we cannot control. There is the human factor, the quality of our people, their capacity

20. Held from 30 May to 4 June 1959. For details see item 164, pp. 413-422.

for work, and the spirit in which they work. The quality can, of course, be improved by training, for it is the trained man that counts today and not mere numbers. But I mean by quality something more also—the character, grit and determination of a people; the sense of united endeavour and common purpose. These are basic and on them depends the success of our vast undertaking.

3. An equally important ingredient of our make-up must be the scientific mind and the scientific approach to our problems. We all talk about science today and realise that the world of today is one of science and technology. If we wish to improve our agriculture, it is through the methods of science; in industry, science and technology govern everything; so our planning has to be scientific. But science cannot ignore the human element. Why is it that some peoples and races advance in the arts and culture of civilisation more than others, even though the chances might be more or less the same? Why is it that some peoples can face difficulties and even disasters with greater equanimity than others? Our own past in India affords many examples, both of great advance and of almost complete passivity and stagnation. Are there some periods in the life of a nation which fill it with faith and self-confidence and the spirit of adventure, and others when people grow complacent and static? Even in India, as it is today, we see greater ability and effort and capacity for hard work in some parts of the country or amongst some groups than others. Partly it might be due to climate, partly to other reasons. A great deal depends upon the social fabric. Is it a system that is rather petrified and difficult to change or has it an inherent dynamism in it? Any social structure which resists change too much necessarily leads to stagnation and decay, because life is a changing phenomenon and only those who can adapt themselves to this succession of changes can hope to survive or make progress. Today it is obvious that our social pattern is changing and perhaps changing more rapidly than people imagine. It is in a fluid condition and everywhere there is a mass of contradictions and a pulling in different directions. What we call communalism is an attempt to maintain a narrow and petrified society and to resist change. Often it puts on the garb of nationalism and so looks more virtuous than it is. Basically this as well as its allies, casteism, provincialism and linguism, are the greatest hurdles. In fact, they represent forces which, if unchecked, would mean a rattling back into barbarism. We must recognise that in spite of our brave talk we have all these evils present in us to some extent and they break out from time to time. The only way to overcome them is widespread education on the right lines and the development of our country in such a way as to increase productive activities in agriculture and industry leading to something approaching full employment. I am not, of course, ignoring or lessening the importance of the moral and ethical factors.

4. We think more and more now of the third Five Year Plan, and our thinking becomes progressively more precise and logical. And yet, all of us are far too apt to lay down high principles and noble objectives and consider that that is the essence of planning. Nobility and idealism there must be in everything that is worthwhile, but we cannot live in this idealistic atmosphere. We have to come down to earth. It is interesting to note that so long as we live purely in the idealistic atmosphere, all appears to be well. The moment we come down to earth and try to translate that ideal into reality we have to face opposition from all the static and vested interests in the country. An example of this was when the Nagpur Congress talked about cooperatives and cooperative farming especially. This was no new cry certainly for the Congress. Gandhiji had spoken about it repeatedly. Vinobaji<sup>21</sup> talks about it now from day to day. It was not considered necessary to criticise or oppose Gandhiji or Vinobaji. When, however, the Congress talks about it and tries to fix a time-limit for its achievement, then there is a hue and cry, and some of our people are a little frightened. As a matter of fact, this itself was signal evidence that the Congress was moving towards the implementation of what it had often talked about.

5. Planning is, in a sense, a relatively easy operation, even though it may be complicated, as indeed it is. We have enough experience of other countries and enough data to go upon. We can build our basic plants and industries and increase our power supply and our transport system, and out of these flow innumerable other industries giving employment. It becomes a question of building from the foundations, the foundations being the basic industries and power, and of course the machine-building industry. No amount of tinkering on the first and second floors will take us far unless the foundations have been laid. These foundations do not yield very quick results, they are almost invisible, and they are a great strain on us. But there is no other way.

6. It is being increasingly realised not only in India but abroad also that no effective plan can be made which envisages short and slow steps forward. Even the rate of population growth makes this an almost impossible line of advance. There are other reasons also. Therefore, the initial effort has to be a big one to get over some of the primary hurdles and thus create the apparatus for more or less automatic advance.

7. But this requires great domestic resources as well as large external aid. But it holds out promise of reaching a certain stage when this external aid will not be necessary and the domestic resources will have grown. This is the aim of our planning. And, insofar as thinking out a balanced structure is

21. Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

concerned, we are advancing fairly well. There are some hopes of our getting adequate foreign aid too. Oddly enough, this expectation of foreign aid has grown when people abroad realised that we were serious and wanted to overcome these hurdles soon and reach our objective. Big figures are mentioned about internal resources, taxation, foreign aid, etc. Obviously there are limits beyond which we cannot go. But it should be realised that the whole scheme is a progressive one and as we take a few steps forward, we build up additional resources thereby. Most people think in terms of static resources which are being consumed in our development schemes without adding to our national income. That would be bad planning indeed and incapable of leading us anywhere.

8. While industrial planning is complicated and yet easy to put down on paper, insofar as agriculture is concerned, almost everyone knows exactly what we should do to increase our output very considerably. But, knowing this, we find tremendous difficulties in implementing our programme. I think that we are at least coming to grips with this, but it will require constant and intensive effort. The whole of our programme for land reform, community development and cooperatives is meant to help us to implement this. Yet we must remember that a change-over from one system to another, unless care is taken, may well result in an initial lessening of output. We dare not do anything which will come in the way of an increase of our agricultural production, because that is a paramount consideration.

9. The other day a curious and rather disheartening case was brought to my notice. There is a fairly large farm near Delhi which was a good farm and produced twenty to twenty five maunds of wheat per acre. Only green manure and compost was used there. The owner decided to mechanise it and more especially to use ammonium sulphate in large quantities. He almost gave up the use of green manure and compost. The immediate result was a fall in production. This was not due to mechanisation as such but to the substitution of manure and compost by ammonium sulphate. Realising this, he reverted to green manure and compost and his production grew again. I mention this because most of us are apt to pin our faith on artificial fertilizers and forget the vital need of manure, etc. Fertilizers are useful and should be used but only if they are supplemented adequately by green manure and compost. At present, the Madras State has a higher yield of production per acre than almost any State in India. This is largely due to the widespread use of green manure.

10. Then there is the question of good seeds. I am afraid that our organisation has not dealt with this question at all adequately and many of these good seeds are wasted or are sold in the market, sometimes in the black market. I doubt if we can remedy this from the top. Indeed, almost everything

connected with farming has to begin from the bottom up, that is, from the farmer, although the right type of organisation and institutions are necessary. The community development movement was meant to supply this apparatus and I have no doubt that it has done a vast deal of good to the country. And yet we must confess that much of this good has been washed away in many ways and has not taken root. I suppose that the key man in our community development blocks is the Block Development Officer and next to him the Gram Sevak. I believe that on the whole our B.D.Os. are good or at least 50% of them are quite good. I am not so sure of the Gram Sevaks though there are many good people there.

11. Our new programme of agrarian reform and advance is generally welcomed. And yet, at the back of this general welcome, there is often a note of apprehension as to what it may lead to. This apprehension has been encouraged by many of our critics and opponents. And so, people imagine that all this means their expropriation or collective farming which will deprive many of their incentives and their share in the profits and there will be full State control. Also our cooperative ventures, limited as they were in the past, were not always successful due to mismanagement or inexperience. We have to rid the people of these apprehensions; we have to give them training in co-operation and we have to make them feel that far from State intrusion in everything, we want to lessen the official element everywhere. We want to rely on our farmers, realising that they will make mistakes. Only thus can that spirit of self-reliance grow.

12. But these fears and apprehensions will not wholly disappear by our explanations and fervent appeals. The best way to convince a farmer, or indeed anybody, is to set a good example for him to see. Therefore, we should concentrate on such examples in every block and thus develop our own pattern of cooperatives and joint farming. The success of these pilot projects will spread confidence all over the countryside. That success will depend upon the training we give and thus this business of training becomes one of vital importance. In these selected villages, we should have at least one competent person, Gram Sevak or other, and a trained volunteer. At present, our Gram Sevaks are spread out over a large area. That was inevitable, but in the selected villages we shall have to have a more intensive outlook. Above all, we must not push the officials everywhere.

13. During the last two or three months, we have noticed a strange phenomenon. We have had two good harvests and there should be an abundance of food and prices should go down. In fact, prices have seldom gone down and in some places they have gone up. Deliveries of foodgrains to mandis and the like have been much smaller than even in the years of scarcity. Everyone admits that there is plenty to go round and everyone also admits that there is a great



deal of hoarding among farmers who apparently expect that by these tactics they can force the prices to go up. The bigger people and the millers, etc. are often more to blame. The result has been that many States which are heavily surplus, complain of not having enough and demand more and more allotments from the Centre. It is obvious that the Centre can not oblige them. The Centre only gets its supplies from surplus States and to some extent from abroad. If the surplus States fail to do their duty, then the Centre will inevitably fail also.

14. Our Food and Agriculture Ministry at the Centre has the responsibility to deal with the situation. But as this question is of great importance, we have all to share this responsibility and I have paid a good deal of attention to this matter. I have been more and more surprised at the attitude taken up by some of the surplus States.<sup>22</sup> Far from fulfilling their obligations and acting up to their promises, they put forward the most extraordinary excuses and indeed demand more help. The Central Government does not function on basis of magic or a belief in the stars.

15. It is clear that, for a variety of reasons, there is a combined effort to defeat our policies by holding on to stocks. If we surrendered to this attack, then indeed the picture would be dark. We have no intention to surrender and we shall hold to our policy. I would appeal to all the States and, more especially, the surplus States to think in these larger terms and not to submit to pressure tactics from special groups or, for fear of some agitation, to refrain from doing their obvious duty. In a year like the present, when the harvest has been very good, it is astonishing to be told that wheat or rice cannot be procured in adequate quantity. Who or what comes in the way? Whoever or whatever it might be, it should be removed even if strong measures have to be taken. We are a Government with certain responsibilities. If we are pushed hither and thither by pressure groups, then we do not deserve to be a Government.

16. There is some complaint made about the zonal system in regard to foodgrains. A zonal system can only function satisfactorily if there is co-operation between the various States. If each State pulls in a different direction, then trouble results and there is unhappiness for many. Here, as elsewhere, the approach should be of dealing with the problem of India as a whole. We cannot allow some millers or wholesalers or other vested interests to obstruct and undermine our policies.

17. Why then are not effective steps taken to get these stocks out? We have enough powers under the existing laws; only we do not exercise them.

22. For example, Andhra Pradesh enjoyed a food surplus but food grain prices rose chiefly because of smuggling from Andhra to deficit states and the Centre's procurement methods.

The time has come when those powers should be fully exercised in the interests of the community and antisocial elements should be proceeded against with vigour.

18. It is pointed out that the zonal system comes in the way of State trading. There is some truth in this, unless of course there is full co-operation between the States. I think that ultimately the zonal system will have to go and each State might well become a zone. But, in the existing state of affairs, when some of the States think of themselves and no one else, it is peculiarly difficult to put an end to this system unless each State pulls itself up. The result would be some kind of a collapse. The Centre certainly cannot feed the whole of India when the States do not provide it with the wherewithal to do so. For the present, therefore, there is no escape from the zonal system, but I think it will have to go later. But one fact should be remembered; when the zonal system goes, it will have to be replaced by the strictest discipline in food procurement, maintenance of prices, building up of large stocks, etc. Any laxity then would mean disaster. I should like you to think about these various aspects of this problem and to try to place yourself in the position of the Central Government. It really is quite absurd for any State which has had a bumper crop to be helpless before some vested group or interest and not to be able to procure adequately. We must build up very large stocks. If we have to fight the hoarders and the vested interests, we shall do so with vigour.

19. You will remember my mentioning at the National Development Council as well as in some of my previous letters to you of the very successful experiment in the reclamation of saline usar lands which was conducted at Banthra farm near Lucknow.<sup>23</sup> That has ceased to be an experiment. It is a fact definitely established. The other day, a person<sup>24</sup> experienced in cooperatives and agriculture who came from Israel was much struck by this Banthra farm. He said that in Israel they adopted many such practices because they did not believe that any land, however bad it appeared to be, should be considered as incapable of being cultivated. All that was required was science and effort and indeed in Israel they have brought into cultivation the desert and the most unpromising lands.

20. I think that that principle should apply here also. I have no doubt that vast areas of so called usar land in India can be converted into good cultivable land. I have seen this done. What I am amazed at is the slowness at which we take advantage of opportunities. We are constantly thinking of some big machine,

23. The Banthra Research Station, set up under the National Botanical Gardens of Lucknow in 1957.

24. Dr. Divon, agricultural economist from Israel, met Nehru on 21 May 1959.

bull-dozers and the like, for reclaiming forests, etc., and we do not adopt a simple cheap method of reclamation. Have we lost all our bearings?

21. You may have seen recently the report of the Ford Foundation's team which came to India some months ago to study our food production.<sup>25</sup> They have given a somewhat alarming report saying that unless we made rapid progress by 1965, millions in India will be starving and no quantity of food in the world will be able to help them adequately. There has been great display of this report in foreign papers — "India on the verge of terrible famine." I think that this report is somewhat exaggerated and unnecessarily pessimistic. But it is well that they have pointed out these dangers and I wish we realised this. As you know, I am all for family planning and birth control and an attempt to reduce the rate of population growth in India, but I am convinced that whatever the population growth, our food production can increase more rapidly. If we only try hard enough, our yield per acre can be doubled or trebled and there are still these vast usar lands and semi-desert areas which can produce enormous quantities of food.

22. I am inclined to think that apart from our general attack on the food front everywhere, we should build up a certain number of State farms which will supply a considerable quantity of foodgrains. If we did this, then we could be assured of meeting any contingency or emergency from our own stocks. There will be no need for procurement and the like then. We have built up one huge State farm in Rajasthan—the Suratgarh farm.<sup>26</sup> We might have many more like that in those desert areas and we might take over some of the biggish functioning farms elsewhere and make them into State farms instead of splitting them up into small units. The present owners of these farms could continue to be associated with them. Thus we could build up our own State supplies in a large way and become independent not only of the monsoon, but any other contingency. This would be apart from our general policy of having small holdings linked together in cooperatives.

23. I have been talking about foodgrains. Take sugar also. We have increased our sugar production at a great pace, although this year's production is slightly lower than last year's. Even so, it is more than adequate. But we see hoarding again and an attempt to push up prices. The factories and the wholesalers and others all play this game and we appear to watch helplessly. A government that is helpless progressively ceases to be government. A government that cannot deal with obvious anti-social elements has surrendered to them and can have no credit or effectiveness.

25. Submitted in April 1959.

26. Mechanised agricultural farm set up with Soviet assistance in 1956.

24. It may interest you to know that a wild and rather spiky shrub which, I think, exists as a weed all over India can be used as a good fertilizer. The Latin name for this is *Argemone mexicana*. It exists from the plains upto about 5,000 feet on the hills. It is a herbaceous annual which apparently came from Central America to India some time back and now grows wild here. The seeds of this plant contain some oil which can be used for the soap industry. But what is more important is that the whole plant, if dried and powdered, can be used as a manure for increasing the fertility of the land. This it does by lowering the alkalinity and by adding nitrogen and other essential elements to the soil. Our Council of Agricultural Research is examining this matter still further. I would suggest to your Agricultural Department to do likewise. I do not suggest that you should encourage the cultivation of this weed, but that you should use it where it is available. Thus, you get rid of the weed and get good fertilizer instead. If you want further particulars about this, you can ask your Agricultural Department to address our Ministry of Agriculture.

25. The other day there was a meeting in Delhi of a high-powered committee on public co-operation.<sup>27</sup> Eminent people came to it from all over India and many useful suggestions were made. But I was struck by one very disheartening factor. Everywhere and from every source or voluntary organisation there came the demand of more and more Government help. This help was wanted for offices, buildings, staff, transport, etc. In organising their staff they took the Government to some extent as their pattern and similar rules of salaries and allowances were kept in view. In travelling allowances also, the approach was similar. In fact, these voluntary organisations which no doubt did very good work, were becoming appendages and pale copies of the Government apparatus, depending very largely or entirely on Government help. They were losing thereby their essential voluntary character and self-dependence.

26. This is a widespread phenomenon and I think it is very harmful. Quite apart from the fact that Government cannot pour out money everywhere, and it has not got limitless resources, this conversion of self-reliance into dependence is thoroughly bad. Thereby we are sapping at the roots of our work and bringing in State interference and control in place where it should be least needed and where it may well be harmful. Even in the community development movement we are constantly laying stress on public co-operation and self-reliance. We want to lessen the official element progressively and now we see that even the purely voluntary organizations depend on Government assistance. Also, their

27. The National Advisory Committee on Public Co-operation, 22-23 May 1959, New Delhi.

methods of work become more expensive. They want more adequate offices, more staff, more office equipment, more telephones, more jeeps, etc.

27. I am alarmed at this development. I see this tendency everywhere and even in our social service organisations. People can hardly move today without a jeep. I can well understand the utility of a jeep but I am convinced that this method of work comes in the way of our contact with the masses of our people. We live apart in a world of offices, telephones and jeeps. We rush about and imagine we are doing a great deal of work, but we will not touch the core of the problem with jeeps and the like in the villages.

28. I cannot help remembering the days when many of us functioned a great deal in the villages carrying the message of the Congress. In the twenties and thirties we had no big offices. We certainly had no jeeps and had never heard of them. We did not usually have loudspeakers. Our staffs were very limited and most workers were honorary. Even the paid staff worked at a great sacrifice and on a small pittance. We went about often on foot, sometimes on bicycles. And, yet, with all these disabilities we shook this country and more especially the lakhs of our villagers. This was done in opposition to the then Government and in spite of their obstruction. Now with all the great advantages that we possess and the help and co-operation of Government, we still remain far off from the core of the problem. We live in a world of offices, conferences, seminars and sometimes public meetings giving good advice. We move about in cars and jeeps and seldom succeed in creating an impression on the people in rural areas whom we seek to serve.

29. What is wrong? It is correct that conditions are different and we cannot repeat that exciting period when we were fighting for our independence and the nation was afire under the magic influence of Gandhiji. But still we should not go quite so far away from our old methods and become so helpless in our dependence on the Government apparatus. If this constant demand for help from Government continues from every quarter, there will hardly be any voluntary effort left in India. The roots of self-reliance will dry up.

30. I am merely posing the problem, not answering it. But I do feel strongly about it. We cannot function from a different world to that of the masses of our people. New Delhi is, of course, quite different and I know that I live in this entirely different world. I am a prisoner of circumstances like most of us. But, at any rate, let us not try to create more prisoners of this type. Since the old days we have advanced in many ways and our peasantry are undoubtedly better as a whole. They are better fed, they are better clothed, many have better houses and other amenities. Today the bicycle has become quite a common method of moving about even in the villages. We have in fact slowly caught up in our villages to the bicycle age. We must, therefore, make the bicycle our main

vehicle of transport. When we catch up to the jeep in this large way and when we make the jeeps ourselves then let us use the jeeps also. For the present, the jeep cuts us off from the villager to a large extent and every jeep represents a foreign exchange element. Let us give up this passion for jeeps.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>28</sup>

June 7, 1959

My dear Rajendra Babu,<sup>29</sup>

Thank you for your letter of June 7th, which I have read with care.<sup>30</sup> I am grateful to you for writing at such length and giving us the benefit of your views. I shall circulate your letter to the members of the Cabinet as well as to some other Ministers who are concerned with the subjects referred to in your letter.

2. In your letter you have touched upon a number of very important problems which we have to face. I need not tell you that all these problems have been and are being discussed by us in all their aspects. Only recently we spent eight days at Ootacamund discussing many of these problems as well as others.<sup>31</sup> I shall not deal with these in this letter which I want to be brief. Any attempt to give fuller consideration to all these problems would mean my writing something in the nature of an essay, but you have no doubt been kept in touch with our thinking in the Cabinet, the Planning Commission and the National Development Council and in various other ways.

3. The problem of unemployment is being given the highest priority and both aspects to which you have referred are kept in view, that is, the capital intensive one leading to the development of industry and the labour intensive one giving more employment. As you have said in your letter, the big and basic industries do not immediately provide employment on a large scale. But they are the foundation for industrial growth, including that of small industries as

28. Letter. File No. 100/59, pp. 17-19. President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

29. President of India.

30. See Valmiki Choudhary (ed.) *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol. XIX (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1993), pp.112-122.

31. See item 164, pp. 413-422.

well as, to some extent, even cottage industries. Without establishing these basic industries, which include iron and steel, machine building, power, chemicals etc. as well as transport, no substantial future growth is possible even from the point of view of employment. That has been the experience everywhere. We are not going in for what is called automation, but we feel that any substantial and permanent increase in employment will ultimately come from widespread industrialisation and the spread of a vast number of small industries all over the country. It is worth noting that there is practically no unemployment, in spite of labour saving devices, in the industrialised countries today. Innumerable new occupations arise which absorb the adult population.

4. But we cannot wait for that and we have to deal with immediate problems of unemployment. For that what are called labour intensive methods and the widespread development of small industries and cottage industries are desirable.

5. In addition, we are thinking of providing some kind of employment which, though productive, may not be economic in the normal sense of the word. But we feel that ultimately all this depends upon the increase in national production and wealth. It is on this basis that we are thinking about the Third Plan.

6. As regards education, it is generally admitted that many changes are necessary. In fact quite a number of changes are taking place. There is a very considerable shift in the nature of education, that is, it is becoming more technical than purely literary. A very large number of Engineering and Technical Institutes have been started and their numbers are growing from year to year. This year, I am told that there were twenty thousand entrants in our various technical establishments.

7. Most of us agree that the growth of new Universities should be restricted. I believe our Education Ministry tries to discourage this growth, but the pressure of circumstances in many States is such that it is difficult to prevent this altogether. I think that it would be desirable, as far as possible, to limit opportunities for higher education to those that are considered fit for it. Thus, perhaps only those boys and girls who attain a first and second class in the Matriculation Examination might proceed to the Universities. Some other arrangement might be made for the other boys and girls which might have a more technical bent.

8. As for the basic system of education, that is broadly the objective aimed at. It is true that different states give effect to this in varying degrees.

9. Even though we have this big unemployment problem, which must be tackled, I think it is true to say that gainful employment is on a far bigger scale today than ever before.

10. As regards the question of agricultural production and more especially food production, we are giving it the highest priority. We are laying special stress on the yield per acre. I think that the efforts we have made are bearing fruit and will bear even greater fruit in the years to come. In the final analysis, a higher yield per acre means better techniques in agriculture. We should certainly rely on the accumulated experience of our farmers, but that experience has stopped growing as they are not taking advantage of many modern techniques. I am not referring to mechanisation in a big scale. We have laid the greatest stress on green manure and compost.

11. We have considered everything connected with greater agricultural production from the point of view of increasing the yield per acre. If we suggest cooperatives, it is from that point of view. No one can disagree with service cooperatives, more especially in a country with small holdings. There can be no progress if these small holdings are left to shift for themselves.

12. The argument, however, has arisen about cooperative or joint farming. This argument is rather premature because our present stress is on service cooperative though we should like cooperative farming to develop gradually. Probably we shall have some such model cooperative farms so that we can learn from them and correct our mistakes. In theory there can be no doubt that cooperative farming is a higher and better method of agriculture and should yield much bigger results. There is no question of compelling anybody.

13. You have referred to wholesale trading in foodgrains. I think it is true that this changeover at this stage has led to immediate difficulties. And yet I see no alternative to it. It is not suggested that retail trading should be brought under State control. But, with the growth of service cooperatives, it will become progressively earlier to deal with these matters. Even before that arrangements can be and, I hope, will be devised which will get over our present difficulties. Everything however, depends upon increasing in our production.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## (b) Speeches

4. To Bharat Sadhu Samaj : Hindu Religious Institutions<sup>32</sup>

सभापतिजी, साधु समाज के नेता और सदस्यगण, बहनो और भाइयो, अभी आपने गोस्वामीजी से और तुकड़ोजी महाराज<sup>33</sup> से कुछ मेरे निस्वत बातें सुनीं। उनकी बातों पे, जो वो कहें, आदेश दें, आपको विचार करना ही चाहिए। लेकिन जो मेरे निस्वत कहीं, उन पर अधिक विचार न करें, तो अच्छा है। क्योंकि वो प्रेम में, लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें कह जाते हैं।

जब आज यहाँ आने के लिए मुझे निमन्त्रण दिया गया, और पहले भी दो-एक बार दिया गया था यहाँ साधु समाज<sup>34</sup> के सम्मेलन में आने को, तो मैं कुछ झिझका था। यों तो कभी-कभी साधु समाज के कुछ नेता मुझसे मिलने आये हैं, बातचीत हुई। लेकिन इसके सम्मेलन में आने में मुझे कुछ सन्देह था कि मेरे लिए आना उचित है कि नहीं है। और मैं शुरू में ही आपसे एक सफ़ाई से बता दूँ मेरे मन में यह समस्या क्यों पैदा हुई थी? तो वह है कि एक तो यहाँ के शासन से मेरा सम्बन्ध है, आप जानते हैं। और यों भी एक तरफ़ तो मैं जानता था कि हमारे साधुगण में बड़े-बड़े महापुरुष हैं, दूसरी तरफ़ से यह भी कि साधु बन जाते हैं बहुत लोग जो कि महापुरुष तो क्या, पुरुष भी उनको कहना कठिन है।

तो अब एक सभा बनी तो किधर वो झुके, किधर जाये, मुझे मालूम नहीं था। यानी उसके विचार अच्छे भी हों, तब भी किधर जाये। और हो सकता है कि उनके विचारों में किसी बारे में और मेरे विचारों में कुछ अन्तर हो तो मैं जा कर क्यों उसमें दखल दूँ। और उनकी कुछ मेरे ऊपर ज़िम्मेदारी हो जाय। कुछ उनके ऊपर मेरी ज़िम्मेदारी हो जाये। यह [इस] कठिनाई में मैं पड़ा था, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया और हम...भारत भी...बहुत उलट-पलट हो रहा है यहाँ। बहुत अच्छी बातें हो रही हैं और बहुत बुरी बातें भी हो रही हैं, दोनों बातें। एक समय है, एक क्रान्तिकारी समय में हम रहते हैं, उसका एक चिह्न आप देख सकते हैं। चाहे ऐटम बम हो, वो भी एक चिह्न है क्रान्ति का, जो कि एक बहुत तबाही ला सकता है या उस शक्ति से लाभ हो सकता है। वो एक शक्ति है। अब शक्ति का सदुपयोग हो या दुरुपयोग हो। तो आजकल इस क्रान्तिकारी दुनिया में कई बातें निकलती हैं कि कोई क्रान्ति में पड़ कर ग़लत रास्ते पर जाय तो उससे बहुत हानि हो सकती है। और पहले के मुक़ाबले में बहुत अधिक हानि हो सकती है, क्योंकि हर बात अधिक होती है। आज की नयी शक्तियों से, लाभ भी अधिक हो सकता है।

32. Speech at the third annual session, New Delhi, 3 May 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

33. President of the Bharat Sadhu Samaj.

34. An All India organisation of Sadhus for social work, established in 1956. Gulzarilal Nanda, the Union Minister for Planning and Employment, was instrumental in its formation.

दूसरे यह कि जो लोग पसन्द नहीं करें कि हमारी समाज जो कुछ है भारत की सब, उसमें कुछ अन्तर हो, कुछ बदले, वो चाहें कि वहीं-की-वहीं रहे, वो लोग ऐसे समय पर एक बहुत लाभ नहीं पहुँचाते हैं, क्योंकि वो समझते नहीं बदलती हुई दुनिया को और उसमें फँस जाते हैं और फिर उनमें जो शक्ति है काम करने की, वो भी कम हो जाती है, क्योंकि वो तो आप जानते हैं कि हर चीज़ हर समय कुछ-न-कुछ बदलती रहती है। संसार बदलता है, पुरुष बदलता है, सब बातें हैं। हाँ, सिद्धान्त न बदलें, लेकिन पुरुष बदलता है तो समाज भी बदलता है। समाज का रहन-सहन बदलता है। आजकल का रहन-सहन वो नहीं है जो सौ बरस हुए था या जो पाँच सौ बरस पहले था। कुछ अच्छा है, कुछ बुरा है, लेकिन वैसा नहीं है। तो फिर जो लोग यह चाहें कि समाज नहीं बदले, वो लोग समाज का बदलना रोक नहीं सकते, लेकिन उनका असर कम हो जाता है उसके सही बदलने पर। तो इस पर विचार हो। हो सकता है कि मैं नहीं जानता आपके विचार क्या हैं इन बातों में? आजकल समाज की क्रान्ति वगैरह जो दुनिया में हो रही है, हमारे देश में भी है यह, तरह-तरह की बहुत बातें हो रही हैं, अच्छी-बुरी, लेकिन बदल रही है।

तो पहली बात तो यह होती है मेरी राय में कि बदलते हुए समाज को यह समझना, यह मानना कि समाज बदल रही है, और बदलना, ठीक है, होना ही है, और फिर उसके बदलने को ठीक ढंग पे डालना है कि ग़लत तरफ़ न बदले। रोकना तो एक नदी को रोकना हो जाता है, रुकती नहीं, इधर-उधर बह जाय ग़लत तरफ़।

तो अब कम लोग इन बातों को समझते हैं। अपने रोज़ के घर के धन्धे में पड़े रहते हैं और यह नहीं देखते हैं कि बड़ी बातें क्या हो रही हैं जिसका असर उन पर होता है। अब आप समझो कि अगर दुर्भाग्य से कोई बड़ी लड़ाई हो जाय दुनिया में तो उससे आप और हम बचेंगे नहीं। हम लड़ाई में पड़ेंगे। हमारा देश, माना, लेकिन बचते नहीं उससे। क्योंकि आजकल लड़ाई ऐटम बम की जो दुश्मन को तो ख़ैर जो कुछ हानि पहुँचाये, वो तो सारी दुनिया की हवा बिगाड़ देती है। ज़हर फैला देती है सारे वायु में। कहाँ-कहाँ जा कर जिधर हवा बह जाय, वहीं वो तबाही लाये। तो उससे बचता कोई नहीं। तो इसको समझना है और समझना हर तरह से। अपने देश को और समाज को तैयार करना है कि वो समझे। कैसे समझे? बहुत तरह से समझना होता है। आखिर नें देश, एक तो बड़ी समाज है और बहुत सारे व्यक्ति हैं, दोनों को बढ़ना होता है, हर तरह से बढ़ना होता है। एक मोटी बात है कि जो देश बहुत ग़रीब हो, फ़ाक्रेमस्त हो, उस देश में बहुत जान नहीं होती। पुरुषों में जान होगी उसमें। महापुरुष होंगे, लेकिन देश भर में जान नहीं होती। एक भूखे देश में, एक भूखे आदमी में, जान बहुत नहीं होती, शक्ति नहीं होती। तो इन बातों का कुछ उपाय ढूँढना, इलाज ढूँढना कि देश खुशहाल हो। और उसी के साथ जो कुछ सिद्धान्त हैं, धार्मिक सिद्धान्त हैं, चाहे आध्यात्मिक विद्या है वो, तो जो कुछ है, वो भी हो तो अच्छा है लोगों में, लेकिन उसकी भी जड़ और बुनियाद एक होती है जिसमें आम जनता किसी क्रदर खुशी से रह सके। यानी उसकी दरिद्रता की, ग़रीबी की मुसीबत से बचे।

अब कैसे हो [वो] यह? अब उसके बहुत उपाय हैं। और उन उपाय में भी आपको देखना होता है कि कैसे हम और देशों से मुकाबला करें। क्यों और देश इस बारे में हमसे बढ़ गये? चाहे किसी बात में हम बढ़ें हों, इस बारे में तो वे बढ़ गये, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं। क्यों? क्योंकि उन्होंने प्रकृति की नयी-नयी शक्तियों से लाभ उठाया, चाहे वो शक्ति बिजली की हो, चाहे शक्ति वो भाप की हो जिससे रेल चलती है, चाहे हवाई जहाज़ चलायें। क्या है? सब प्रकृति की शक्ति है, कोई जादू थोड़े ही है। उससे उन्होंने लाभ उठाया और उससे अपनी शक्ति बढ़ायी, उत्पादन बढ़ाया, और इस तरह से समाज बढ़ा। तो हम और देशों की कोई नक़ल तो नहीं किया चाहते, लेकिन जहाँ और देशों में कोई ऐसी बात हुई जो कि उचित है तो उसको हम सोचेंगे और खुद करेंगे उसे। इससे भी समाज बहुत बदलती है, इन बातों से। तो इस बदलती हुई समाज को हमें समझना है, और सही रास्ते पर उसको ले जाना है, रोक नहीं सकते। जो उसको रोकना चाहते हैं, [...] उनकी शक्ति नाश हो जाती है, क्योंकि जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, बड़ी नदी को कोई रोक नहीं सकता है। चलती हुई समाज एक बहती नदी है।

अब आप जानते हैं, इस समय भारत में बहुत सारी बातें हो रही हैं। एक तरफ़ से कहा जाये जैसे यह पंचवर्षीय योजना इत्यादि हैं, जिनका मतलब यह है कि भारत की जनता की हालत अच्छी हो। कैसे हो? किसी विदेश की सहायता से तो बहुत नहीं, अपने-अपने काम से, अपने परिश्रम से। ऐसे कोई व्यक्ति या समाज उठती है अपने परिश्रम से। और दूसरा उठा दे तो लँगड़े-लूले रहेंगे, फिर कभी उठेंगे नहीं, फिर गिर जायेंगे, क्योंकि दूसरे का सहारा आता है। तो सारी पंचवर्षीय योजना है भारत की जनता को उठाना है, उनके परिश्रम से, कोई सरकारी हुक़म से नहीं। सरकारी हुक़म तो एक रास्ता साफ़ कर दे, असल में जनता अपने परिश्रम से उठती है और विशेषकर इसमें हमारे देश में साढ़े पाँच लाख, कहा जाता है ग्राम हैं, और सब में पिछड़े हुए वो हैं। तो उनको उठाना। भारत जभी उठे जब यहाँ के ग्रामवासी उठें और ग्रामों की हालत ज़रा अच्छी हो, ख़ाली मिट्टी के ढेर न हों।

उसके लिए आपने सुना होगा, विकास योजनाएँ हैं। क्या-क्या है? नया ज़ोर दिया जा रहा है कि पंचायत मज़बूत हो, हरेक गाँव की, सहकारी संघ हों वहाँ, जो मिल-जुल कर काम करें। इससे शक्ति बढ़ती है, और शक्ति भी बढ़ेगी और व्यक्तिगत रूप से लोग भी अच्छे होंगे। अब उसमें हज़ारों कठिनाइयाँ हैं, क्योंकि जो हमारी एक तरह से शक्ति है बड़े देश होने की और बड़ी जनता की, वही हमें दुर्बल करती है। तब उसका बड़ापन एक बोझा हो जाता है। उसको सँभालना, और वही शक्ति भी है तो ये बड़े काम हैं जिसमें हरेक को कुछ-न-कुछ भाग लेना है, क्योंकि जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा यह कोई सरकारी हुक़म से और अफ़सरी काम से नहीं होते। अफ़सर लोग सहायता दे सकते हैं, अच्छे अफ़सर देते हैं। लेकिन लोग खुद कर सकते हैं, जब उनमें आत्म-विश्वास आता है, शक्ति आती है। तो मैं इसमें नहीं जाता इससे अधिक, सिवा इसके, मेरी राय में, मेरे विचार में, यह एक बुनियादी बात हो गयी है, क्योंकि अगर इसका कोई उपाय न हो तब आम जनता गिरती जायेगी, निराश होगी, दुर्बल होगी और उससे कुछ आशा करना कठिन हो जाता है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ यह बात नहीं होगी और ये जो कठिन समस्याएँ

हमारे सामने हैं वो हल होंगी।

अब साधु समाज इसमें क्या कर सकती है? पहले तो साधु समाज का कहिए या किसी और समाज का कहिए, औरों को अच्छी सलाह देना जभी ठीक होता है, किसी व्यक्ति के लिए भी, अगर वो सलाह अपने को दे, फिर दूसरे को दे। तब उसका असर भी होता है। और विशेषकर जो महात्मा लोग, साधुगण हैं, वो अपने जीवन से, अपने आचार से, अपनी इन बातों से, वो एक हर वक्त दे सकते हैं अच्छी सलाह। लेकिन यह सवाल ज़रूर उठा है और आपके सामने भी आया है कि साधु समाज में हर तरह के लोग हैं, बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे के, बीच के दर्जे के, अच्छे लोग, बुरे लोग, सब तरह के, क्योंकि उसमें कोई निशानी तो है नहीं, और कोई भी चाहे कितना ही बुरा आदमी हो, अपने को साधु कह सकता है, गेरुवा वस्त्र पहन सकता है, कौन पहचान उसकी? और इससे बदनामी होती है सारे समाज की। यों आप जानते हैं, साधुओं का आदर होता है, आम जनता करती है, लेकिन यह भी आप जानते हैं कि ऐसे लोग जो बदनाम करते हैं, काफ़ी हैं। और वो काफ़ी हानि पहुँचाते हैं साधुगण को और कभी-कभी तो एक बलवा-सा हो जाता है, लोग डर जाते हैं कि कोई बच्चों को पकड़ के ले जा रहे हैं और क्या? शहर-का-शहर घबरा जाता है। और उलट-पलट हो जाता है। तो काफ़ी, काफ़ी आसान बात है कि कोई आदमी जो बुरा काम करना चाहे वो अपने बचाव के लिए एक गेरुवा वस्त्र पहन ले। समझो, बचाव हो गया। तो उससे सारे साधु बदनाम हों तो यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि साधु समाज कुछ अपने को सँभाले और कोई रुकावटें डाले कि ग़लत आदमी इस तरह से न आ जाय, यह आवश्यक है। कैसे हो? यह विचार की बात है। इसके विषय में मैं नहीं कह सकता। आपके प्रस्ताव हैं, रजिस्टर हों, नाम लिखे जायें। हो सकता है, कोई उपाय हो, लेकिन कुछ-न-कुछ हो।

दूसरे, आप जानते हैं, यह भी आपके सामने बार-बार प्रश्न आया कि बड़े-बड़े मठ हैं और और संस्थाएँ हैं साधुओं की और उनके पास काफ़ी जायदाद है, पैसा है, रुपया है। उसका सदुपयोग होता है कि दुरुपयोग होता है, सवाल आपके सामने आया बहुत दफ़े। और इसमें भी कोई सन्देह नहीं कि बहुत जगह उसका बहुत बुरा उपयोग होता है और बिलकुल जनता के लिए नहीं, किसी और के लिए नहीं, समाज के लिए नहीं, अपने लिए होता है। यह तो बुरी बात है। नहीं होनी चाहिए और इसमें भी अपने कुछ आपके शायद प्रस्ताव हैं या होने वाले होंगे कि इसकी कोई जाँच होनी चाहिए, कोई ठीक होना चाहिए क़ायदे-क़ानून होने चाहिए, कि दुरुपयोग न हो।<sup>35</sup>

35. According to a report in the *National Herald* of 4 May 1959, after Nehru's speech, the Sadhu Samaj, passed three resolutions: (i) admitting that the funds and properties of religious trusts "are not being properly administered and are even misused sometimes", and welcoming his call for a law to regulate their use, but strictly as prescribed by the tenets of the sect in question, by the foundation, or by custom; (ii) a public appeal for funds for a building for the samaj, the foundation stone of which would be laid by Rajendra Prasad the following day; and (iii) expressing concern for the backward classes which "cannot be forgotten in any scheme for the regeneration of the country."

आप जानते हैं कि अब करीब-करीब सारी दुनिया में, सब तो नहीं, लेकिन फिर भी यह जो राजनीति में पुराना दस्तूर था राजाओं-महाराजाओं का कि राजा का बेटा राजा है, बादशाह का बेटा बादशाह है, इस तरह से वो सिलसिला बहुत कम हो गया। दुनिया में दो-चार देश ऐसे हैं जहाँ यह है। नहीं तो एक तरह का, किसी-न-किसी तरह का प्रजातन्त्र है। जहाँ कम-से-कम सिद्धान्त यह है कि प्रजा अच्छे आदमी चुनेगी, चाहे कोई हो वो। कोई उसमें यह नहीं देखेगी कि राजा का पुत्र है, या किसका पुत्र है। वो अच्छा है कि नहीं? इसलिए चुनती है। तो राजनीति में तो यह हुआ। लेकिन अजीब बात है कि कहीं-कहीं हमारे कुछ सम्प्रदाय हैं, साधुओं में, कुछ मठ हैं जहाँ कि मठाधीश, अब नया दस्तूर निकलता जाता है या पुराना ही, कि बाप विवाह भी करते हैं, उनके बेटे भी हो जाते हैं, वह भी कोई जैसे कि कोई राजा का बेटा राजा हो जाता था, वो होने लगे। तो उसमें कहाँ कोई जो असल गुण गिने जाते हैं साधुओं के, कैसे रह सकते हैं उससे, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। मुझे तो वो बिलकुल गलत बात मालूम होती है। चुने जायें कोई वो अपनी विद्या के लिए, अपने आचार के लिए, अपनी सेवा के लिए, इसलिए चुने जायें। यह सब प्रश्न उठते हैं।

अब आम तौर से शासन, गवर्नमेंट किसी क़दर झिझकती है धार्मिक बातों में दखल देने से। यह मैं नहीं कहता कि नहीं देती, कभी-न-कभी देने होते हैं, क्योंकि धर्म में और हमारे रोज़ के जीवन में बहुत कुछ अन्तर हो जाता है और धर्म के नाम से कुछ लोग बहुत बुरी बातें करते हैं। वो धर्म नहीं होता, लेकिन धर्म का नाम लेते हैं। लेकिन फिर भी कुछ शासन झिझकता है। [...] हालाँकि साफ़ ज़ाहिर है कि इन बातों में कुछ-न-कुछ दखल देना पड़ता है। जायदाद का मामला है, अदालतों में जाता है, यह और वो। तो इसके निस्वत ठीक क़ानून होने चाहिएँ जिससे यह रुकावट हो कि जो ऐसा सम्प्रदाय का रुपया हो, किसी मठ का, सम्प्रदाय का, वो ग़लत काम में न लगे। वो...व्यक्तिगत रूप से उससे कोई लाभ न उठाये। वो एक समाज का समझा जाये, जनता का समझा जाये, उन्हीं के लाभ के लिए वो ख़र्च हो और बहुत आवश्यकता है भारत में, इसमें कोई शक़ नहीं है ऐसे कामों की, कि हों। तो इसका कहीं-कहीं हमारे प्रदेशों में, राज्यों में कुछ क़ानून हैं, कहीं अच्छे हैं, कहीं कुछ बहुत मज़बूत नहीं हैं, कहीं हैं ही नहीं। तो यह विचारतलब बात है कि अच्छा हो।

तो कुछ हमने सोचा है कि कोई-न-कोई एक क़ानून यहाँ लोकसभा, पार्लियामेंट के द्वारा बने जिसका...जो एक नमूना-सा हो जाय और प्रदेशों के लिए भी। बिलफ़ेल हम सोचते हैं। पहले हमने सोचा था कि ज़रा उसको पेचीदा बनायें, यानी हर पहलू उसमें रखें। फिर हमने सोचा कि अगर बहुत सारी बातें उसमें रखने का यत्न करेंगे तो पेचीदा हो जायेगा वो और उसके करने में समय अधिक लगेगा; और क्योंकि आप उसको स्वीकार कर लें, आपकी सलाह से भी बने, लेकिन ऐसे मामले में झगड़ा करने वाले लोग बहुत उठ सकते हैं। तो हमने सोचा कि जो पहला क़ानून इस बारे में बने, वो जितना सरल हो, उतना अच्छा है। वो हो जाये तो उस पर विचार किया जाये कि उसमें बढ़ाना-घटाना क्या है बाद में। तो इस पर हम विचार इस ढंग से कर रहे हैं।

दूसरी बात यह है कि वो कानून तो बन जाय, लेकिन आजकल क्या हो रहा है बहुत कुछ सम्प्रदायों में और अधिकतर किसी जायदाद और रुपये-पैसे के मामले में या कोई और भी, उसके लिए एक छोटी-सी जाँच कमेटी बनायी जाय, बहुत बड़ी नहीं, छोटी जो कि इस समय क्या हाल है वो हमें मालूम हो। यह एक अलग बात है। उस कानून से तो अलग है। यह अलग हो, क्योंकि इसमें थोड़ा समय लगेगा। यों तो आप सभों को कुछ-न-कुछ मालूम ही है, क्या है आजकल हाल। लेकिन फिर ऐसी कोई जाँच कमेटी हो तो उससे लाभ हो सकता है; मोटी बातें सामने आ जायें, कौन-कौन खराबियाँ हैं जिनको हमें दूर करने का यत्न करना है। तो वो भी हमने निश्चय किया है कि ऐसी एक छोटी जाँच कमेटी बनायी जाय। ये दो बातें गवर्नमेंट की ओर से की जायेंगी थोड़े दिन में। और इन दोनों बातों में आपके जो प्रतिनिधि हों उनकी सलाह-मशविरा करके वो तैयार हो। किसी से भी बात करने को हम तैयार हैं, क्योंकि...फिर यह प्रश्न उठता है कि हम यह करें, हमारे देश में अनेक धर्म हैं, कि सब के लिए हो या हिन्दू समाज के लिए हो, यह भी कठिनाई उठ जाती है। यह भी विचार की बात है। शायद अच्छा हो, मेरी राय में, पहले कि हम हिन्दू समाज के लिए करें कि और कठिनाई में न पड़ें। कुछ औरों के लिए कुछ हो। लेकिन इस बारे में अगर पड़ते हैं तो इसमें और पेंच हो जाते हैं, न जाने क्या-क्या, यह है।

एक बात और मैं आपसे कहा चाहता हूँ, वो यह है कि भारत में यह सब जानते हैं अधिकतर हिन्दू धर्म के लोग रहते हैं। अब उसकी शाखाएँ कितनी हों, उसके रूप कितने हों, लेकिन मोटी तौर से वो हिन्दू धर्म के गिने जाते हैं। लेकिन भारत में और धर्म भी हैं, इस्लाम है, ईसाई धर्म है। और हमारे करीब के साथी हैं, खैर, हमारे सिख भाई हैं, जैन भाई हैं, वो भी बहुत करीब के साथी हैं। और यहूदी हैं, बौद्ध धर्म भी कुछ है। ये सब हैं। और आज से नहीं हैं, सैकड़ों बरस, हज़ारों बरस से हैं, बाज़-बाज़ इनमें से। भारत के लोग हैं, बाहर के तो हैं नहीं वो। अब कभी-कभी एक इस तरह के धर्म के नाम पर झगड़े होते हैं और उससे हमारा देश दुनिया में बदनाम होता है और हम भी अपने देश में कमज़ोर हो जाते हैं, दुर्बल हो जाते हैं।

अब कोई भी, हमारा देश तरक्की करे, आगे बढ़े तो यह आवश्यक है कि उसकी बुनियाद मज़बूत हो। बुनियाद दो-तीन तरह की। एक तो मैंने आपसे कहा हम देश की बुनियाद गाँव की समझते हैं। गाँव अगर मज़बूत [है], अच्छी पंचायत है, अच्छा सहकारी संघ है, अच्छा विद्यालय है वहाँ पढ़ने का, ऐसी दो-चार चीज़ें हैं, अच्छा स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध है तो देश की नींव मज़बूत है, उसके ऊपर कुछ बन जाय, ऊपर गड़बड़ भी हो जाये तो मज़बूत है। यह तो एक तरफ़ से और दूसरी तरफ़ से उतनी [ही] आवश्यक बातें ये हैं कि जो अलग-अलग धर्म के या अलग-अलग जाति के जो लोग रहते हैं उनमें एकता हो, मेल हो। उनमें अगर विचार में...विचार अलग हैं, विचार अलग रहें...लेकिन वो सब भारत के बच्चे हैं और भारत के बड़े परिवार के हैं...उनमें मेल रहे और एकता हो, यह बहुत आवश्यक है। अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में यह कोशिश थी अंग्रेज़ी राज्य की कि हमें बुज़दिल करने के लिए हमारी देश की शक्ति को वो किसी क्रूर झुकाते थे, आपस में फूट पैदा करने के लिए, चाहे वो राजनीतिक संस्थाएँ हों, या कुछ हों।

अलग-अलग संस्थाएँ खड़ी करते थे कि यह भारत की जनता की शक्ति बहुत न बढ़ जाय। खैर, यह आप जानते हैं कि महात्मा गाँधी ने किस तरह से उस शक्ति को बनाया प्रेम से, लोगों को मिला कर, उन्होंने बनाया महान शक्ति को और एक अहिंसात्मक शक्ति हुई जिसकी जीत हुई। फिर भी...अब अंग्रेज़ी राज तो रहा नहीं, लेकिन फिर भी कुछ लोग भड़काना चाहते हैं तो भड़का देते हैं। हमारे सीधे-साधे, भोले-भाले बेचारे किसान हैं या कोई हैं, उनको कोई यह कह दिया कोई बात, अब वो तैयार हो जाते हैं अपनी राय में एक शुभ काम के लिए लड़ने को, लेकिन एक बुरी बात करते हैं। तो यह तो बड़ी बुनियाद की बात है, आवश्यक बात है कि हमारे लोग सब अच्छी तरह से समझें कि इससे ज़्यादा वो अपने देश की हानि नहीं कर सकते कि झगड़ा-फ़साद करके, चाहे वो झगड़ा-फ़साद धर्म के नाम पे करें, या किसी नाम पर करें। धर्म का कोई भाग नहीं है झगड़ा-फ़साद करना।

इसमें भी साधु समाज के लोग बहुत-बहुत लाभ पहुँचा सकते हैं कि जहाँ-जहाँ जायें, इस बात की हमेशा शिक्षा हो कि प्रेम से रहना है, आपस में प्रेम से सब रहते हैं, प्रेम से रहना जो हमारे विचार नहीं रखता, उसके साथ प्रेम करना, तब तो इम्तहान होता है किसी का। नहीं तो जिसके विचार हम से मिलें, उसमें हमें क्या अनबन हो। जिससे न मिलें, उसके साथ प्रेम करना, यह, यह आदमी की पहचान है। और अगर कोई बड़ी, बहुत सारी बातें भारत की हैं, प्राचीन समय से हमारी संस्कृति की तो सबमें बड़ी बात अगर मुझसे कोई पूछे, आज नहीं, हजारों बरस से, वो यही है कि आपस में जो लोग जिनके विचार हमारे न हों, उनसे भी प्रेम करना। यह और देशों के व्यक्तियों में होगी, लेकिन आम देश की यह संस्कृति नहीं है, हमारे देश की रही है। तो और भी एक दुख की बात है इस तरह से हम, हमारे कुछ लोग भटक जाया करें, भड़क जाया करें और कभी-कभी वो राजनीति के कुछ लोभ में आ कर, चुनाव होता है, इलेक्शन होता है, उसमें कर दिया या यों भी।

अभी मैं परसों आया हूँ, परसों क्यों, कल ही आया हूँ मैं बिहार प्रदेश से। अब वहाँ काफ़ी बड़ा बलवा हो गया दो जगह, सीतामढ़ी में और उसके पास एकाध जगह और बिलकुल बेगुनाह लोग मारे गये। बेचारे उन्होंने कुछ नहीं किया था, मकान जले, मारे गये और धर्म के नाम से जोश चढ़ आया लोगों को और बिलकुल ग़लत था, ग़लत खबरें किसी ने उड़ा दी थीं।<sup>36</sup> तो इस काम में इस शान्ति प्रचार में, एकता के प्रचार में बहुत हमारे साधुगण अच्छा काम कर सकते हैं, जहाँ-जहाँ जायें, क्योंकि उनकी पहुँच दूर तक है।

कभी-कभी मैंने आपके प्रस्ताव देखे तो मैंने कभी तो उसमें यह देखा कि आप सरकारी पैसे की मदद नहीं लेना चाहते, और कभी-कभी यह देखा कि आप किसी काम के लिए सरकारी पैसे की मदद चाहते हैं, [...] मेरी समझ में दोनों बातें नहीं आयी हैं, क्योंकि एक-दूसरे की विरोधी हैं। मेरी राय यह है कि आप सरकारी पैसे से बहुत दूर रहें। यह आपके लिए भी भला होगा और सरकार के लिए भी भला होगा। नहीं तो कुछ काम भी उधर अच्छा कर लें यह और

36. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 280-281 and also in this volume pp. 8-10 & 248-250.

बात है, थोड़ा हो जाय, लेकिन अपने ऊपर भरोसा करके आप नहीं करेंगे और उसका परिणाम अच्छा नहीं होता इस ढंग से करने से और आपके यहाँ एक तरफ़ से तो आप कहते हैं कि सम्प्रदायों में और मठों में इतना पैसा-रुपया है तो थोड़ा-बहुत पैसा आपको अपने संगठन के लिए मिल जाना तो कठिन नहीं होना चाहिए।

खैर, दो-चार बातें मैंने आपसे कहीं। आखिर में फिर इतना कहूँगा मैं आजकल की दुनिया में यह पुरानी दुनिया नहीं रही, मोटी बात है। आप अक्सर संन्यासी लोग, साधु लोग फिरा करते हैं, पैदल भी फिरते हैं अक्सर जगह-जगह से। लेकिन ज़रा आप विचार करें कि जैसे हज़ार बरस हुए, दो हज़ार बरस हुए, जब कहीं-कहीं हमारे देश में क्या कहीं भी कैसे लोग एक जगह से दूसरी जगह जाते थे। या तो पैदल जायें, या घोड़े पर जायें, या रथ पर जायें, कुछ ऐसे ही जाते थे, और क्या? और तो कोई चारा नहीं था। और वो एक-सा रहा, हज़ारों बरस तक ऐसा रहा। या तो किसी सवारी पर गये, रथ, घोड़ा, या पैदल। अब एकदम से कोई एक थोड़े दिन की बात है, डेढ़ सौ बरस की बात है, हमारे देश में तो करीब सौ बरस की बात है कि नयी-नयी चीज़ें आयीं। रेलगाड़ी; और रेलगाड़ी क्या चीज़ है? कोई जादू नहीं है। खाली एक, एक अक्लमन्द आदमी ने देखा कि भाप की बड़ी शक्ति है, पानी की भाप की, उसको पकड़ कर उसने पहिया उससे चला दिया, बिलकुल सरल बात है। एक दफ़े देख लें आप तो कोई बच्चा कर सकता है और पहिया चलाया तो फिर उसको बढ़ाते-बढ़ाते तेज़ चलने लगा पहिया, गाड़ी चलने लगी, रेल चलने लगी। बाद में कोई और बात देखिए तो मोटर चलने लगी। तब आप देखें, एकदम से जो हज़ारों बरस का एक समाज का तरीका था सफ़र करने का, यात्रा करने का, वो बदल गया, एक नयी चीज़ आ गयी। रेलगाड़ी आ गयी, या उसके बाद मोटर आ गयी। उसके बाद बढ़ते-बढ़ते समन्दर के जहाज़ आये, हवाई जहाज़ आये, सब आने लगे तो कितना अन्तर हो गया समाज के रहन-सहन में। हम सब चढ़ते हैं, रेल पर चढ़ते हैं, हवाई जहाज़ पर भी कभी-कभी चढ़ते हैं। तो इस तरह से समाज बदलती जाती है और जब तक हम इस बदलती हुई समाज की, बदलती हुई दुनिया को समझें नहीं और हम पिछड़ जाते हैं, जैसे हम पिछड़ गये। हमारी आध्यात्मिक विद्या जो भी कुछ हो, हम मामूली दुनिया में पिछड़ गये, हम ग़रीब हो गये, हम दुर्बल हो गये, [...] हमारा देश दास हो गया, गुलाम हो गया और देशों का। खैर, अब फिर हम स्वतन्त्र हो गये हैं तो हमें यह दो कमियाँ थीं, पूरी करनी हैं। हमें विज्ञान में तरक्की करनी है और बातों में, गरज़ कि इस दुनिया को समझना है। नहीं तो हम बढ़ते नहीं। हाँ, नयी दुनिया को समझ कर यह माने नहीं हैं कि हम, जो हमारे सिद्धान्त हैं, जो हमारे पुरानी विद्या है, उसको हम भूल जायें, क्योंकि उसको भूलने से हम अपनी जड़ उखाड़ देते हैं। तो जैसे मैंने एकाध जगह अभी कहा था, हमें इस अपनी पुरानी विद्या और नयी दुनिया, विज्ञान की दुनिया को, दोनों को समझना है और दोनों में एक समन्वय करना है, तब हम बढ़ते हैं, अकेले एक को पकड़ कर हम नहीं बढ़ते, न इधर, न उधर। यह हमारे सामने बड़ा प्रश्न है। और यह पंचवर्षीय योजना एक तरफ़ झुकाती है। बुनियादी तौर से उससे भी बड़ा प्रश्न है। तो इसलिए हमें अपने मन की, दिमाग़ की खिड़कियों को खुला रखना है। जहाँ से भी हम



कुछ सीख सकें, उसको सीखें और उसको अपनायें, खाली रट के न सीखें, अपना के सीखें अपनी जड़ों पर उसको लगायें, तब वो भी फूल-पत्ती देता है; क्योंकि आखिर किसी ज़मीन से जो पेड़ निकलता है, वही बढ़ेगा। ऊपर से आ के कोई शाख खोद लीजिए, वो जड़ नहीं पकड़ेगी; लेकिन वो अगर सूख जाये तो उस जड़ में भी पानी देना है। ताज़ा हवा लानी है, ये सब बातें करनी हैं। इस तरह से हमें इस महान देश को बनाना है। लेकिन हमेशा याद रखिए कि इस देश में अनेक प्रकार के लोग रहते हैं, अनेक प्रदेश हैं, आप जानते हैं, अनेक भाषाएँ हैं, अनेक मौसम हैं, कहीं सर्दी, कहीं गर्मी। कहीं हिमालय पहाड़, कहीं रामेश्वरम, आप जाइए कन्याकुमारी, कैसा वहाँ का मौसम। वह सब मिल कर देश होता है, एक हिस्सा देश नहीं। वो खाली देश का छोटा भाग है तो हमें इस अनेकता को सामने रखना है और हम नहीं चाहते कि अनेकता को हम मिटा दें। वह ग़लत बात होगी। अपनी-अपनी जगह वो फूल अलग-अलग पैदा होते हैं, लेकिन सब मिल कर बाग़ एक हो, एकता हो। तब अनेकता भी रहती है और एकता की शक्ति और एकता का आपस में प्रेम भी हो जाता है।

जयहिन्द!

[ Translation begins:

Chairman, leaders and members of Sadhu Samaj, sisters and brothers.

Just now you heard something about me from Goswamiji and Tukdoji Maharaj.<sup>37</sup> You must certainly heed the advice that they have given. But it would be better if you did not pay much attention to what they have said about me because they get carried away by their love for me and say all sorts of exaggerated things.

When you invited me to come here today and also once or twice earlier to participate in the conference of the Sadhu Samaj,<sup>38</sup> I was a little hesitant. The leaders of the Sadhu Samaj have met me sometimes and we have talked with each other, but I was doubtful whether it would be proper for me to come to this conference and I will tell you quite frankly right at the beginning why this doubt arose in my mind. For one thing, I am, as you know, part of the government of the country and secondly, although on the one hand I knew that there are some great men among our sadhus, very often I know of people who become sadhus, whom it would be difficult to call even human beings, let alone great men.

So when this Samaj was established I did not know which way it would lean, even if it believes in great ideals. It is possible that there may be a divergence between my ideas and theirs in which case it would not be proper for me to interfere, because that would mean a commitment on both sides. So,

37. See fn 33 in this section.

38. See fn 34 in this section.

this was the dilemma I was in, because there are great upheavals in today's world as well as in India. Good as well as bad things are happening. We are living in revolutionary times of which one symbol is atomic energy. Atomic energy can wreak great havoc or benefit the world enormously. It is a source of power which can be put to good use as well as bad. Many forces are emerging in this revolutionary world and even one wrong step could cause great harm. The danger that can be caused is much greater than ever before for the new forces can do great good as well inflict terrible damage. Secondly, there are some people in India who wish to maintain the status quo and are opposed to all change. Such people do not do much good to the country because they fail to understand the changing world and get caught in it and their capacity to work is reduced. As you know, everything is constantly changing in this world. Of course, principles may not change but human beings change and so does society and its way of life. The way of life which you see today is not the same as what it was a hundred or five hundred years ago. Some of the changes are good, others not so good, but nothing remains the same. Those who are opposed to all change and want to maintain the status quo cannot do so. But they can throw up obstacles to the right kind of change. You must think about this. It is possible that I am not aware of what your thinking is in the matter. The world is in a revolutionary ferment today and all sorts of things, good as well as bad, are happening in India too.

So, first of all, in my opinion, it is essential for people to understand and accept that a society is changing and that change is right, it must happen, and then to ensure that the change is in the right and not in the wrong direction. To try to stop the changes from taking place is like trying to prevent a river from flowing. It is not possible to stop it, but the flow will either be diverted or may go in the wrong direction.

Very few people understand these things. Immersed in their day-to-day activities, they fail to see the big changes that are taking place and which are bound to affect them. Now suppose there is a war somewhere in the world; we will not be able to escape it even if we do not get involved directly. We cannot escape the consequences of a war because a nuclear war will not only destroy human beings but pollute the entire atmosphere of the world and poison it. Nobody can escape that. This should be understood clearly by all and we must be prepared for any eventuality. Ultimately, a country is a large society composed of innumerable beings and both have to grow in every way. Broadly speaking, the country which is very poor does not have much spirit, though men of that country may have strength. It may produce some great men, but by and large, a poor and hungry nation lacks spirit and the will to work. A solution has to be found to make the country prosperous and at the same time ensure that the

moral and spiritual values, whatsoever they are, are cherished by the people. But even for that, the basic requirement is a minimum degree of well being of the masses and alleviation of their poverty and suffering.

How is this to be done? There are numerous ways in which it can be done and even there we must see how we can compete with other countries. There is no doubt that no matter how they have done it, the other countries have advanced a great deal in this [material] respect, though they may have lagged behind in others. Why? Because they harnessed all kinds of natural sources of energy like electricity, steam and what not. Today trains and aeroplanes are being run on these sources of energy. There is no magic in this. The West has taken advantage of various forces of energy and amassed great power and wealth by increasing production. We do not wish to copy others, but we will certainly learn whatever we can from them and adopt them to suit our needs. So we must learn to understand this changing society of ours and ensure that it is moving in the right direction. No one can prevent society from changing and it is a complete waste of energy if anyone tries. As I said, nobody can stop the flowing current of a river and a changing society is like a flowing river.

Now, as you know, there are many things happening in India today. On the one hand you have the five year plans, etc., which are aimed at making the population better-off and improving their standard of living. We cannot look to other countries for assistance and will have to do it by our own hard work and effort. A nation or society grows by its own effort. If it relies on others, it can never grow properly, always remains crippled, and cannot get up on its own. So, the five year plans are aimed at improving the condition of the people through their own effort and not by a fiat from the government. Laws and government orders may pave the way, but ultimately, the people will have to work hard. We have five and a half lakh villages in India which are the most backward of the lot and we have to improve them. India can advance only when the condition of the villages improves.

You must have heard about the development schemes and what not. A new emphasis is being laid to make the panchayat strong and form a cooperative society in every village. This will increase their strength individually and collectively. There are innumerable difficulties in our path, because in a sense the size of our country, which is our asset, also weakens us. The huge size of the country and the population becomes a burden and at the same time it could be turned to great advantage. Every single individual in the country must take part in the great task of nation-building. As I told you, these things cannot be done by orders from government or by officials. They can help, but the people have to develop self-confidence and do the work themselves. I will not go into this just now except to say that, in my opinion, it is of fundamental importance

for people to become self-reliant because otherwise they will become lifeless and weak and nothing can be expected from them. But I hope this will not happen and the difficult problems that we are facing would be solved.

What is the role of the Sadhu Samaj or for that matter any other samaj in this? You can advise others only when you first practice what you preach. Only then does it make an impact. Especially sadhus and mahatmas can become living examples of the right values in life by their conduct. But the problem that arises is that there are people of various kinds in the Sadhu samaj, high class people, good, bad and indifferent people, etc., because after all there is nothing to distinguish between them outwardly and any one can don the saffron robes of a sadhu. This is how the entire society gets a bad reputation. But you are also aware that the people respect sadhus and so there are bad elements which take advantage of the people's faith and do a great deal of harm to sadhus in general. Sometimes they arouse anxiety by abducting small children and what not. The saffron robe is a good disguise for anyone who wishes to indulge in unlawful activities and this earns a bad reputation for the entire society of sadhus. Therefore, it is essential that they should try to prevent bad elements from getting into their society. I cannot tell you how you can do this. You can have a register and enter the names of the sadhus. Anyhow, something should be done.

Secondly, as you know, the question of the enormous sums of money and property which the big maths and monasteries and other institutions of the sadhus possess, has come up again and again. The question is whether they are being utilised properly or not. There is no doubt that very often they are misused instead of being utilised for the public good. This is very bad and should be stopped. You must be considering some resolutions in this matter and there should be an inquiry into it and proper rules and regulations framed to prevent misuse of funds.<sup>39</sup>

As you know, practically all over the world the system of kings and emperors as rulers and the hereditary right to rule has been given up. There are only a handful of countries where there are monarchies. Everywhere else there is democracy of some kind and a general belief in the principle of merit over heredity. But it is a strange thing that even now in many maths, succession is by hereditary right and in fact, the heads of maths have given up celibacy and so they marry and produce children. Gradually, a small empire is established. I cannot imagine how the so-called qualities of sadhus can remain intact. It seems absolutely wrong to me. People should be chosen for their education, intellect, conduct, spirit of service, etc. So these are the questions that come up.

39. See fn 35 in this section.

NEHRU HAS ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH SADHU SAMAJ  
FOR WHOSE SALVATION?



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 17 MAY 1959)

Now, generally speaking, governments are always hesitant to interfere in the religious affairs of the people. I do not say that they never interfere. It has to be done sometimes because there is a great deal of difference between our daily lives and religion and people often do very bad things in the name of religion. But, by and large, the governments hesitate to interfere though it is obvious that sometimes it becomes essential especially in property matters and court cases, etc. So there should be proper rules to ensure that the communal funds are not misused and individuals do not grab them for personal use. They should be regarded as public funds and must be spent for their good. There is no doubt that the scope for such activities is very wide in India. The laws in these matters are very good in some provinces but not everywhere. So it will be a good thing to think seriously about this.

Therefore, we feel that the Parliament should pass a law which can be a model for the rest of the country. We had thought at first that we will make it comprehensive and include all the aspects. Then we felt that that will make it too complicated and take a longer time. Even if it is framed in consultation with you, several disputes can arise. So we thought that it would be better to frame a simple law to begin with and then we can consider widening its scope. So this is what we are considering at the moment.

Secondly, the Bill will of course be passed, but we would also like a small commission of enquiry to go into the state of affairs in many of the sects especially with regard to what is happening in property matters. This should be quite apart from the Bill because it will take some time. Everyone knows how things stand today. But a commission of enquiry will be useful because the broad facts will come to the surface and also the ills that need to be removed.

So, we have decided to set up a commission of enquiry. Both these things will be taken up by the government shortly and your representatives will be consulted in the matter. We are prepared to consult others too, because the question will then arise whether this should be done only for the Hindus or for others as well. This has also to be considered. I think it will be better if we first take up only the Hindu societies and not get involved in other complications. The other religions must also come under the purview of the enquiry but it will lead to all sorts of complications.

There is one more thing which I wish to mention to you. As you know, the majority of the people in India are Hindus. No matter how many different branches and forms there are, broadly speaking, they are regarded as part of Hinduism. But there are other religions in India like Islam, Christianity, etc. There are also Jains and Sikhs, Parsis and Buddhists, etc., and all of them are close to us. Most of these religions have been in India for thousands of years. All of them are Indians. It is very bad when people fight each other in the name of religion because it earns a bad reputation for India and weakens us.

If we wish to progress, it is essential that our foundations are strong in three ways. As I said we consider the village to be the basis of Indian life. So, proper arrangements have to be made for a strong panchayat, cooperative society, a good school, healthcare facilities so that a new India can be built upon strong foundations. Once the foundations are strong, it does not matter very much if there are problems at the top. Equally important is the need for unity among people belonging to various religions and castes. They should be free to believe in their own religion. But all of them are Indians and belong to the large family that is India. Therefore, it is very essential that there should be unity among them. During the days of the British, it was their constant effort to create dissensions among us in order to weaken us. They used to encourage separate platforms for the various communities so that the Indians may not unite themselves into a strong and organised force. Well, you know how Mahatma Gandhi united the people into a strong organisation by love and converted it into a non-violent force which was ultimately victorious. Now, that the British are gone, there are other elements which want to incite poor, innocent people in the name of religion or something. Therefore, it is extremely important and fundamental that we should understand clearly that they cannot cause greater damage to the nation than by fighting in the name of religion or anything else. No religion teaches people to fight.

The Sadhu Samaj can do a great deal in this field by teaching the people to live in mutual harmony and love even if there are differences of opinion. This is the real test of love. There is no problem about loving someone with whom you agree. The test of a human being is his capacity to love those with whom

he disagrees. If anybody were to ask me what is the greatness of our ancient civilization and culture of the last thousands of years. I would say it is tolerance and love for other people's ideas and beliefs. This may be true of individuals in other countries, but it has been the hall-mark of India's culture. So, it is even more painful to see people stray away, especially in times of elections or compelled by the greed for political position or something else.

I came here yesterday from Bihar. There have been terrible riots in a couple of places in Sitamarhi and elsewhere and completely innocent people have been killed. Houses were burnt and people killed because some people had been incited in the name of religion and got carried away by rumours which were floating around.<sup>40</sup> So the Sadhu Samaj can do good work by spreading the message of unity because their reach is everywhere.

I have seen some of your resolutions and sometimes you say that you are opposed to financial assistance from the government and at other times you have demanded it for some project or the other. I cannot understand why such contradictory things are there. In my opinion it is better that you should stay away as far as possible from government funds. It will be good for you as well as for the government. Until you learn to have confidence in yourselves, you cannot get very far by asking others for assistance. Why should some of the money which belongs to the various maths not be used for these purposes.

Well, there is only one thing more. The world is no longer what it was in the past. You sadhus often travel, even on foot. If you think about it, for thousands of years, the only mode of transport available to the people was on foot or horse-back or chariots, etc. There was no other way. Now, all of a sudden, about 150 years ago, a complete transformation took place with the appearance of the railways and so on. There is no magic in all this. It was just that an intelligent man discovered the power of steam and harnessed it to the benefit of mankind. It is absolutely simple. Even a child can understand it. Anyhow, gradually trains made their appearance and later the motor car.

So, you see, the mode of transport which had existed in the world for thousands of years was transformed almost overnight. After trains and motor cars came aeroplanes and what not which have revolutionised the entire way of life of mankind. All of us now travel by trains and aeroplanes. Now if we fail to understand this changing society, we will become backward. In spite of all our moral and spiritual values and wisdom, India became backward and fell a prey to foreign domination. Now, that we are free once again, we must get rid of these weaknesses and advance in the field of science and grasp the changes that are taking place in society and the world. Otherwise we will not be able to

40. See fn 36 in this section.

progress. That does not mean that we should forget our old values and ancient wisdom because we will lose our moorings in the process.

So, as I have mentioned in a couple of other places, we must have a synthesis of ancient wisdom and new, scientific knowledge, if we wish to progress. If we let go of one or the other, we will be neither here nor there. The Five Year Plans lean in one direction. But the problem is much more fundamental than that. Therefore we must keep the doors and windows of our minds open and learn whatever we can from others and adopt them. We must not keep repeating lessons learnt by rote because, ultimately, it is only when something puts down roots that it grows. We must bring a breath of fresh air into the country and revive our old roots. This is how we will build a great nation. But please remember that there are different kinds of people in this country, different provinces and languages and climate, etc. The climate in the Himalayas is totally different from what it is in Kanyakumari or Rameshwaram. Yet all of them together make India what she is. We must always bear in mind the diversity and variety of India for it would be wrong to wipe it out. Everything good in the country must be allowed to flourish in its own place and together they will make India green and prosperous garden. We must cherish our diversity and maintain the unity of the country as well to foster love among the people.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

## 5. Public Meeting: Policy of Restraint on Tibet <sup>41</sup>

### Only Sensible Course Says Nehru

GHAZIABAD, May 15 – Prime Minister Nehru today referred to the attacks made on India by the Chinese press and leaders over the Tibetan issue and said that in spite of this India had continued to maintain her stand with restraint and dignity.

Pandit Nehru said that the reason why India did so was not because she was afraid of anybody but because “we think that this is the sensible course.”

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing a public meeting here, said, “Even when we are abused, we maintain restraint. This is our attitude. It is not changed by threats. We maintain our opinion, as also dignity.”

41. Report of speech. From the *National Herald*, 16 May 1959.



Referring to Tibetan refugees coming to India, he said that about twelve thousand of them had arrived. It, certainly, meant a burden on the country, "but we are not going to throw them out."

It had been the tradition of India, Pandit Nehru said, that whosoever came to her door for refuge had been welcomed and made a friend of the family. "So, when we receive these Tibetan refugees and look after them, it is in the best traditions of our country", he added.

Pandit Nehru condemned recent communal disturbances at Bhopal, Sitamarhi and some other places in the country<sup>42</sup> and said, "Those who indulge in such acts of communal madness are fools and those who incite them are traitors."

Communal disturbances, he said, did positive harm to the country internally and made it hang its head in shame abroad. The people should, therefore, see to it that they were not carried away by religious slogans.

### **Non Alignment**

Addressing the concluding session of the three-day conference of Congress workers here Pandit Nehru stoutly defended India's policy of non-alignment and said that if the country invited some foreign power to defend it anticipating possible attack." It will be the height of foolishness.

Pandit Nehru said that he heard talk of possible threats to India's security. Some people had even suggested that she should align herself with some foreign power to fortify her defences. But such an approach would be against the very basis of the country's stand and "if I agree to that, it will mean the negation of all that I have learnt during my forty years of association with Mahatma Gandhi."

Pandit Nehru said that India had no enemies and there was no question of her seeking help from abroad to defend herself. This business of inviting a third power, even when there is some trouble between two parties, is ridiculous. This is the way the British entered India and we must not forget this lesson of history."

The best defence, that a country could have, he said, was based on two factors: first, complete self-confidence and, secondly, national unity. It is the duty of every citizen of the country to help strengthen this pattern of national defence.

Referring to the Nagpur resolution of the Congress on land reforms, Pandit Nehru said that the decisions taken by the Congress there had brought a new

42. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 280-281, 290-291, 317 and also in this volume pp. 8-10 & 248-250.

life into the Congress organisation. I feel that the party is bubbling with a new enthusiasm and there is a deeper understanding of the problem by the average worker.

## 6. Public Meeting: Cooperative Farming, Rajaji's New Party <sup>43</sup>

Ootacamund,  
June 1

Addressing one of the largest public meetings ever held in Ootacamund at the Race Course ground this evening, Prime Minister Nehru made a reference to the recent speech of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari at Bangalore<sup>44</sup> and said that Rajaji had just raised some kind of phantoms and put them before the public. Mr. Nehru said he did not understand how by forming co-operatives "Red" ruin would descend upon them.

Mr. Nehru said that he would be happy if some new party which Mr. Rajagopalachari would call by the name of Conservative Party was formed but he would suggest to those people who might form such a party to put forward a positive programme of meeting the problems of India and not merely criticise others for doing something.

In a speech lasting about 90 minutes, the Prime Minister dwelt on the social and economic problems facing India and observed that the first thing required for the progress of the country was to train efficient people. The quality of the nation was determined by the quality of trained people in the country. All the 550,000 villages of India, that is, the rural India, he emphasised, deserved more attention than any other part. One of the important tasks was that these villages should be urbanised in a small way so that there would not be a tremendous gap between the towns and villages that they saw today.

Mr. K. Kamaraj, Chief Minister, presided, Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister, translated the Prime Minister's speech into Tamil.

In the latter portion of his speech, Mr. Nehru referred to the meeting held two or three days back in Bangalore at which "our revered and much-loved leader, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari spoke". What Mr. Masani said at that meeting might not be of much importance.<sup>45</sup> But what Rajaji said was naturally respected

43. Report of speech, Ootacamund, 1 June 1959. From *The Hindu*, 2 June 1959.

44. C. Rajagopalachari had presided over a meeting of the Bangalore Centre of the Forum of Free Enterprise on 29 May 1959.

45. M.R.Masani had warned against cooperative farming.

and should be listened to and considered carefully, because he had been a great leader of the country throughout the days of their freedom struggle. Besides, he was a man of wisdom. "I am carefully trying to understand what Rajaji says from time to time about these current problems. I regret that I have been unable to understand what he says or the logic or of it or the reason behind it, and I may add with all respect, the wisdom in it, because what Rajaji says should be good; but the point is what is required in the middle of the 20th century in agriculture and elsewhere. We are not discussing some basic moral principles. We are discussing the organisation of our villages, an organisation on a democratic basis. Now, I am told that if you do this, it means ruin for our agriculture, it means some kind of authoritarianism coming in, their liberties and democracy going away. I do not know how to answer those arguments, because they are just some kind of phantom fears which are raised and put up before the public. I am not afraid of the future nor are, I think, the people afraid of the future. We have built a democratic society in India. We shall preserve it and we shall fight for it. We are not a people who could be driven by anybody from the way we choose. I do not like any policies which are based on fear. Fear is the most despicable companion that an individual or a nation can have.

"Some people tell me – the Communists are shouting –", Mr. Nehru said, "you will be swallowed up by American imperialism. The others are shouting that China will swallow you. These people cannot think of anything but fear of this country or that country. I fear nobody. I am not a religious man. I do not fear even God. I cannot understand this mentality of fear. If some disaster happens, we face it. We do not run away from it. That is how we functioned in our national struggle. That is how we will struggle in building our Indian nation. I do not understand how some kind of authoritarianism will descend on us, because we have asked for co-operatives. It passes my comprehension how by forming co-operatives the red ruin will descend upon us. There are hundreds of co-operatives functioning now and no red ruin has come. No country, great or small, is going to swallow India. If it attempted to do so, it would have most violent indigestion."

Mr. Nehru said that from the geographical point of view India had seas on the one side and the Himalayas on the other. The Himalayan mountains had been their good friends. So far as he was personally concerned, he had a great feeling of comradeship with the Himalayas, having been more or less connected with them in the past and being partly a hill-man himself. It was not ultimately the Himalayan mountain that would protect India or the seas. But it was the spirit of the people that would protect India. It was the strength of the Indian people. If the spirit was good, nobody could injure. If it was not, they would suffer for it. This habit of raising ghosts all the time and frightening themselves

all the time and trying to create nightmares did not help in the solution of any problems. They had enough difficult problems but those difficult problems became easy if they applied themselves in co-operative thinking and not merely objected to everything that was done. "It is better to be wrong provided you are moving than to be stagnant for fear of something happening if you move. This is the position."

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



I don't care if nobody joins it, but I am determined to form a new Party!

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 20 JUNE 1959)

## No Great Chance of Functioning

The Bangalore meeting was held to further the cause of some new party which Rajaji would call by the name of Conservative Party. He should be happy, the Prime Minister said, if the party was formed but he was afraid that his happiness would not grow, because he saw no great chance of such a party functioning. It might be formed but no party could function, least of all, a party with the banner of conservatism written on it, because what India demanded today or what conditions demanded today, was some shake-up to pull them out of social and economic ruts of the country and not out of its spiritual and cultural heritage which was vital. Social and economic life did change. Life was changing. If life was stagnant, the country went down. Therefore, in the middle of the 20th century, he should put forward some policies which would meet the problems of the 20th century. If not, it was very difficult for any movement or party to make headway. "I would, therefore, suggest to those people who might form the Conservative Party to put forward a positive programme of meeting the problems of India and not merely criticise others for doing something."

## A Great Adventure

The Prime Minister referred to the tremendous task before them and said that the only way they could succeed was to look upon their high adventure not as some great burden to be carried. That was not the way to face great tasks. They had to look upon it as one of the greatest adventures, an adventure of 400 million people marching ahead. Could they imagine a greater adventure than that of lifting them out of their poverty and other difficulties? In facing the task, they wanted to have unity. They had to work hard and be prepared to have sacrifices today to make good tomorrow. "At the same time, we must not be too rigid in our outlook. At any rate, we are not. I am not. We are constantly experimenting what to do and what not to do. I consider myself a Socialist, but I am not bound down by any dogma. But I want the basic characteristics of socialism fit into conditions in India. I should change any step if it proves to be harmful and is not fitting with Indian conditions. So, we proceed without any rigidity, without any religious, economic or social dogmas". He wanted to build a cohesive India maintaining its great variety which gave freedom to individuals in each part of the country.

"I invite you to this great adventure." Mr. Nehru appealed. "And I want to tell you that there is no greater joy in us than to ally ourselves to some great movement and task and forget ourselves in that work. If we do that, as some of us did in the freedom struggle, if we function in that way and take up this

adventure in a great spirit, we shall do something that will have made our individual life and national life worthwhile.”

The Prime Minister at the outset recalled his earlier visits to Ootacamund in 1931<sup>46</sup> and 1948<sup>47</sup> and said that between his first and second visits many things happened. Many big events took place and India became a free and independent country. Now he came after 12 years of Independence, of their struggling hard to go further ahead to solve their problems. Many things which they wanted to do, could not be done.

As they all knew, Ootacamund was one of the most beautiful and delightful places in India. In the address of welcome he had been asked to encourage people to come here. “It does not require”, Mr. Nehru said, “encouragement from me, because Ootacamund is famous all over India and, may be, outside too. I have no doubt that Ootacamund will flourish as it has flourished in the past, not only Ootacamund but this whole area of the Nilgiris.”

It had been his great and good fortune to live through an exciting period of India’s history. During the last 50 years he had himself taken some little part in this great drama of India unfolding itself. Those of his generation had been privileged to work under the great and magnificent leadership of Gandhiji, to have learnt something at least from him. Since his tragic passing away, they had tried to remember the lessons that Gandhiji gave them and to follow the path he showed them to the best of their ability. “I know we have not always succeeded. I know we have made mistakes and blunders. But at any rate we have tried and we hope to go on trying to pursue that path, because I am convinced that there is no other path for India and if I may say so with great humility, even for the world.”

### **Gandhiji’s Teachings Recalled**

If they tried to do great deeds and if they had big objectives, Mr. Nehru said, then they had to function in a big way also. They had to work hard and to go the way of sacrifice, because nothing great was achieved if they worked in a small way. Gandhiji taught them to act in a big way. He made them grow in that process. The lessons taught by Gandhiji were many. Above all, he taught them that they should all live in friendship and have unity in India among the people in the different parts of the country and among the people of different religions and linguistic groups. Whatever that divided and separated them should be

46. For Nehru’s trip to the south, see SWJN/FS/4/ pp. 553-560.

47. Nehru inaugurated the third session of the UN Economic Commission for the Far East (ECAFE) on 1 June 1948 at Ootacamund. See SWJN/SS/6/ pp. 224-25 & 455-62.

brushed away and they should build up an indissolubly strong nation friendly with all the countries of the world. He also taught them that they should have equal opportunity and remove the curse of untouchability. Gandhiji further taught them the way of peace, of non-violence and of co-operation. Even, in their great national movement, they tried to adhere to the way of non-violence. They had not always succeeded and had made mistakes. But they kept that ideal, largely adhered to it and gained their freedom through peaceful methods. That was perhaps the first time in history when a large and great political movement had pledged itself to peaceful methods and succeeded in achieving its great objectives through such methods. But peaceful methods did not mean inaction, laziness, submission to evil, cowardice and fear. Gandhiji also taught them not to be afraid. He taught the way of action, the way of achieving things through developing a certain force, because force of a kind was necessary to achieve anything, whether it was the force of a gun, sword or atom bomb or force of the spirit and mind. Strength of the body was good, that of the mind was better and that of the soul was the best of all. Under Gandhiji's teaching, India became united and strong, strong in spirit and action. Therefore they achieved their objective, Mr. Nehru said.

### **State's Progress Praised**

Since the attainment of freedom, the Prime Minister said, they had to work for different objectives, namely, of raising the standards of living of the 400 million people. It was even a bigger struggle than that of Swaraj, for it meant the raising of a large mass of humanity to much higher levels. They had been labouring towards that end. The people were the best judges to assess the achievements and failures of the last 12 years since Independence. The world, he thought, recognised that they had achieved much and had laid strong foundations for their industrial and other progress. As he had said elsewhere, Madras State in recent years had taken the lead over other States of India in many things. The rate of rice production was the highest in Madras State. It was forging ahead in education and co-operative movement. In so many basic things, Madras had advanced faster than the rest of India, and he had often held it as an example to other States of India.

The great problems before them now, the Prime Minister went on, were not so much political as economic and social. It was the problem of removing the differences between the rich and the poor and those who had opportunities and those who had not. Everybody should have equal opportunity and be able to live a worthwhile life. "We want to build up in India a Welfare State in which all are partners. We want to fashion India on the pattern of a Socialist State.

These are our declared aims, not a rigid pattern or copying some other country's achievements of socialism but to build according to our own genius and requirements". Whatever religion, caste or State one might belong to, one would have to grow and be able to live in comfort and freedom and should have all the necessities of life.

### **Distant Goal of Socialism**

Continuing, the Prime Minister said, "People talked of socialism and we want a socialist pattern of society in India. But remember two things in that connection. The first is that we shall have to build our own type of socialism and the second is that socialism is not a magic lotion you can drink quickly or a thing that will come by the laws that are passed. We have to grow into a socialist pattern of society." It was a distant goal. However hard they might try, they could not change the social and economic life of the people suddenly. It was a hard task that was before them and it could be achieved not by Governmental decrees of officers and others but by people themselves growing into it by their own effort. They should forget for the moment any kind of "ism". They had the task of fighting poverty and disease. They did not want to have wars, with any country. They would get out of them if they unfortunately came. But they wanted war against poverty, separatism, casteism, against communalism and against anything that weakened India and war against their own failings which kept them back in the past. They should grow into a united nation and have equal shares in their growth.

Posing the question as to how they should face the great tasks before them, Mr. Nehru said that they should use their limited resources to the best advantage and for the benefit of the people of India. In the First Five Year Plan, they achieved their targets whatever they had set out. In the early years of the Second Plan, they had great difficulties. They had got over those difficulties for the time being. But, the point to remember was that they could face those enormous problems by working together, by cooperating together and laying down a scientific and well-reasoned policy which could achieve results. The Planning Commission consulted thousands of people in the country so that they might have the benefit of their advice and the Plan that was made should be a people's plan.

The Prime Minister referred to the seminar being held in Ooty<sup>48</sup> to consider the Third Plan and said that they were consulting people in all the States not

48. Held from 30 May to 4 June 1959.



only Governments but also universities which had got planning forums, and all kinds of people, scientists, industrialists, trade union workers and every group in India.

### **Importance of Technical Advance**

The best plan that they might make, Mr. Nehru said, would not be much good unless the millions of the people of India understood it and worked for it. It was their plan and not his or Government's. It was important, therefore, that in making the Plan, they should have the largest measure of consultation. When the Plan was made, the peasant in the field, the factory worker, the shopkeeper, the students of the universities, and pupils of educational institutions should understand it and not necessarily its intricacies. That was what was happening in India and every adult had a part in the Plan. It was not a question of giving jobs to a few persons but of raising the 400 millions people, men, women and children of India. They should create wealth out of their land and industry and in other ways. In that process, they had to find employment for the people of India, because unemployment was bad not only for the individual but also for the country. It was a social evil. Fortunately, in India, they had good resources in men and minerals. They had skilful people and could produce the best of scientists and engineers. They had to train them and put them together to reduce wealth that India needed and the goods that India needed. But it took time. It might take four or five years to put up an iron and steel plant, but it would take 10 to 15 years to train the men to run that plant. The most difficult thing was the training of people. About three or four years ago, they made a census of engineers in India and found that there were over 70,000. He imagined that number should be nearly doubling this time. Certainly, they had increased a great deal. Their scientists were also increasing in number. It was not something that could be mass-produced. The whole context of their economy was changing. He would repeat that the first thing required in the country for progress was the training of efficient people. It was by their technical advance and not by shouting slogans that they would progress. They had to train people through the educational apparatus.

Mr. Nehru further pointed out that they were building great plants, the most important being the basic plants of iron and steel, production of power and machine-building industry. They could not really industrialise by machines imported from America, England, Germany or Russia. They had to produce their own big machines in the country for which they should build machine-building industry and have power to run them. He thought that they were going fairly well in that direction.

## Improvement of Rural Conditions

The Prime Minister stressed the need for paying greater attention to improvement of conditions in rural India and said that if they wanted to measure their advance, they should go to the villages and judge and not judge by going to Delhi, Bombay or Madras. If the villages were advanced, it was well for India. One of the most vital things for them to do was to raise the level of villages both by improving agriculture and by introducing small-scale and cottage industries which would provide employment so that the villages would be slightly urbanised in a small way and there would not be that tremendous gap between towns and villages they saw today. Although the Madras-yield was the highest in India in rice production, the Indian yield was very low for wheat and rice. There was no reason why they could not improve it. They were determined to push it up. Therefore, the problem was to make the farmer understand work more through scientific methods. He did not mean tractors and the like. He had no objection to it but, in the present India, it was impossible to introduce tractors. They should nevertheless introduce better seeds, implements, manures, fertilizers and so many other things which would increase the agricultural yield.

Mr. Nehru described the community development movement as the biggest and the greatest adventure that any country had undertaken and said, behind it lay the making of a revolution in rural India. It had spread to 300,000 villages in India. In many places, it had not succeeded as they wanted. But, by and large, it had tremendously changed the general economy of the villages and, as it progressed, it would bring greater results.

Turning to the Congress programme of land reforms, Mr. Nehru said that still a good part of the reforms remained. They felt that it was important to complete the reforms. Every country which progressed in agriculture had to have some kind of land reform so that the old, out-of-date, feudal method was improved. In this reform, the Congress had suggested ceiling on holdings and organisation of service cooperatives to begin with. These would be developed into farming societies later. It was not a new programme, but a programme which had been discussed and kept open for years. Ceilings on land were a common feature in many countries where land reform had come. Leaving out Communist countries which thought and acted differently, they would find that in a country like Japan which was far from Communist, land ceilings had been introduced during the time of American occupation. He had no doubt that it had done a great deal of good to Japanese agriculture.

## State Trading in Foodgrains

Referring to State trading in foodgrains, the Prime Minister said, that there was certain difficulty in changing over from one pattern to another. If there was one thing which was vital to the people of India, it was food. If in a matter like food they left it to the "acquisitive instincts" and greed of wholesale traders who could raise prices and lower them, it was a bad thing for India. He did not think that control in retail trade was necessary. But, wholesale trade must certainly be controlled. There were far greater restrictions of this kind of thing in some of the big capitalist countries of the world. They could leave out Socialist and Communist countries. When they wished to have wholesale State trading, hue and cry was raised. There was also nothing new in co-operation. It was the essence of modern life. If a person did not understand it, he lived in some other century and not in the middle of the 20th century, Mr. Nehru concluded.

An address of welcome was presented to Mr. Nehru on behalf of the District Congress Committee. The address urged the need for starting industries in the Nilgiris to relieve unemployment among the people and expressed the hope that the raw film industry would be established there.

As soon as the Prime Minister concluded his speech, it began to rain.

## 7. Public Meeting: Tribal People's Way of Life and Change<sup>49</sup>

Ootacamund

June 3.

Prime Minister Nehru declared in Kotagiri this evening that it was not right for anyone to change the way of living and customs of the tribal people by pressure. It was for the tribesmen themselves, he said, to decide how they should live and become prosperous.

The Prime Minister said that often each tribe had its own customs and its own way of living. "I do not think", he added, "That it is right for anyone to try to change their way of living and customs by pressure. We want you to go forward and become more prosperous not by compulsion, but by goodwill and co-operation. You can hold on to your customs or your ways of living without any pressure. It is for you to decide how you should live."

49. Report of speech, Kotagiri, Ootacamund, 3 June 1959. From *The Hindu*, 4 June 1959.

Mr. Nehru drove to Kotagiri this afternoon and addressed a largely attended public meeting. He appealed to the people of the Nilgiris to work together to have greater strength.

Srimati Indira Gandhi,<sup>50</sup> who also addressed the gathering, said that they wanted to weave the different cultures of India, without changing anyone of them, into the fabric of their national life. She added that she had great hopes about her sisters all over India, especially those in the South, who were in many ways well in advance of those in the North, in the big task of building up the nation.

Mr. K. Kamaraj, Chief Minister, presided. Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister, translated the speeches of Mr. Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi into Tamil.

Addresses of welcome were presented to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Kotagiri Panchayat Board, the Nilgiris Estate workers' Union and the Kotagiri and Kilkotagiri Mandal Congress Committee.

### **Water Supply Scheme for Kotagiri**

The Panchayat Board's address pleaded for the execution of a comprehensive water supply scheme to meet the needs of Kotagiri.

Mr. Nehru expressed his happiness at visiting such a beautiful place in the Nilgiris. He liked hills and mountains as he came from the mountains of the North. He found the mountains of the South as beautiful and the people here as charming as in the North. They lived in a great country, Bharat. In many ways, they were different and had different languages, different customs, and different religions, but all of them were members of the same big family, the family of India. They should get to know each other and their big country in which so many members of their family lived.

The Kotas, Todas, Irulis, Kurumbas, Panias and whatever tribe they might belong to, Mr. Nehru said, were brothers and sisters. "We have to live in friendship with each other and when we are in difficulties, we should all the more help each other. Just as you have a tribal people living here, there are so many tribal people. We are all members of a tribe. I am also in a sense from a tribe—but we are trying to build up one big tribe of people who live in India so that they may help each other and become better and more prosperous. Here you live in Madras State which is a great State. There are many States in India and all of them belong to this great country. Therefore, we have to live at peace with each other and be friendly with each other so that whatever tribe or State we may belong to, all of us may prosper."

50. President of Indian National Congress at this time.

Mr. Nehru referred to the seminar at Ootacamund and said that they were discussing how they could serve their people better and how they could get rid of their troubles and poverty and see that all the people of India prospered.

“For the last few days, we have been considering these questions earnestly and we shall no doubt go on discussing them, because the biggest problem of India is how to raise our 400 million people.”

### **Stress on Hard Work**

The Prime Minister reminded the gathering of what Gandhiji had told them, namely to live in unity, peace and friendship with each other and to work hard. After the achievement of Independence, they had got another big problem before them of how to get rid of their poverty and other things that they suffered from. They could only progress if the people joined together in working for their betterment. It was not a question of the Government of the country or the Madras State doing something by magic, but they should all work together and understand how by co-operation they could go ahead.

“Here in Kotagiri”, Mr. Nehru said, “there are living many people from foreign countries. Some of them are serving you in various ways. I am glad of this, because we want to be friends not only with each other, but friends with people from outside too.”

He referred to the presence of women at the gathering and said that they should work not only for men, but for women also and of course for children too so that they might grow into good citizens of India and serve the community and the country. They had honoured their women and the President of the Congress was a woman.

Mr. Nehru told the people of Kotagiri that he had spoken about their difficulties of water supply to their Chief Minister, Mr. K. Kamaraj, who had assured them that the matter would be set right. With such beautiful fields and tea gardens in the Nilgiris, he hoped that the people would prosper in agriculture. He also hoped that many small industries would grow up to provide employment and to raise their standards of living. Small industries and cottage industries, he hoped, would prosper there.

While hoping that their difficulties and grievances would disappear, Mr. Nehru said that it could only be done if they all worked together. The best way of working together was the way of co-operation, whether it was in a small industry or in agriculture or in whatever they might do, because when people worked together, they had greater strength and greater achievement.

“These beautiful hills”, the Prime Minister said, “are yours. Not only these hills but the great State of Madras in which you live, is also yours. What is

more, this great country of India is also yours. Remember that. We have to live cooperatively in friendship so that all may benefit.”

Mr. Nehru assured the people of Kotagiri that he would always remember his visit to that place and the warm welcome they had given him and said that he would carry with him a happy memory. He wished them prosperity. Before asking the gathering to join him in shouting “Jai Hind”, three times, he said that was a good thing that the people in the South, in the North, in the East and in the West of India saluted their common country.

### **Plea for United Effort**

Srimathi Indira Gandhi said that the country was now engaged in a new kind of battle, namely, the battle against poverty, unemployment and many ills from which the country was suffering and which affected every one of the citizens. They wanted to use the different cultures of India and weave them together without changing any one of them into the fabric of their national life. Each community by itself would be weak and helpless but when it combined with other communities and worked together for a common end, it would gain enormously in strength and the whole nation would then be strong to solve their problems. The poverty of the country was a big problem but if they were willing to proceed step by step and if in that journey they went as a united and strong people, they would find that the journey was not as long as they thought it would be.

Mrs. Gandhi pointed out that the way which was very long and hard, required patience, endurance and a tremendous effort. That was the only path.

## **8. Public Meeting : Focus on Agriculture<sup>51</sup>**

बहनो और भाइयो,

आपको इस तेज़ धूप के समय यहाँ जमा करना...यह कोई बहुत अच्छी बात नहीं है कि आप लोग और बहुत सारे बच्चे भी इस धूप में परेशान हों। कुछ मैं तो कुछ थोड़े-से साये में हूँ, लेकिन फिर भी जो धूप छन के आती है, वो मेरा ज़रा सिर भिन्ना रहा है; तो आपका हाल तो ज़्यादा बुरा होगा; तो मेरा इरादा नहीं है कि मैं आपका ज़्यादा वक़्त लूँ।

अभी दो-तीन महीने हुए, इधर से आने का मौक़ा मिला था मुझे, शायद कुछ ठहरा भी था यहाँ; सभा हुई थी, जहाँ तक मुझे याद है। आज फिर मैं जा रहा हूँ नैनीताल, और रास्ते में चूँकि इधर से जा रहा था तो खुशी से मैं रुका।

51. Speech at Rudrapur on his way to Nainital, 16 June 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

मैं नैनीताल जा रहा हूँ कई बातों के लिए, लेकिन खासकर इसलिए कि वहाँ गवर्नमेंट के लोगों से, कांग्रेस के लोगों से, सलाह-मशविरा करें कि [...] अब [...] देश में यह जो विकास योजना, पंचवर्षीय योजना है, इस सिलसिले में क्या-क्या हम ज़ोरों से करें?<sup>52</sup> क्योंकि समय आ गया है कि हमें पूरी ताकत से, [...] अपने सवालों का सामना करना है। सवाल तो बहुत सारे हैं, लम्बे-चौड़े हैं। चालीस करोड़ आदमियों का आगे बढ़ना जबकि मुश्किल होता है और बढ़ें कैसे? कोई दूसरे के ढकेलने से या घसीटने से तो नहीं, अपने काम से, परिश्रम से और उसमें बड़े कारखाने और छोटे कारखाने और क्या-क्या हैं? लेकिन घूम-घाम कर सब बातें ज़मीन पर आ जाती हैं। यानी कि ज़मीन से, भूमि से, हम क्या पैदा करते हैं? अगर हम भूमि से काफ़ी नहीं पैदा करेंगे तो न हमारे कारखाने बनते हैं, न कुछ और। क्योंकि जो हम कारखाने बनायें, बड़ी-बड़ी विकास योजनाएँ हों, सब हों, वो बनती हैं, उनमें रुपया लगता है; वो रुपया जो कि हमारी आमदनी होती है ज़मीन से या और ज़रियों से, ज़मीन से बड़ी भारी। अगर ज़मीन से काफ़ी हमारी आमदनी नहीं होती देश को तो फिर और बड़े-बड़े कामों के लिए पैसा नहीं होता काफ़ी, मोटी बात है। एक दफ़े सब कारखाने वगैरह बन जायें, बहुत सारे रोज़गार भी लोगों को मिलें, लाखों आदमियों को, और धन-दौलत देश की पैदा हो। लेकिन इस वक़्त जब यह बनाना है तो उसमें बहुत खर्च करना पड़ता है हर तरफ़ से और आमदनी जल्दी से होती नहीं, क्योंकि वर्षों लगते हैं उनके बनने में। लोहे के कारखाने बड़े-बड़े बन रहे हैं, तीन-चार; कई बरस से बन रहे हैं। अब कहीं उनसे कुछ आमदनी शुरू हुई है, अब तक खर्चा-ही-खर्चा था।

मेरा मतलब यह है कि हमें जो भारत का यह सब उठाने का सिलसिला है, हमारे सामने, आपके सामने, वह इतना बड़ा है कि उसके बहुत पेंच हैं और उसमें हर तरफ़ से हमें बढ़ाना होता है। यह नहीं कि एक तरफ़ से बढ़ गये, दूसरी तरफ़ से पीछे रह गये तो जो पीछे रह गये हैं तो हमें खींच लेते हैं पीछे, रुक नहीं सकते। इसलिए सारे भारत को बढ़ाना है और एक देश में आप जानते हैं हज़ारों काम होते हैं। एक काम तो नहीं, हज़ारों काम से देश चलता है। बड़े-बड़े कारखानों के काम, छोटे कारखाने, ग्राम उद्योग, आपके हज़ार इस तरह के काम हैं, शहर के, गाँव के, जिनसे एक देश और जाति चलती है। लेकिन हमारे लिए हिन्दुस्तान में, जो बुनियादी बात है, वह ज़मीन से क्या पैदा होता है और उसमें भी अधिकतर आवश्यक यह है कि क्या खाने-पीने का सामान, ग़ल्ला कितना पैदा होता है और चीज़ें भी? आपके यहाँ और चीज़ें भी होती हैं, ठीक है, वे हों, क्योंकि इस समय जितनी हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना हैं, विकास योजना हैं, जो कुछ कहिए, वह सब उसका केन्द्र, उसका बीच यह है कि ज़मीन से हिन्दुस्तान में क्या पैदा होता है? अगर ज़मीन से हम ज़्यादा न करें तो सारा हमारा हिसाब गड़बड़ा जाता है। एक बात तो यह आप याद रखिए।

52. Addressing Congress workers of Nainital district in the evening of 16 June, Nehru said that those congressmen who were opposed to cooperative farming were at liberty to quit the organisation. "We want men of quality, not quantity, to enliven and strengthen the Congress," he added. For details, see item 9, pp. 66-67.

दूसरी यह याद रखिए कि जो ज़मीन से हम यहाँ पैदा करते हैं, हमारे देश में, उसकी जो औसत है, वह और देशों से बहुत कम है। यह अजीब बात है। अच्छे-तगड़े हमारे लोग काम करने वाले, मेहनत करें दिन-रात और पैदा करते हैं आधा-चौथाई जो और देशों में होता है। क्या बात है यह? कोई बीमारी लग गयी है हमारे दिमाग को या हमारे हाथ-पैर को, या ज़मीन को? गौर करने की बात है न कि हम आधा पैदा करें। और आप सोच लें, हम जितना यहाँ हम पैदा करते हैं, हमारी औसत है, उसको हम दुगना-तिगुना कर दें, जैसे कि हम कर सकते हैं और जैसे कि अलग-अलग लोगों ने किया, जैसे कि आप लोगों ने अलग-अलग किया होगा, तब देश की आमदनी एकदम से दुगनी-तिगुनी हो जाती है और दुगनी-तिगुनी हो जाने से लोगों को फ़ायदा तो होता ही है, आप भी करते हैं उन लोगों को, लेकिन देश को लाभ होता है और देश को बचता है और देश फिर आगे बढ़ते हैं। तरह-तरह के काम और कारख़ाने और क्या-क्या बनते हैं? इसलिए हमारे सामने यह बड़ा सवाल है ज़मीन से ज़्यादा पैदा करना। जो-जो हम लगायें, सब बातें, सब में पहले तो ग़ल्ले की क्रिस्में जो हैं उसको, क्योंकि हम नहीं चाहते कि कभी भी देश में खाने-पीने की कमी हो, जैसे पार साल फिर उस साल फ़सल ख़राब हुई, कभी हुई, बाहर से मँगाना पड़ा।<sup>53</sup> अरे, कहाँ तो हम चाहते हैं कि हम अपनी ज़मीन से लाभ उठायें, कहाँ हम बाहर से ग़ल्ला मँगायें तो और हमारे दीवाले निकल जाते हैं, उसके पैसे देने पड़ते हैं। तो यह बात अव्वल है। और बातें थोड़ी देर के लिए आप भूल जायें। ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करना और उसके साथ ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा हो सकता है बहुत। आप तो जानते हैं, लेकिन अब यह बात याद रखने की है कि और देशों में हिन्दुस्तान का दुगना-तिगुना फ़ी एकड़ पैदा होता है। यों तो यहाँ भी तराई के फ़ार्म में, मैं नहीं जानता, मेरा ख़याल है औसत से दुगना-तिगुना होता होगा। अच्छे काम करने वाले यहाँ आप लोग जानते हैं, मेहनत की है आपने, अक्सर यहाँ वो भी है, ट्रैक्टर वग़ैरह चलते हैं। ट्रैक्टर वग़ैरह चलने से कोई ख़ास ज़्यादा नहीं होता पैदा। हो सकता है, ट्रैक्टर से करना कोई बुरी बात नहीं है, मैं कहता हूँ। लेकिन ज़ाहिर है ट्रैक्टर चल सकते हैं जहाँ काफ़ी ज़मीन हो। अगर किसी आदमी पे एक एकड़, दो एकड़ ज़मीन हो, वहाँ कौन-सा ट्रैक्टर चले।

तो सवाल हमारे सामने आया कि क्यों हमारी खेती में हम इतने गिर गये। इसमें यह जो एक मानपत्र पढ़ा गया, उसमें एक इशारा था कि बहुत दिन की गुलामी से यह बात हो गयी। मैं इसको नहीं मानता, हर बात को दूसरे के कन्धों पर डाल देना कि उसकी वजह से हुई। हमारा क़सूर था, हमारी जहालत से हुआ यह और अब जो हो रहा है हमारी जहालत से, हमारी कमज़ोरी से, हमारी मूर्खता से, हमारी बेवकूफी से, हमारी आपस में फूट से, जो चाहिए कह

53. Agricultural production in India fell from 68.03 million tons in 1956-57 to 62.23 million tons in 1957-58.



दीजिए। हमेशा किसी और पर ऐब लगा देना, यह फ़िज़ूल बात है (तालियाँ)। इस मुल्क को हम उठावेंगे औरों को कोस-कोस के? या आप तगड़े बन कर, आगे बढ़ कर, हाथ-में-हाथ मिला कर आगे बढ़ें, मेहनत करें। और मैं आप से कहा चाहता हूँ, बुरा आप न मानिए, आपके लिए मैं नहीं कहता, यहाँ, रुद्रपुर के लोगों को। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में और मुल्कों के मुक़ाबले में बहुत कम लोग मेहनत करते हैं, कोई मुल्क हो, चाहे रूस हो, चाहे अमरीका हो, दुगनी-तिगुनी मेहनत करते हैं यहाँ के लोगों से, हर जगह, चाहे दफ़्तर में हो, मेहनत ज़्यादा करेंगे, चाहे ज़मीन पे हो मेहनत ज़्यादा करेंगे, चाहे कारखाने में हो। हाँ, ख़ूब कमाते हैं माना मैंने, बहुत कमाते हैं, हमारा दस गुना, लेकिन मेहनत करते हैं।

यहाँ हमारे देश में, मैं तो हैरान हूँ, हर तीसरे-चौथे छुट्टी होती है। जितनी छुट्टियाँ हिन्दुस्तान में हैं, उतनी किसी दुनिया के मुल्क में नहीं हैं। यहाँ क़ौमी छुट्टियाँ हैं। यहाँ हिन्दू त्योहार हैं, यहाँ मुस्लिम त्योहार हैं, यहाँ सिख त्योहार हैं, यहाँ बौद्ध त्योहार हैं, यहाँ जैन त्योहार हैं। त्योहार-ही-त्योहार आता रहता है, काम करने का मौक़ा किसी को नहीं मिलता। अजीब तमाशा है। और आख़िर दुनिया काम से चलती है। त्योहार तो बड़ी अच्छी चीज़ है, मनाना चाहिए, अपने बुजुर्गों के त्योहार हैं, लेकिन यह मेरे समझ में नहीं आया कि त्योहार मनाने का तरीक़ा यह क्यों है कि काम रोक दिया जाय। इसलिए औरों को बुरा-भला कहना काफ़ी नहीं है, हमें समझना है कि हममें कमज़ोरियाँ आ गयी हैं और हम आजकल की दुनिया में पिछड़ जायेंगे और पिछड़े जा रहे हैं बहुत दर्जे, क्योंकि और लोग ज़्यादा काम करने वाले हैं और मेहनत से बढ़ रहे हैं आगे, बड़ी बात है।

एक तो काम करना, दूसरे काम करने के तरीक़े। खेती की बात लीजिए। आख़िर, जैसे हज़ार वर्ष हुए खेती होती थी, अगर वैसे ही हम करते जायें तो कुछ नयी दुनिया से हमने फ़ायदा नहीं उठाया, ज़ाहिर-सी बात है। आख़िर दुनिया में कुछ तरक्की होती है, कोई नयी बातें लोग सोचते हैं। हम वही बात करते जायें, वैसे ही हल चलायें [...] जिससे दो-तीन इंच ही ज़मीन खुदे, जैसे हज़ार वर्ष हुए पहले था तो फिर कौन आश्चर्य की बात है कि हम आठ-दस मन से अधिक पैदा न कर सकें ज़मीन में, एकड़ में। जहाँ कि और पच्चीस-तीस-चालीस-पचास मन पैदा करते हैं और देश, अच्छी तरह से खोद के, अच्छी खाद डाल के, अच्छे बीज डाल के, पानी वगैरह का प्रबन्ध ठीक कर के। यानी इसके माने हैं कि हमें नये तरीक़े सीखने हैं। नये तरीक़ों को मैं बिलफ़ेल नहीं कहता कि बड़े-बड़े ट्रैक्टर आयें और जहाँ ट्रैक्टर हो, भला है, वहाँ रखिए आप, लेकिन सारे देश में ट्रैक्टर नहीं आ सकते इस समय। लेकिन बहुत सारी बातें हैं जो हो सकती हैं, बगैर ट्रैक्टर के भी। यानी हमें आजकल की दुनिया ने [...] खेती में जो तरक्की की है, उससे सीखना है। खेती में या कारखाने में जहाँ भी कहो, तरक्की हुई है, नये विज्ञान से, साइन्स से, अभ्यास से, तजुर्बे से, उससे हमें फ़ायदा उठाना है। और जहाँ हम फ़ायदा उठाते हैं, वहाँ उसका फल पाते हैं और हम यह कह दें कि हम नहीं कुछ सीखेंगे और नहीं सीखने को तैयार हैं और जो हमारे बाप-दादा-परदादा करते आये वही करेंगे तो फिर बाप-दादा-परदादा की तरह से ग़रीब भी रहेंगे, आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे, सीधी बात यह है, कोई जादू

थोड़े ही है कि दौलत टूट पड़ेगी। मेहनत का फल दौलत होता है। तो यह हमारे सामने खयाल आया।

फिर तुमने देखा, ज़मीन के बारे में कि ये नये तरीक़े जो हैं काम करने के, वे छोटे-छोटे...आपकी ज़मीन हो, फ़र्ज़ करो जैसे अक्सर एक एकड़, डेढ़ एकड़, दो एकड़, ढाई-तीन एकड़, उसमें आसानी से वे नये तरीक़े चल नहीं सकते। उस बेचारे किसान के पास हिम्मत नहीं है, दम नहीं है, पैसा नहीं है। इसलिए यह तजवीज़ हुई कि कोऑपरेटिव तरीक़े से काम करें। मिल के गाँव के लोग अपनी कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी, सहकारिता के चन्द दस्तूर को मान कर, संघ बना कर यह करें। यानी शुरू में उनकी ज़मीन तो अलग रहे, जितनी है, लेकिन मिल कर वो खरीद-फ़रोख़्त करें, मिल कर वे सोसाइटी, संघ, उनसे बीज लें, खाद लें, यह लें, वह लें, अच्छे हल ला दें, जो कुछ है और जो पैदा करें, वह सोसाइटी उसको बेचे। इसमें फ़ौरन खेती अधिक अच्छी होगी, नये तरीक़े आ जायेंगे और हरेक का, गाँव के रहने वाले का, जो हिस्सेदार है सहकारिता संघ में, उसका लाभ होगा, कोई शक नहीं। यह तो मामूली समझने की बात है, क्योंकि एक-दो एकड़ ज़मीन में कितनी मेहनत करो, उसके पास सामान नहीं है करने का। हाँ, यह बात मैंने मानी कि किसी के पास सौ एकड़ है, दो सौ, पाँच सौ, चार सौ है, वहाँ वह कर सकता है और किया है उसने, लेकिन फिर वहाँ एक कठिनाई यह आ जाती है कि जो हमने कुछ दिन हुए, आपको याद होगा, इस ज़मींदारी प्रथा का अन्त किया था, क्योंकि वह अच्छी नहीं थी, क्योंकि उसूलन सिद्धान्त रूप से जो लोग काम नहीं करते, उनको औरों के काम पर नहीं रहना चाहिए और ज़मींदारी प्रथा के माने ही ये थे कि काम किसान करे, काश्तकार करे और उसका अधिकतर फ़ायदा ज़मींदार पाये, हालाँकि वो कोई काम न करे। और बातों में भी हमारे यहाँ अब तक यह बात है कि काम एक करे और लाभ दूसरा उठाये। यह अच्छा उसूल नहीं है। तो ज़मीन से उसको हटाना आवश्यक था, क्योंकि अगर नहीं हम हटाते तो कभी ज़मीन में तरक्की नहीं हो सकती थी, आप जानते हैं। काश्तकार किसान बड़ी मेहनत करे, उसका लगान बढ़ जाये, वह ज़मींदार के पास जाये तो वो काहे को मेहनत करे। हल्के-हल्के, जहाँ ज़मींदारी प्रथा होती है, वहाँ ज़मीन की पैदावार गिरने लगती है आम तौर से, यह हुआ। वह तो एक उसूल के खिलाफ़ बात थी। उसको हटया। अब उसका एक नतीजा निकलता है कि फिर नये ज़मींदार न बन जायें, बड़े-बड़े, हलक़े को अपने क़ाबू में लायें। इसलिए यह सवाल उठा कि कोई-न-कोई रोक हो, कहाँ तक आदमी रख सकता है, ज़मीन की सीलिंग का। यह आप जानते हैं। और ग़ालिबन आप में से कुछ लोगों को पेशानी भी हो कि इसका क्या नतीजा होगा? और यह ग़ौरतलब बात है। मैंने जो आपसे कहा वो तो आम उसूल की बातें मैंने आपसे कहीं, जो हर जगह के लिए हैं, हिन्दुस्तान भर के लिए हैं, लेकिन उस आम उसूल पर हम अमल कैसे करें, इस पर विचार करना है, कई बातों को देख कर। ख़ास-ख़ास मुक़ामों पर। एक तो यह कि हम चले अपनी पैदावार बढ़ाने और उसमें ऐसी बात की जिससे वह घट गयी, तो यह तो अक्ल की बात नहीं है।

तो इसलिए अब यहाँ तराई वग़ैरह में आप लोग बसे हैं, तरह-तरह के लोग हैं, इधर-उधर के कुछ फ़ौजी लोग हैं, कुछ शरणार्थी हैं, कुछ कहीं के, कुछ बंगाल के हैं, कहाँ-कहाँ के हैं। और

जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है, आपने बहुत मेहनत की और अच्छा उसका नतीजा निकला है। ज़मीन भली हो गयी है। अच्छा काम किया आपने, अपनी-अपनी पूँजी उसमें लगा दी और गरज़ कि उस ज़मीन को काफ़ी अच्छा किया, तरक्की की। तो इस बात पे ग़ौर करना है कि कोई बात इस ढंग से नहीं करनी चाहिए यहाँ, जिससे आपने जो इतनी मेहनत की, आपकी मेहनत का फल आपको न मिले और ज़मीन से जो पैदावार अब जो होती है, उससे कम होने लगे। वो तो ग़लत बात है। तो इस बात का आप इतमीनान रखिए कि इस पर काफ़ी ग़ौर-विचार प्रदेश की गवर्नमेंट करेगी, कर रही है। मैं नहीं कह सकता कि वो उसका क्या उपाय निकालें? लेकिन जो हमारे मुख्य मन्त्री जी हैं, डॉक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द, उन्होंने मुझे बताया है कि उनके मन में यह बात है कि इसका ठीक कोई रास्ता निकालना चाहिए। तो यह मैं आपसे कह देना चाहता था, क्योंकि यह बात ग़लत हो कोई; हम नहीं चाहते कि जो अक्लमन्द है, जो मेहनत करने वाले हैं, जो आजकल के नये तरीक़े अख़्तियार करते हैं, और जिससे फ़ायदा हुआ है, उनको हम ऐसी बात करें कि उनको नुक़सान पहुँचे और फिर हम पिछड़ जायँ।

तो गरज़ कि...हाँ, एक बात है। तो मैंने आपसे कहा कि जहाँ छोटे-छोटे यह ज़मीन [के] हिस्से लोगों के पास हैं, जैसे कि भारत में आम तौर से हैं, इधर छोड़ दीजिए, आप यहाँ का, एक एकड़, दो एकड़, ढाई एकड़, वहाँ आजकल की दुनिया की तरक्की नहीं हो सकती, जब तक कि वो मिल कर काम न करें। इसलिए यह तय हुआ और यह दुनिया में मंज़ूर है, इसमें कोई बहस की बात नहीं है, कि कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज़, सहकारी संघ होने चाहिएँ, यानी एक-एक गाँव में लोग मिल जायें, जैसा मैंने कहा आपसे, अपनी ज़मीन अलग रखें, लेकिन ख़रीद-फ़रोख़्त और पचासों बातें मिल कर करें, सहकारी संघ। जैसे एक गाँव में पंचायत हो, वैसे एक गाँव में सहकारिता संघ हो और एक तीसरी चीज़ बड़ी आवश्यक है, एक स्कूल हो हर गाँव में। तीन मैंने जड़ आपको बताये थे पिछले बार भी।

इसके बाद एक और क्रम होता है। वह यह कि सहकारिता संघ में लोग मिल कर अपनी खेती करें तो उसमें ज़मीन ज़ायाना न हो और फिर जब मिल कर एक करते हैं तब अगर वो चाहें तो ट्रैक्टर लगा सकते हैं, या जिस तरह से चाहें, क्योंकि वो दो-एक एकड़ में तो चलता नहीं। लेकिन दो-तीन सौ एकड़ हो जाये गाँव की ज़मीन, दो-तीन सौ, चार सौ, तब चल सकती है वह बात, यह हमने कहा। अब ये सब बातें, आपस में मंज़ूरी से हो सकती हैं, कोई ज़बरदस्ती थोड़े ही कोई करना चाहता है, या कर सकता है। अगर करना भी चाहे तो ज़बरदस्ती नहीं कर सकता। लेकिन हमारा ख़याल है कि इससे किसानों का, जिनकी ज़मीन है, लाभ होगा, फ़ायदा होगा, देश का फ़ायदा होगा और खेती हमारी तरक्की करेगी, क्योंकि उसमें आजकल की दुनिया में जो नयी बातें होती हैं, वह हो सकेंगी। वो [अकेले] नहीं हो सकतीं। एक छोटा आदमी है, एक-एक एकड़ वाला, वह नहीं कर सकता; मिल कर वह कर सकता है। यह तो मामूली बात है, आप जानते हैं, ताक़त मिल कर होती है। आप अगर कहीं कारख़ाने में काम करते हैं तो मज़दूरों की ताक़त मज़दूर-सभा में, ट्रेड-यूनियन से होती है। तो ये बाज़ तजवीज़ें हैं।

अभी नागपुर में कांग्रेस के कुछ प्रस्ताव हुए। उसमें यही बातें थीं कुछ<sup>54</sup> उस पर कुछ लोग बड़ा आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं कि यह तो बड़ी हानिकारक चीज़ है।<sup>55</sup> खैर, मैं इस बहस में तो यहाँ नहीं पड़ता। मेरा खयाल है, वो ग़लती कर रहे हैं, धोखे में हैं और अगर उनकी राय पे चला जाय तो भारत हमेशा गिरा हुआ, ग़रीब, पिछड़ा हुआ मुल्क रहे और मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप और हम एक बात को निश्चय कर लें कि अब हम अपने देश भारत को, हिन्दुस्तान को, ग़रीब नहीं रहने देंगे। हम इसको निकालेंगे ग़रीबी के दलदल से। हम इसको खुशहाल देश करेंगे। हम इसको ऐसा देश करेंगे, जिसमें कोई बेरोज़गार न हो। मैंने माना हम बड़े ज़ोर से कह दें हम [कि] यह करेंगे, वह करेंगे तो हमारे कह देने से तो नहीं हो जाता। मुश्किल काम है। इसमें समय लगता है। मेहनत करनी पड़ती है, परिश्रम से होता है और सब लोग मिल कर, एक-दो भी नहीं। इसलिए यह पंचवर्षीय योजना और क्या-क्या चली हैं। हम मिल कर काम करें, सब तरफ़, खेती में, कारखाने में, छोटे कारखाने में, बड़े, ग्रामोद्योग, कारीगरी और पचासों-लाखों काम जो देश के होते हैं, वह हों और उसके पीछे पढ़ाई हो, क्योंकि पढ़ाई बहुत ही ज़रूरी है, हर काम के लिए, खेती के लिए पढ़ाई ज़रूरी है, यह आप समझ लीजिए और अगर अमरीका-विलायत में खेती ज्यादा अच्छी होती है तो इसलिए कि वहाँ हरेक आदमी को पढ़ना पड़ता है। क्योंकि पढ़ने से नये तरीक़े भी उनके सामने आ जाते हैं। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं एक-एक बच्चा, एक-एक लड़का-लड़की की पढ़ाई हो स्कूल में, आवश्यक हो यह। लेकिन यह भी सवाल उठ जाता है, हमारे देश में ग़रीब नौ-दस करोड़ बच्चे हैं। आप सोचें अब उनका पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध करना, बड़ा खर्चा, बड़ी मुश्किल, लेकिन किया जायेगा। यह तो आवश्यक है। कुछ वर्ष लगेंगे इसमें। हम आशा करते हैं कि सात, आठ, नौ वर्ष में सब, कि कोई बच्चा यहाँ न रहे, जो स्कूल न जाता हो देश भर में और बड़ों का भी इन्तज़ाम हो। ये सब बड़े-बड़े काम हैं। ये काम तभी हो सकते हैं, जबकि एक तो हमारे सामने यह बड़ा नक्श़ा हो हिन्दुस्तान के बढ़ने का, यह नहीं कि हमारी जाति बढ़े और हम दूसरी जाति से कुश्ती लड़ें। यह नहीं कि हमारे मज़हब, धर्म वाले बढ़ें, दूसरे दबा दिये जायें। ये तो जहालत की बातें हैं। हमें सारे देश का सोचना है और जानना है कि अगर देश बढ़ेगा तो हम भी बढ़ते हैं; अगर देश नहीं बढ़ता तो हम भी नहीं बढ़ते। तो हममें एकता होनी चाहिए, चाहे जो कोई भी हमारा धर्म, मज़हब हो, जाति हो और मिल कर हमें काम करना है और यह ऊँच-नीच, जहाँ तक बन पड़े, मिटाना है। हम नहीं चाहते देश में बड़े अमीर और बड़े ग़रीब हों। अब सब लोग एक-से तो नहीं होंगे, लेकिन कम-से-कम ऊँच-नीच न हो। कोई आदमी, कोई पुरुष भी, कोई ऐसा न हो जो कि जिसको मामूली चीज़ें जो आवश्यक चीज़ें हैं, न मिलें। हरेक को खाना मिले, कपड़ा मिले, घर मिले, पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध हो, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध हो और काम मिले, तब देश मज़बूती से चले।

54. The 64th session of the INC, 9-11 January 1959; see SWJN/SS/46/pp. 164-68 & 173-74.

55. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 11-12 and 148.

अब यह काम आप सोचो कित्ता बड़ा काम है—चालीस करोड़ आदमियों का इन्तज़ाम करना, बहुत बड़ा, कौन करे इन्तज़ाम? कोई बाहर से थोड़े ही करेगा। इन्हीं को करना है अपना इन्तज़ाम, गाँव गाँव में, ज़िले ज़िले में, शहर शहर में, प्रदेश प्रदेश में, वही लोग करेंगे, कोई दूसरे थोड़े ही करेंगे। इसीलिए यह जो है कि गाँव की पंचायत को हम अधिक अख्तियार दिया चाहते हैं, अधिकार दिया चाहते हैं, करें। अगर उससे कोई ग़लती होगी तो हो, लाचारी है, लेकिन करे, उसे अधिकार हो। ग्राम की सहकारी संघ को हम अधिकार दिया चाहते हैं और ग्राम में स्कूल तो होने ही चाहिएँ। इस तरह से हम एक देश बनाया चाहते हैं जिसमें अधिक-से-अधिक यह सहकारी तरीक़ा हो, काम करने का, चाहे कारख़ाने में, चाहे खेती में।

लेकिन आप लोग, फिर मैं कहता हूँ, आप लोग यहाँ तराई फ़ार्म में आये, सब में ज़्यादा आपको खेती से ताल्लुक है और तराई फ़ार्म में आपके जो हालात हैं, वे मामूली नहीं हैं और जगहों के, जहाँ आपके अक्सर पास ज़्यादा ज़मीन है। आपने उसमें सब पूँजी लगायी, रुपया लगाया, मेहनत करके उसको उससे फ़ायदा उठाया। वह ठीक है। एक ख़राब ज़मीन अच्छी बनी आप की मेहनत से, और यह मुनासिब नहीं है कि आपके तजुर्बे, अभ्यास से, और मेहनत का, फ़ायदा न उठाया जाय और आपको नुक़सान पहुँचे उससे। क्योंकि आख़िर में ज़मीन पहली चीज़ हिन्दुस्तान में है, और सब बाद में आता है, कारख़ाने वग़ैरह। लेकिन जब मैं ज़मीन कहता हूँ तो उसके साथ यह मेरे माने नहीं हैं [कि] सब देहातों में, गाँवों में ख़ाली खेती हो। मैं तो चाहता हूँ गाँव में भी छोटे-छोटे कारख़ाने आयें, गाँव में भी तरह-तरह के काम, ग्राम-उद्योग के या छोटे ज़मीन के हों, इससे लोगों को काम मिले। वो गाँव में रहें। मैं नहीं चाहता कि आपका लड़का स्कूल-कॉलेज जाता है और फिर अपना गाँव छोड़ कर जा के दिल्ली-लखनऊ में बैठे, कहे हम बाबू बनेंगे, हम नौकरी करेंगे। यह निकम्मी बात है। उसको बैठ के अपने गाँव में काम करना और खेती करनी है, या कोई कारख़ाना शुरू करना है, जो कुछ करना है। यह नहीं कि बैठे हैं, बैठे हुए हैं कि एक लड्डू ऊपर से नौकरी का मिल जाये तब हम हाथ-पैर हिलायेंगे। इस तरह से देश नहीं चलते। तो इसमें, और याद रखो, ये सब बातें जो मैंने आपसे कहीं, ये पुरुष-स्त्री दोनों के लिए हैं, सभी को इसमें पड़ना है।

तो अब मैंने आपसे वादा किया था कि मैं आपका ज़्यादा वक़्त नहीं लूँगा, आधा घण्टा हो गया और अब मैं आगे बढ़ता हूँ। बहुत-बहुत आपको धन्यवाद।

जयहिन्द!

मेरे साथ कहिए तीन बार — जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

It is not a good thing that you have had to assemble here in this heat. The children especially must be suffering. I am somewhat in the shade but even I find the glare of the sun quite unbearable. So your condition must be awful and

I do not propose to take up too much of your time.

I had an opportunity to come here a couple of months ago and I think a meeting was also held. I am going to Nainital again and since I was passing through this way I stopped here gladly.

I am going to Nainital for several reasons but mainly to discuss with various government officials and congressmen about the steps that need to be taken to make the Five-Year Plans and the community projects, etc., more successful.<sup>56</sup> The time has now come for us to put our entire strength and energy into the task of solving our problems. The problems are innumerable and extremely complex, because it is a difficult task to uplift forty crore people. They cannot be pushed by others or dragged along. It can be done only by hard work and industrialising the country. But again and again, we come round to the question of land and agricultural production, etc. If we do not produce enough from land, we cannot set up industries or anything else. We need enormous sums of money for industries, for our community development projects and other tasks which we can earn by increasing our income from land and other sources of production. If we do not earn enough from agricultural production, there will be no money for any of the big tasks that we wish to do. This is a broad fact. Once the country is industrialised, there will be employment for millions of people and the national wealth will increase. But at the moment when the industries have to be set up, enormous sums of money have to be invested and there is no income for years because it takes a long time for them to be built. We are putting up four big steel plants which have taken years to be completed. Now, that they have gone into production, we are beginning to earn something. In the beginning there was nothing but expenditure.

What I mean is that the entire process of progress and modernisation of India is a complicated one. Progress must be in all directions, because if there is more progress in one and less in another, we will become backward and also drag down others. Therefore we have to progress in all directions because there are hundreds of things to be done. We need big, medium and small industries, and innumerable other tasks have to be carried out which are essential for a country's progress. In India the most important thing is agricultural production, especially food grains. You may be producing other things too but, at the centre of all our Five Year Plans and community projects and so on, is the production from land. If we do not increase it, all our calculations will go wrong. You must always bear this in mind.

Secondly, our average yield per acre is very little compared to that of other countries, which is very strange because Indian farmers are strong and

56. See fn 52 in this section.

hardworking. Yet they produce only one-fourth of what the other countries do. Why? Are we afflicted in limb and mind by some kind of disease? If we can double or treble our production, as has been done by individuals who have made the effort, the farmers as well as the nation will benefit because there will be something left over to invest in industries and other tasks of development. Therefore, our most urgent priority is to increase agricultural production. We do not want to face food shortages in the country as we did last year when the crops failed and we had to import food grains from other countries.<sup>57</sup> When, on the one hand, we wish to increase our agricultural production it is absurd to have to import food grains and that, too, at enormous cost.

So, you can forget everything else for the time being and concentrate on increasing agricultural production. You may be aware that in other countries the average yield per acre is almost double or treble of what it is in India. I think even in the farms here in the Tarai area the production must be double or treble of the average yield because the people here are hard working and trained. Many farmers use tractors, though it does not increase production automatically. I do not say it is bad to use tractors, but it is obvious that tractors can be used only in large farms, not in small land-holdings.

Therefore, the question before us is why agricultural production in India has fallen so low. I do not agree with what the Manpatra, the citation, hinted at just now, that it is so because we were under alien rule for a long time. It is not right that we should put all the blame on others. It is our fault because it has happened due to the stupidity, weakness and disunity among the people. It is absurd to try to blame others for our faults. (Applause) Are we going to make India a great nation by trying to shift the blame on others or by being strong, united and hard working? Please do not take it amiss, because I am not saying this about the people of Rudrapur. But people in India work far less than in other countries. Whether it is the Soviet Union or the United States, people work twice or thrice as hard in their chosen professions. I agree that they earn a great deal. But they work hard for it. I don't think there are as many holidays anywhere as in India. We have national holidays, and holidays for festivals of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and what not. There are innumerable holidays and not much time for work. It is indeed extraordinary because the world after all functions by working. Festivals are a good thing and ought to be celebrated. But I cannot understand why all work should come to a standstill. Therefore, it is useless to blame others for our weaknesses and we will continue to remain backward if we do not learn to work hard as people in other countries are doing.

57. See fn 53 in this section.

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



He's back to work from his holiday!

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 18 JUNE 1959)

Secondly, the methods and techniques of working are important. Take agriculture for instance. If we continue to farm in the outdated methods which we have used for thousands of years, it is obvious that we will not benefit from the new and modern techniques that have been discovered in the world. When the whole world is progressing and learning new things, if we continue to use old-fashioned ploughs which barely scratch the surface of the earth as we did a thousand years ago, then it is not surprising that we should produce only eight or ten maunds per acre when in other countries, the average yield per acre is thirty to fifty maunds because they use good ploughs, fertilizers, good seeds, irrigation facilities, etc. So what it implies is that we should also learn the new



techniques. I do not say that everybody should have big tractors. Those who can get them are welcome to them. But there cannot be tractors for the whole country just now. There are however many other things which we can do without tractors. We must adopt the modern techniques of agriculture and take advantage of the progress made by science in the world. The moment we do that, the results are bound to be extremely beneficial. On the other hand, if we refuse to learn anything new, we will continue to wallow in poverty like our ancestors did. This is a simple, straightforward fact. After all, we cannot become wealthy by magic. Wealth is the result of hard work.

Well, the problem that now arises is that it is not possible to adopt new techniques in small land holdings of an acre or two of land. The small farmers do not have the strength or the capacity to do so. Therefore, it has been suggested that we should adopt cooperative methods and each village should have a cooperative society in which people can work together. In the beginning cultivation will be done individually and the cooperative societies can deal with the business of providing good seeds, fertilizers, better ploughs, etc, and sell the produce. There is no doubt that this will immediately modernise agricultural techniques in India and every farmer in the country, who is a member of a cooperative society, will benefit. It is a well known fact that small farmers cannot do very much on their own. I agree that individuals with very large land holdings can do a great deal. But there is another difficulty in the way of this; as you may remember, we had abolished the zamindari system because it had become anomalous. As a matter of principle, it is bad for people to live off the labour of others. Under the zamindari system, the peasantry toiled and the zamindar benefited from their labour which was not a good thing. Therefore we had to abolish the zamindari system, otherwise no improvement in agriculture was possible. There was no incentive for the farmers to work hard or produce more because the profit went into the pockets of the zamindars. So it was abolished and now it follows that no individual should be allowed to own large tracts of land and so some ceiling had to be imposed on ownership of land. Some of you might be perturbed as to what the outcome will be. I am telling you about the general principles for the whole country and we will have to examine how it will be applied to various areas. It is not a sign of wisdom to do something which will lead to less production when we want to increase it.

People from all walks of life have settled down in the Tarai area. There are retired army people, refugees, some people from Bengal and others and as far as I know, they have worked very hard and shown excellent results. The soil has become better. It is a good thing that you have invested your capital in improving the land. It should be borne in mind that we must not take any step which will lead to your not getting the fruit of your labour or to the production

going down. That would be wrong. So please rest assured that the State government will examine the matter in detail. I cannot say what solution it will come up with. But our Chief Minister, Dr Sampurnanand has told me that he wants to find the right solution. I would like to tell you quite clearly that we do not wish to take any step by which the intelligent, hard-working farmers who have adopted modern techniques of agriculture and shown good results should suffer in any way and we become backward again.

There is one thing more. As I said, by and large, farmers in India do not own more than an acre or two of land and they cannot progress unless they work together. Therefore, it has been decided to start cooperative societies and this has been accepted all over the world, too, and there should be no room for debate. The title to the land will remain intact but the cooperative societies can help in various other ways in buying and selling and what not. Therefore, it is essential that in every village, apart from a panchayat, there should be a cooperative society and a school. I mentioned these three important institutions for every village even when I came here last time.

The next step is to take up joint cultivation so that the land between boundaries is not wasted and machines and tractors can be used, which is not possible in small farms. If three to four hundred acres of land in a village are jointly cultivated, this will be easily possible. But this can be done only with the consent and willingness of the people. There is no question of compulsion in this. But we feel that the farmers will definitely benefit by this and agricultural production will go up. It will be possible to adopt modern techniques of agriculture which a small farmer cannot do because he lacks the resources. It is a matter of common sense that unity leads to strength. The factory workers are strong because they belong to trade unions. So these are some of the suggestions.

In the Nagpur session of the A.I.C.C., some of these things were discussed and incorporated in the resolutions.<sup>58</sup> People have started propaganda that it is very harmful.<sup>59</sup> Well, I shall not go into that. I think they are making a mistake and if their misguided ideas are implemented, India will always remain a backward, poor nation. I want that we should resolve firmly not to let India remain in the mire of poverty. We shall take her out of it and make her prosperous. We want that there should be no unemployment in the country. I agree that it is easy to talk big but it is an extremely difficult task and takes time and a great deal of effort. Everyone in the country will have to work very hard. It is with this goal in mind that we have started the Five Year Plans and what not, so that

58. See fn 54 in this section.

59. See fn 55 in this section.

there is all round progress, in agriculture and industries, big industries as well as small industries and in other ways.

Education is extremely important for all this. Even in agriculture, an educated man will be able to do a better job because he can adopt the modern techniques available in the world. Education opens up an entirely new world of opportunities and ideas. Therefore, we want that every single child in India, boy as well as girl, should go to school. But then the problem is that there are nearly nine or ten crore children in India. It is a gigantic task to make arrangements for educating all of them. We require enormous sums of money. We hope that within the next seven or eight years, there may not be a single child in the country who does not go to school. There should be arrangements for adult education also. These are gigantic tasks which can be done only when we have the interests of the nation before us instead of constantly thinking of one's caste and religion and what not. It is foolish to think of suppressing others for one's personal interest. We must always think of the entire country and understand that our progress depends on the progress of the country. There must be unity among us and as far as possible, all these caste distinctions and disparities between the rich and the poor must be wiped out. It is not possible for everyone to be alike but at least the tremendous disparity that exists today can be wiped out. There should be no man, woman or child in the country who is deprived of the ordinary necessities of life such as food, clothes, house to live in, education, health-care and employment. Only then can the country progress fast.

Now you can imagine what a gigantic task it is to make arrangements for forty crore people. It cannot be done from outside. It will have to be done by the people themselves in their own village, city, district, state, etc. Therefore we want to give wider powers to the village panchayats. We are helpless if they make mistakes but they must have the powers. Similarly, we want a strong cooperative society and good school in every village. In this way we want to build a country in which the cooperative method is followed as much as possible, whether it is in agriculture or industries.

I shall repeat that the people who are living in the Tarai area are by and large agriculturists. Conditions in the Tarai farms are much better than in other places. For one thing, the average farmer here has more land. You have invested a great deal of capital and put in hard work which is showing results. It is a good thing that you have transformed bad soil into fertile land through your effort. It is not proper that you should not benefit from your experience and hard work. After all, India is basically an agricultural country. Industries are still secondary. But when I say that, I do not mean that there should be only agriculture in the rural areas. Small industries should be set up with small

machines so that people may get employment in the villages themselves. I do not want that your children should be educated and then go away to the cities in search of white collar jobs. That is absurd. They must work in the villages and try to improve their condition by improving agriculture, setting up industries, and so on. They must not wait for jobs to be provided for them. Countries do not progress like this. You must remember that what I have just said applies to men and women equally.

I had promised that I shall not take up too much of your time. Half an hour has passed. So I shall proceed now. Thank you very, very much, Jai Hind. Please repeat Jai Hind with me thrice.

Translation ends.]

## **9. To Congress Workers: Those Opposed to Co-op Farming should Quit Congress<sup>60</sup>**

NAINI TAL, June 16 – Prime Minister Nehru said here today that those Congressmen who were opposed to cooperative farming, as decided upon at the Nagpur session of the Congress, were at liberty to quit the organization. “We want men of quality, not quantity, to enliven and strengthen the Congress”, he added.

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing Congress workers of Naini Tal District at Chalet hall this evening referred to the formation of the Swatantra Party and said: “We welcome it. It is good for the country and the Congress. We can benefit from discussion and learn a good deal.”

The Prime Minister said that Rajaji had complained that cooperative farming was sought to be introduced through compulsion, and added: “It is not so. It is being done with consent and in mutual interests.”

Pandit Nehru said that it was not advisable to oppose village cooperatives which were planned to be established all over the country. These should not be opposed although some people were speaking against them “from behind purdah.”

Pandit Nehru laid great stress on increased agricultural production through scientific methods and said that in order to feed the country’s growing population “the battle for more food has to be won.” Better agriculture meant more income, wealth and prosperity, he said.

60. Report of speech. From the *National Herald*, 17 June 1959.

Referring to the five year plans, Pandit Nehru said all obstacles must be removed for their successful execution. The plans called for more agricultural and industrial production and best utilisation of all resources at their command. More money would be flowing in as production increased making it possible for them to meet the basic needs of the people who multiplied at the rate of two per cent every year. Malaria, which in the past took a heavy toll of life, had nearly eradicated and similar efforts were being made in regard to diseases like typhoid and smallpox. There were now fewer deaths and the average age limit had increased from twenty-three to between thirty-three and thirty-five in the past ten or twelve years.

### Self-Reliance

India, Pandit Nehru said, was ahead of most countries in Asia in planning and “we have a correct assessment of our present and future needs.” Other countries appreciated the progress India was making and realized that she needed assistance to show better results. But, he said, “We cannot depend on foreign aid indefinitely. We have to work hard to be self-reliant. By the end of the third plan we should at least be able to produce, in agriculture and industry what is needed by the people.”

Pandit Nehru said that Uttar Pradesh and Bihar were lagging behind in food production considering the vastness of their areas. It was vital for these two states to step up agricultural production.

Establishment of small-scale industries in rural areas and provision of cheap power were necessary for securing an all-round increase in production, he added.

## 10. Public Meeting : Challenges before the Indian People<sup>61</sup>

अध्यक्ष और सदस्यगण नगरपालिका के, भाइयो और बहनो और बच्चो, सबसे पहले तो मैं एक ज़ाबिता पूरा कर लूँ। ज़ाबिता कहता हूँ, लेकिन ज़ाबिते से ज़्यादा वो यह कि जो नगरपालिका की ओर से मुझे मानपत्र मिला है, उसके लिए धन्यवाद। हालाँकि कुछ हमारे और आपके बीच में यह रिश्ता नहीं, नाता नहीं कि उसमें ज़ाबिते का आप मानपत्र मुझे दें और मैं उसका आपको धन्यवाद दूँ। मौक़े पर ज़ाबिता भी अच्छा होता है, लेकिन एक बात आपको खुफ़िया मैं बता दूँ और किसी से कहिएगा नहीं, जब से मैं प्रधानमन्त्री हुआ तो एक अंग्रेज़ी का शब्द है जिसका कोई हिन्दी में, जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ, अनुवाद नहीं है, वह

61. Speech at Nainital, 17 June 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

प्रोटोकॉल है। यानी तरह-तरह की ज़ाबिते की कार्रवाईयों जो करनी होती हैं हमारे खास मौकों पर। पुराने क्रायदे हैं, कुछ नये हैं, कुछ हमारे यहाँ अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने से, वाइसरीगल ज़माने से, चले आते हैं क्रायदे, और कुछ हमने भी जोड़ दिये हैं उसमें, कुछ तो बहुत सारी दुनिया की बातें हैं, यानी कुछ जब दो मुल्कों में सम्बन्ध होता है, राजदूत वगैरह का, तो वो कुछ क्रायदे-क़ानून हैं, उस पे अमल करना पड़ता है, क्योंकि राजदूत, अपने देश का प्रतिनिधि होता है तो उसका आदर करना ज़ाबिते से, दूसरे देश का आदर करना होता है। वह तो है, लेकिन फिर भी ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा यह प्रोटोकॉल का ज़ाबिता अभी तक कुछ मुझे पसन्द नहीं है। उसका आदी मैं नहीं हुआ और तबीयत कुछ घबराती रहती है और अक्सर जैसे आपने कभी-कभी देखा हो, मैं कुछ बदतमीज़ी भी करता हूँ जिससे मेरे साथी कुछ नाखुश हो जाते हैं कि उनके क्रायदे-क़ानून में कुछ खलल पड़ जाता है।

तो ख़ैर, मैं आपके पास कोई ज़ाबिते की बातें करने तो नहीं आया और न मैं उन बातों का विशेष जवाब दूँगा जो इस मानपत्र में लिखी हैं। कई बातें कि एक रेल आ जाये, बड़ी रेल आये काठगोदाम तक, और यहाँ के रहने वालों के लिए कुछ सर्दी के मौसम में इन्तज़ाम हो, प्रबन्ध हो। बड़ी अच्छी बातें हैं। वक़्त आने पर कुछ-न-कुछ होवेगा ही, लेकिन सवाल यह है कि इस वक़्त क्या है? क्या करना है यहाँ? नैनीताल में नहीं, बल्कि सारे भारत में।

मैं एक तरह से तो नैनीताल पाँच-छै बरस बाद आया हूँ, मुझे ठीक याद नहीं। कोई शायद इलेक्शन के सिलसिले में आया था और चन्द घण्टे ठहरा था। रात नहीं बितायी थी यहाँ। बस से यहाँ आया, मालूम नहीं कहाँ से आया था, रानीखेत से, अल्मोड़े से, और आगे बढ़ा। उसके पहले मैं यहाँ आया था मुझे याद है, ठीक ग्यारह वर्ष हुए, 1948 में<sup>62</sup> और एक या दो दिन रहा था तब भी। उसके पहले मैं आया था जहाँ तक मुझे याद है '45 में, जब मैं अल्मोड़ा जेल से छूट कर आ रहा था और इधर नैनीताल होते हुए गुज़रा था।<sup>63</sup> शायद उस समय यहाँ नैनीताल के इस मैदान पर, फ़्लैट्स पर कोई सभा भी हुई थी, जहाँ तक मुझे याद है। यह तो क़रीब उस ज़माने की बातें हैं। लेकिन यहाँ बैठ कर और इन पहाड़ों को देख कर और सब पुरानी बातें याद आती हैं मुझे। और गुज़रा ज़माना आँखों के सामने आता है। मालूम नहीं मुझे कि पहली बार मैं कब आया था नैनीताल या कब लाया गया था, क्योंकि तब तो छोटा बच्चा था, जैसे छोटे बच्चे यहाँ बैठे हैं, उस उम्र का था, ठीक याद नहीं। लेकिन जो मुझे याद है यहाँ आना पक्की तौर से, उसको सत्तावन वर्ष हुए, छप्पन या सत्तावन, वह तो मुझे याद है और उसके बाद बहुत दफ़े आना हुआ, हालाँकि अब बहुत ज़माने से कम हो गया है आना-जाना इधर। तो यह सब ख़ाली गुज़रा ज़माना मेरा नैनीताल आने का बचपन से अब तक, ख़ाली मेरे आँखों के सामने नहीं आता, बल्कि गुज़रा ज़माना यह पचास-साठ वर्ष का भारत का आता है और कुछ दुनिया का आता है।

62. For details, see SWJN/SS/6/ pp. 335-336.

63. For Nehru's speeches at Almora soon after his release on 15 June and in Nainital on 17 June 1945, see SWJN/FS/14/pp. 1-2 and 5-7.

और मैं सोचता हूँ कि इस पचास वर्ष में कितना हेर-फेर हुआ, कितना परिवर्तन हुआ, कितना उलट-पलट हुआ, दुनिया में और हमारे देश में। और जब हम बचपन से कुछ निकले और कुछ इधर-उधर देखा, नये विचार आये, नयी उमंगें आयीं, नये ख्वाब और स्वप्न देखे कि भारत को हम कैसा बनाना चाहते हैं और फिर एक ज़माने तक कुछ इस भारत के इतिहास के कुछ बनाने में भी कुछ शरीक हुए। इस महान लीला में, भारत इस ज़माने की एक छोटा-सा हिस्सा हम लोगों का भी हुआ और एक बड़े नेता के क़दमों में बैठ कर कुछ हमने भी किया। दुनिया बदली। बड़े-बड़े जंग हुए दुनिया में, भारत में भी हमारे ढंग के शान्तिमय जंग हुए और उसके नतीजे निकले और भारत स्वतन्त्र हुआ। और जो हमने स्वप्न देखे थे, बहुत कुछ पूरे हुए, पूरी तौर से नहीं। लेकिन जो कुछ हुआ भी वह भी, कम लोगों को नसीब होता है कि कोई लम्बा-चौड़ा स्वप्न देखे और उसको पूरा होते हुए भी देखे। यह भी हमने देखा।

तो यहाँ बैठ कर और इस गुज़रे हुए ज़माने की तरफ़ ध्यान करके, फिर एकदम से तबियत दूसरी तरफ़ झुकती है, भविष्य की तरफ़, आने वाले ज़माने की तरफ़, और मुझे खयाल आता है कि जैसे इस पचास वर्ष में उलट-पलट हुआ, अगले पचास वर्ष में क्या होगा? अब ये छोटे बच्चे मेरे सामने बैठे हैं, ये मेरी उम्र के होंगे, तब भारत का और दुनिया का क्या हाल होगा? मालूम नहीं, कौन कहे, क्योंकि भविष्य का पर्दा कोई हटा नहीं सकता। लेकिन भविष्य क्या होता है? कोई आसमान से उतर के नहीं आता है। भविष्य वह होता है जो आजकल के लोग बनाते हैं, वह भविष्य है। जो आजकल का ज़माना हिन्दुस्तान का है, वह अपने आप नहीं टूट पड़ा, हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी में, हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने अपने परिश्रम से, मेहनत से, त्याग से उसको बनाया है। इसी तरह से जो भविष्य होगा, वह वही होगा जो आप और हम और लाखों-करोड़ों आदमी इस देश के [...] बनायेंगे, वह भविष्य होगा और अगर हम समझें कि हम हाथ-पे-हाथ रख के बैठे रहें और भविष्य होता जायेगा जैसा हम चाहें, यह तो जाहिलों की बातें हैं, निकम्मे लोगों की बातें हैं, जिनके लिए कुछ होना नहीं चाहिए। क्योंकि ख़ाली हिम्मत से कुछ मिलता है क़ौम को और मुल्क को। कमज़ोरी से, हाय-हाय करने से, बैठे रहने से, माला जपने से नहीं मिलता है। माला जपिये आप और कामों के लिए, लेकिन माला जपिये यह समझ कर कि हम भविष्य बना रहे हैं हिन्दुस्तान का, वह माला को बदनाम करना और परमेश्वर को बदनाम करना और अपने को ज़लील करना है। या आप बाहुबल से हम और आप ये हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वाले जो अपनी हिम्मत से, बहादुरी से, परिश्रम से, त्याग से, सहयोग से, एकता से करें, वह भविष्य होगा हिन्दुस्तान का। हाँ, पहले उसमें अटकाव थे; अब भी हैं, लेकिन पहले जैसे नहीं। पहले अटकाव थे, अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत यहाँ थी, नैनीताल एक बड़ा अड्डा उसका था, उसकी निशानियाँ अब तक नज़र आती हैं, तो रुकावटें थीं। वह एक बड़ी रुकावट, जो गुलाम क़ौम के सामने होती है, वह हट गयी। हम स्वतन्त्र हुए, आज़ाद हुए और बहुत कुछ बन्धन निकल गये और हम अपना फ़ैसला कर सकते हैं, बहुत कुछ अपना रास्ता चुन सकते हैं चलने के लिए। यह कहना कि पूरी तैर से हम स्वतन्त्र हैं, जो चाहे करें, यह तो बात सही नहीं है। क्योंकि तरह-तरह के बन्धन होते हैं दुनिया के, हालात के, वाक़यात के, उससे तो हम

नहीं बच सकते। लेकिन अगर हिम्मत होती है किसी क्रौम की तो उससे भी पार हो जाती है।

इस ज़माने में पचास वर्ष के बहुत ऊँच-नीच देखे। ऐसे मौक़े भी आये जब कुछ दिल में निराशपन हो जाता था, ऐसे मौक़े भी आये और मैं आपसे कहूँ वो मौक़े स्वतन्त्रता आने के बाद अधिक आये हैं, उस पहले के बनिस्वत और स्वतन्त्रता आने के ज़माने में उस वक़्त, जब तूफ़ान मचा था उत्तर भारत में और पाकिस्तान में नया मुल्क बना था उस वक़्त। उस वक़्त ज़्यादा तबीयत गिरी थी बनिस्वत उस ज़माने के जब हम स्वराज्य की लड़ाई लड़ते थे। उस वक़्त ऊँच-नीच थी लड़ाई की। उसको हम बर्दाश्त करते थे खुशी से और एक हमारे नेता थे जिन पर हमें पूरा भरोसा था और कोई कठिनाई हो, दिक्क़त हो, तो हमें विश्वास था कि उनकी मदद से, सलाह से, हम उसको हल करेंगे और अपनी हिम्मत से, अपने ऊपर भरोसा था, अपने देश पर भरोसा था, अपने लोगों पर भरोसा था।

लेकिन जब स्वतन्त्रता आने के बाद, तूफ़ान मचा, क़ल्ले-आम हुआ, हिन्दू ने, मुसलमान ने, सिख ने, वहशियाना बातें कीं। आप तराजू पे तोलें उसने ज़्यादा किया, उसने कम किया, यह फ़िज़ूल बात है, सच्चाई यह है हर एक वहशी हो गया उस वक़्त और वहशियाना बात हुई? और हम हैरान हुए कि यही देश था जो कि अहिंसा की लड़ाई अंग्रेज़ों के खिलाफ़ लड़ता था। यही क्रौम है जो कि दुनिया में मशहूर है कि यह शान्तिप्रिय है, अहिंसात्मक है, नरम दिल है, और इस तरह से करती है? बात तो यह है कि आप में और हम में और हरेक इन्सान में अगर एक तरफ़ से दैवी चीज़ें हैं तो दूसरे तरफ़ से शैतानी चीज़ें भी हैं। और क्रौम की तरक्की होती है कहाँ तक, एक तरफ़ आप बढ़ायें, दूसरे को दबायें-घटायें, और जब कोई बड़े आदमी देश में आते हैं बहुत बड़े महापुरुष, जैसे गाँधीजी थे, तो उनमें एक तरह की शक्ति होती है, एक तरह का जादू होता है जो कि हमारी कमज़ोरी, हमारी छोटी हिम्मत को, बड़ी हिम्मत कर देती है। हमारे छोटे क्रद को बड़ा कर देती है, जैसे उन्होंने किया। मेरा नहीं ख़ाली, या आप में से किसी का नहीं, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों किसानों का क्रद ज़रा लम्बा हुआ, सिर ऊँचा हुआ, हिम्मत आयी और एक ज़माना गुज़रा हिन्दुस्तान का जिसको हमेशा के लिए यहाँ के इतिहास में लिखा जायेगा। बड़े नेताओं के नाम भूलेंगे लोग। आजकल अख़बारों में उनके नेता की तारीफ़ हो जाय। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान के आम आदमी की उसमें तारीफ़ होगी, आम जनता की तारीफ़ होगी जैसे उसने इस ज़माने में इस तीस-चालीस वर्ष में इस आज़ादी की जंग को लड़ा, गाँधी जी के नीचे और स्वतन्त्रता हासिल की, शराफ़त से, शान्तिमय तरीक़ों से, और एक नयी मिसाल दुनिया के इतिहास में रखी? इसी तरह से उनके असर से गाँधी जी के, हम लोग भी ज़रा बड़े हो गये, छोटे क्रद के भी ज़रा कुछ लम्बे हो गये, लेकिन आख़िर हमारे कुछ ऐब तो नहीं निकल गये इस तरह से, ऐब हल्के-हल्के निकलते हैं, कमज़ोरियाँ हल्के-हल्के निकलती हैं और स्वराज्य आने के बाद वो कमज़ोरियाँ फिर ज़ाहिर होने लगती हैं। पहले तो वही हुई जो मैंने आपसे कहा, और भी हम सुस्त हो गये। हरेक हाथ फैलाने को तैयार, माँगने को। कम लोग मेहनत करने को, परिश्रम करने को और नये भारत को बनाने का बोझा उठाने को। हरेक समझने लगा कि आज़ादी आयी तो अब तो हमारे आराम का वक़्त है। अब जो-जो हमारी



कमज़ोरियाँ हैं, हमारी कमियाँ हैं, हमारी पूरी हों, उसको हक़ था यह समझने का। लेकिन उसी के साथ यह भी सोचना था कि जो हमारी गरीबी है, सबमें बड़ा सवाल तो हमारा गरीबी दूर करने का है, हमारे सामने। जब आज़ादी आ गयी, हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की कैसे करें? खुशहाल हों सब लोग, आयें, ऊँच-नीच हटे। ये सब सवाल हमारे सामने आये। पहले भी थे, लेकिन पहले तो हम फँसे हुए थे आज़ादी की लड़ाई में। तो ये सवाल आये, अब ये कैसे दूर हों? हर तरफ़ हाथ फैला हुआ है, लाओ यह, देओ यह, और ठीक बातों के लिए हाथ फैला है, यह नहीं कि ग़लत बातों के लिए। लेकिन आये कहाँ से? कौन दे? कोई दूसरा देश दे। ज़ाहिर है, नहीं। हम खुदमुख्तार मुल्क, स्वतन्त्र मुल्क, जो हम करें खुद करें, वही हमें मिल सकता है। कोई अमरीका और रूस, और चीन और जापान और अंग्रेज़ों के देश से तो नहीं कोई दौलत फट पड़ेगी हमारे पास आ कर, जो हमें उठाये और अगर किसी तरह फटती तो हम तबाह हो गये होते इसी वक़्त, क्योंकि कोई क्रौम दूसरे के सहारे से नहीं बढ़ती है।

और जो सब से बड़ा सबक़ गाँधीजी ने हमें सिखाया था अपने पैरों पे खड़ा होना। उस पच्चीस-तीस वर्ष की जो लड़ाई उन्होंने लड़ी यहाँ, उसमें कभी उन्होंने दूसरे मुल्क की सहायता नहीं माँगी। हमदर्दी माँगी, उनकी शुभकामनाएँ माँगी। ठीक था, हम उनसे चाहते थे कि हमारा समझें वो। किसी से पैसा उन्होंने नहीं माँगा, बाहर के लोगों से, न हमदर्दी के अलावा कुछ माँगा, क्योंकि उनके सामने हर वक़्त सवाल क्या था? आप कहें स्वराज्य लेना। एक माने में सही है, लेकिन मैं कहूँगा यह नहीं सवाल था उनके सामने, असली सवाल। उनके सामने सवाल था—किस तरह से एक गिरी हुई क्रौम को उठाना, किस तरह से मुरझाये हुए दिलों में जान डालना, किस तरह से, गरज़ कि हमें, और हमसे मतलब यहाँ के करोड़ों आदमियों को अपनी टाँगों पर खड़ा होना और सिर ऊँचा करना सिखाना, और काम करना सिखाना, क्योंकि वे जानते थे अगर यह बात क्रौम में आ गयी तो स्वराज्य आ ही गया, फिर स्वराज्य कौन ले सकता है हमसे, और अगर वह बात नहीं आयी और किसी इत्फ़ाक़ से स्वराज्य आ गया तो स्वराज्य चला भी जायेगा, क्योंकि उसकी रखवाली करने वाले, जिम्मेदारी ओढ़ने वाले नहीं होंगे। इसलिए सारा उनका ध्यान कोई चालबाज़ी से कोई हासिल कर लेना नहीं था, कुछ अंग्रेज़ों से। हो सकता था कि पच्चीस-तीस वर्ष की लड़ाई में अगर वे चाहते, हम चाहते तो मालूम नहीं कितने दफ़े उनसे समझौता...अंग्रेज़ों से...कर सकते थे। उता सोलह आने नहीं, चौदह आने पर कर लेते और वे समझौते के हामी थे हमेशा। लेकिन उनका ध्यान हर वक़्त हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को उठाने का था, ख़ाली यह नहीं था कि एक स्वराज्य एक तरह का हो जाये, कमज़ोर क्रौम के लिए, बजाय अंग्रेज़ी अफ़सर के, हिन्दुस्तानी अफ़सर हो जायें, और सिलसिला वही क़ायम रहे। दूर तक देखते थे और सबमें ज़्यादा उनकी निगाह पड़ती थी उसके तरफ़ जो सबमें दुर्बल हो, सब में कमज़ोर हो, सब में गिरा हुआ हो, हिन्दुस्तान में। उनकी निगाह पड़ती थी गरीब की तरफ़, उनकी निगाह पड़ी जिन क्रौमों को हमने दबाया है। अपने समाज का ऐसा संगठन किया कि समाज में लाखों-करोड़ों आदमियों को हमने नीच जाति कह के दबाया। इधर उनका ध्यान पड़ा कि उनके लिए स्वराज्य था कि नहीं जिनको दबाया है,

उनको उठायें। वह ठीक स्वराज्य था कि अगर वे उठते हैं तो क्रौम उठती है मुल्क उठता है, और मुल्क आज़ाद होता है।

तो इस तरह से आप देखिए उनकी निगाह किधर रहती थी असल में? क्रौम को मज़बूत करना, क्रौम को काम करना सिखाना, उनका दिल मज़बूत हो, उसको एकता सिखाना। ये बातें उन्होंने कीं और थोड़े दिन के लिए एक गिरी हुई क्रौम को भी उन्होंने चमका दिया दुनिया की आँखों के सामने। यह समझना कि ये बातें एकदम से क्रौम को हमेशा के लिए उठा देती हैं, यह तो ज़रा ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा है, क्योंकि आखिर हम उठेंगे अपनी कोशिश से, लेकिन काफ़ी उन्होंने उठाया, काफ़ी रास्ता दिखाया और काफ़ी हमने उससे फ़ायदा उठाया। फिर वो गये और एक यह भी एक इतिहास का खेल है कि एक हिन्दुस्तानी लड़के के हाथ से वो गये। ठीक था यह हुआ, याद दिलाने को हमारी क्रौम को, हम सबों को, कि कितनी ग़लत ताक़तें हैं इस मुल्क में, ग़लत विचार हैं और जिनसे हमें लड़ना है, जिनका विरोध करना है और ये सब बातें सामने आयीं।

ख़ैर, पुराने ज़माने की बातें हैं, लेकिन जो नया ज़माना निकला, वह उसी पुराने ज़माने के काम से निकला है। पुराना ज़माना या आजकल का ज़माना या आने वाला ज़माना, यह एक कड़ी है, ज़ंजीर है, एक कड़ी दूसरी कड़ी से जुड़ी है, अलग-अलग नहीं होती। एक काम का फल अगर आपका...व्यक्तिगत रूप से आप जो कुछ करें, बुरा-भला, तो हमने सीखा है कि कर्म से उस कार्य का फल आपको मिलेगा। अच्छा है तो अच्छा मिलेगा, बुरा है तो बुरा। उसी तरह से क्रौम को मिलता है, उसके काम का फल। अगर हिम्मत वाली क्रौम है तो फल उसका मिलेगा, बुज़दिल है तो उसका फल मिलेगा।

तो अब स्वराज्य आया और हमारे सामने ये बड़े-बड़े सवाल आये [कि] किस तरह से इस देश का, इस समाज का, संगठन करें? कैसी तस्वीर अपने सामने रखें? क्योंकि हमारे सामने ख़ाली यह तस्वीर तो कभी भी नहीं थी कि अंग्रेज़ी अफ़सर की जगह हिन्दुस्तानी अफ़सर बैठे और बाक़ी सिलसिला वैसे-का-वैसा ही रहे। यह तस्वीर तो हमने कभी स्वीकार नहीं की। हमारे सामने स्वराज्य के माने थे; बहुत बातें और उसमें यह तो ज़ाहिर है, एक माने थे कि अंग्रेज़ी सरकार यहाँ से जाये। लेकिन माने हमारे हमेशा उसको आप नापें तो हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों लोगों से आप नापिये, उस ग़ज़ से कि हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों लोगों पे क्या असर हुआ, कितनी ताक़त आयी, कितनी खुशहाली आयी, कितनी उनकी ग़रीबी दूर हो सकती है, कितनी हिम्मत आयी? यह उसका अन्दाज़ा था।

यह लम्बी बात है, चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाना। कोई जादू से नहीं हो सकता। ख़ाली परिश्रम से और मेहनत से। लेकिन उसके पीछे भी वो बातें जो गाँधी जी ने कही थीं, वो तो बुनियादी हैं, यानी हमें अपनी एकता याद रहे। हमें याद रहे कि परिश्रम से काम होता है, मेहनत से, त्याग से, ख़ाली गुल-शोर मचाने से नहीं। हमें याद रहे कि हम...अगर आज़ादी हमने चाही थी, तो आज़ादी हिस्सा है हर हिन्दुस्तानी का, कुछ ऊँचे लोगों का नहीं, कुछ अमीरों का नहीं, कुछ अफ़सरों का नहीं, कुछ ऊँची जात वालों का नहीं, ऐसी आज़ादी हम नहीं चाहते; बल्कि ऐसी आज़ादी जिसमें हर एक बराबर का हिस्सेदार हो और यह जो ऊँच-नीचपन है, यह

निकल जाये, जहाँ तक हो सकता है। सब लोग एक-से तो नहीं होते। मैं तो नहीं कहता सब एक-से हों, क्रम में भी एक नहीं होते, लम्बे होते हैं, छोटे, मोटे, पतले; लेकिन सब लोगों को एक-सा मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए तरक्की का, और जब एक-सा मौक़ा मिला तब जितनी दूर तक जा सकें, जायें। ज़ाहिर है कि अभी तक नहीं मिलता। कितने करोड़ आदमी हमारे देहात के हैं; उनके बच्चों को कौन-सा बराबर का मौक़ा मिलता है? आपके यहाँ बच्चे हैं स्कूल में, कॉलेज में पढ़ते हैं और उनको मौक़े मिलते हैं और मुबारक हों उनको मौक़े। लेकिन कितनों को ये मौक़े मिलते हैं हिन्दुस्तान में, सोचने की बात है। यह सब करना बाक़ी है और इसको हमेशा सामने रखना है आपको कि किस गज़ से आप नापें हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की, किस गज़ से आप नापें एक शहर की तरक्की। वह गज़ यह नहीं है शहर का कि आप देखें वहाँ कितने बड़े-बड़े मकान हैं और कितने बड़े-बड़े महल बन गये हैं। वह गज़ यह है कि जाइए आप शहर की गन्दी बस्तियों को देखिए, वहाँ कैसे लोग रहते हैं। स्लम कितने हैं और जब तक वो स्लमस हैं और गन्दी बस्तियाँ हैं आपका काम अधूरा है। यह मैंने माना, ये काम तो लम्बे हैं, कैसे हट जायें? बड़ा पैसा खर्च होता है, करोड़ों रुपये, बड़ी मुश्किलें हैं। लेकिन वह काम पूरा नहीं हुआ अब तक, तो इसी तरह से आप सारे देश को देखें कि देश, कहिए, गन्दी बस्तियाँ, ये गिरे हुए लोग, ये कहाँ हैं, कितने हैं, उनको उठाना है।

महात्माजी ने एक बार कहा था कि जब तक किसी आदमी के...आदमी मतलब आदमी, औरत, बच्चे, कोई...आँख से आँसू निकलता है तब तक उनका काम पूरा नहीं हुआ। एक बड़े आदमी की बात है और उसको सोच कर कभी-कभी हमारी आँखों में भी आँसू आ जाते हैं। लेकिन ज़ाहिर है कि हिन्दुस्तान में इस वक़्त काफ़ी आँखों से आँसू निकलते हैं, काफ़ी मुश्किल है, गरीबी है, मुसीबत है, तकलीफ़ें हैं, और उसको दूर करना है। एक वर्ष में नहीं हो सकता है, दस वर्ष में नहीं, जितना समय लगे। लेकिन जब तक वह नहीं हुआ, काम अधूरा है? याद रखिए यह एक गज़ नापने का है। इसके माने यह नहीं, कि हम एक हुल्लड़बाजी करें, बड़े-बड़े नारे उठायें, गुल-शोर मचायें, गोया कि इस तरह से हम इन बड़े मसलों को हल करेंगे। वो मसले हल होंगे। पहले तो यह कि हमारे सामने एक ठीक-ठीक लक्ष्य हो, ध्येय हो, एक मक़सद हो। किधर हम जा रहे हैं। क्या नज़रशा हम भारत का बनाना चाहते हैं। दूसरे, जितनी हममें अक्ल है, बुद्धि है, सोचें हम, क्या करना है, किस ढंग से चलना है? और तीसरे, सब में आवश्यक, कि हम परिश्रम करें, मेहनत करें। बग़ैर परिश्रम और मेहनत के, कोई क्रौम नहीं बढ़ती। आप सुनें, बहसें सुनें, किस नीति पर हम चलें, क्या हमारी पॉलिसी हो और बड़े-बड़े शब्द आपके सामने आते हैं, सोशलिज़्म, कम्यूनिज़्म, कैपिटलिज़्म, गाँधीइज़्म कौन-कौन इज़्म आते हैं, और ठीक है, आप उन पर विचार करें और सोचें, लेकिन यह याद रखें आप कि उन सभों के पीछे कोई भी आपकी पॉलिसी या नीति हो, सब के पीछे परिश्रम है, मेहनत है? कोई क्रौम मेहनत के बग़ैर नहीं बढ़ती। और जो क्रौम सुस्त हो गयी, जो ढीली पड़ गयी, वह कमज़ोर हो गयी, और वह पिछड़ जायेगी, दुनिया आगे बढ़ेगी। दुनिया रहम नहीं करती कमज़ोर के ऊपर, पिछड़े हुए पर, बुज़दिल पर, वह आगे बढ़ती है। हम आप रहम कर लें एक-दूसरे पर, लेकिन दुनिया

का रहम नहीं है। प्रकृति नहीं रहम करती है बुजदिल पर, प्रकृति बढ़ती है आगे अपने ढंग से, अपने क़ानूनों से। हाँ, अगर आप में अक्ल है तो आप प्रकृति को समझें, उसकी शक्ति को, उसकी ताक़त को, उससे लाभ उठायें। प्रकृति का मुक़ाबला हम नहीं कर सकते, कौन पहाड़ों का मुक़ाबला करे, सूरज और आसमान का मुक़ाबला करे। लेकिन अगर उन शक्तियों को, उन सिद्धान्तों को, उन क़ायदे-क़ानून को हम समझें कि जिससे प्रकृति चलती है, तब हमारी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है।

आजकल की दुनिया क्या है? आप सुनते हैं अख़बारों में कि प्रबन्ध हो रहा है ऐसे कोई हवाई जहाज़ कहिए, जो कुछ, जिससे चाँद के पास जायें। ऐटॉमिक शक्ति है, अणु शक्ति है, ऐटम बम है, जो लाखों-करोड़ों आदमियों को एक बार में मार देता है। वह महान शक्ति है जो कि दुनिया को शायद बदल दे। ये क्या चीज़ें हैं? कोई जादू तो नहीं है। यह बिजली है जिससे मैं बोल रहा हूँ, यह कोई जादू तो नहीं है। कोई आपका, कोई आपका आदमी सीखा हुआ आदमी आ कर उसको लगा देता है वह, या बिजली लगा देता है आपके घर में, या जो कुछ है, यह जादू तो नहीं है। यह प्रकृति की शक्तियों को समझना और उनका प्रयोग करना, चाहे वह रेलगाड़ी हो, हवाई जहाज़ हो, बिजली हो या आजकल जो नयी बन रही हैं शक्तियाँ, महान शक्तियाँ, सब क्या हैं? सब प्रकृति की शक्ति को समझना, हाँ, एक दूसरा प्रश्न आता है कि एक महान शक्ति को तो आप समझे, लेकिन उससे फ़ायदा उठाने की अभी आप को अक्ल आयी कि नहीं आयी? नहीं आयी, तो शक्ति आपके ऊपर आ कर आपको ख़त्म कर देगी। यह उसका क़सूर तो नहीं है प्रकृति का, यह तो आपकी अक्लमन्दी और मूर्खता की निशानी है। आपकी मतलब क़ौम की, व्यक्ति की। आप एक बन्दर को एक बड़ा चाकू दे दीजिए और बन्दर उससे बुरे काम करे...ये आदमी काफ़ी चाकू चलाते हैं दूसरे के गले पर, वो करें तो यह चाकू का कोई क़सूर नहीं है, यह आदमी की मूर्खता है, क़ौम की मूर्खता है। तो अगर यही बात है तो हमें इन बातों को समझना है, आजकल की दुनिया को समझना है, अपने देश को तो समझना ही है, प्रकृति को समझना है। क्या माने हैं प्रकृति के समझने के?

क्या उसका नतीजा हुआ है। नतीजा यह हुआ कि ये देश जो हैं अंग्रेज़ों के और अमरीका के और यूरोप के और रूस के और क्या-क्या, वे बढ़ गये, तरक्की हुई उनकी। बड़ी उनकी ताक़त बढ़ी, खुशहाल हुए, क्योंकि उन्होंने सेवा की, प्रकृति की, विज्ञान के ज़रिये से उसको समझने की कोशिश की और फिर उसको...उससे लाभ उठाया और उससे हानि भी लोगों की की। बड़े-बड़े हथियार बनाये जिससे नुक़सान पहुँचाया। लेकिन, ग़रज़ कि उन्होंने...एक तो यह और दूसरे उन्होंने परिश्रम किया, क्योंकि यूरोप और अमरीका के लोग परिश्रमी लोग हैं, यह आप याद रखिए। खेल-कूद आपने नैनीताल में अंग्रेज़ों का देख लिया हो, लेकिन अगर अंग्रेज़ हिन्दुस्तान आये, भारत आये, जिस ज़माने में वह आये थे, जान पर खेल कर आये थे, उस ज़माने में हवाई जहाज़ और रेल और ये सब बातें नहीं थीं। समुद्र के तूफ़ान थे और छे महीने का सफ़र था, नये-नये समुद्र जिसको जानते भी नहीं थे, लेकिन दम था उनमें, हिम्मत थी और कितने ही हज़ारों आदमी रास्ते में मरे, लेकिन आये, पहुँचे यहाँ। अब यहाँ पर आ कर जुल्म

करें, ज्यादाती करें, यह और बात है। लेकिन आपको सिर झुकाना है उनकी हिम्मत पर कि सात समुद्र पार कर के यहाँ पहुँचे। तो यूरोप ने एक तरक्की की अपनी हिम्मत और परिश्रम से, और विज्ञान की सेवा करके और उसकी मिसाल में अब आपको दूँ, और छोड़िए। अभी बड़ी लड़ाइयाँ हुई हैं यहाँ ज़बरदस्त, यूरोप में, दुनिया में। एक पिछली अभी लड़ाई हुई जिसका अन्त हुआ, कितने वर्ष हुए, बारह-तेरह वर्ष हुए, उस लड़ाई में बाज़ देश...सभी देश तबाह हुए...बाज़ देश बहुत तबाह हुए, जर्मनी बिलकुल तबाह हुआ, कोई शहर क़रीब-क़रीब खड़ा हुआ नहीं था पूरा, मिट्टी के ढेर थे, कारखाने मिट्टी के ढेर थे। दूसरी तरफ़ आइए, जापान था, यहाँ तो मशहूर है कि ऐटम बम दो चलाये गये, दो बड़े शहर नेस्त-नाबूद हो गये, और और भी, वह भी तबाह हो गया, रूस था, जर्मन फ़ौजों ने जा कर...रूस तो बहुत बड़ा देश है, लेकिन उसके बड़े हिस्से को बिलकुल मिट्टी का ढेर कर दिया उन्होंने, शहर वग़ैरह, यह हालत थी, जब लड़ाई ख़तम हुई। बारह-तेरह वर्ष में अब देखिए इन देशों की क्या हालत है, और कौन देश उसमें। ..दो देश हैं, जर्मनी और जापान जो कि कहलाता है, पूँजीवादी देश कहलाते हैं। रूस साम्यवादी देश है। यानी दोनों में नीति का फ़र्क़ था, लेकिन [...] आठ-दस बरस के अन्दर तीनों फिर खड़े हो गये। जर्मनी में जाइए या जापान में जाइए या रूस में जाइए, फिर वही बड़े शहर खड़े हैं। बड़े-बड़े कारखाने खड़े हैं। जहाँ-जहाँ क़रीब-क़रीब जिस शहर में एक मकान नहीं बाक़ी था पूरा, यहाँ फिर बड़ा शहर है, लाखों आदमी रहते हैं, कारखाने चलते हैं। ग़ौर करने की बात है न, कि बारह-तेरह वर्ष के अन्दर अपनी हिम्मत से, अपनी बुद्धि से और विज्ञान से फिर मुल्क खड़े हो गये। परिश्रमी लोग यहाँ हैं और अगर हम परिश्रमी नहीं हैं तो सारी हमारी अक्ल भी बेकार हो जायेगी।

हमारे यहाँ क्या पुराना दस्तूर चला आता है, अब कम हो गया है, कि जो आदमी हाथ-पैर से मेहनत करे, वह नीच गिना जाता है; जो क़लम-दवात से बाबू लोग मेहनत करें, वो ऊँचे गिने जाते हैं, और जो उनसे भी बड़े बाबू कोई मेहनत न करें, वो सब में ऊँचे गिने जाते हैं। अब जिस देश के ये सिद्धान्त हों, वह देश आगे कैसे बढ़ेगा? बढ़ ही नहीं सकता। वह देश बढ़ता है जिसने परिश्रम की [किया], मेहनत की, हाथ-पैर की मेहनत की, मैनुअल लेबर की क़दर है। ज़ाहिर है मानसिक परिश्रम की तो क़दर होनी चाहिए, लेकिन मैनुअल लेबर की क़दर है, यह नहीं कि उसको नीच समझ लिया, और जिस देश में जो लोग बग़ैर कुछ मेहनत किये खाते-पीते हैं उनकी क़दर नहीं होनी चाहिए। मेरे कुछ दोस्त, देखिये कैसे सिखाते हैं। एक मेरे दोस्त थे यूरोप में, उनके बच्चे थे, बड़े सुन्दर बच्चे, तीन-चार, वह एक दस-बारह बरस के नीचे ही थे। रोज़ वे उन बच्चों से कहते थे, उन्होंने सबक़ सिखाया था इन छोटे बच्चों को कि बग़ैर कुछ परिश्रम किये आदमी को खाने का हक़ नहीं है। तो रोज़ सवाल बच्चों से होता था आज तुमने क्या किया जो तुम्हें खाने का हक़ हुआ? वह चाहे बाग़ में कुछ काम कर लें या कहीं, और बात है। काम कोई ऐसा भारी तो नहीं उन्हें दिया जाता था, लेकिन यह विचार कि उसी को हक़ खाना मिलने का है जो खाना कमाये अपने परिश्रम से, यह दस बरस, आठ वर्ष के बच्चों को। हमारे देश में कितनी माँएँ यह समझती हैं? आम तौर से अपने लाड़-प्यार से बच्चों को ख़राब

कर देती हैं। अपने लाड़ से इतना खिलाती हैं लड़कू, पेड़े, कि उसको बदहज़मी उमर भर के लिए हो जाती है। और अपने लाड़ से इतने गुलूबन्द गले में लपेटती हैं कि उसको हमेशा नज़ला-ज़ुकाम रहता है, अजीब तमाशा है? लेकिन देखिए, उसूल क्या है कि इस तरह से तो हमें अपना यह नुक़्ते-निगाह बदलना है, ये चीज़ें बदलनी हैं देखने की दुनिया की तरफ़, यह ऊँच-नीच निकालना है अपने दिमाग़ से और परिश्रम का, मेहनत का, काम का, हाथ और पैर के काम का आदर करना है, क्योंकि उसी से दुनिया चलती है। ज़ाहिर है दिमाग़ से दुनिया चलती है माना, लेकिन सारी दुनिया के दिमाग़ से दुनिया नहीं चल सकती, अगर हाथ-पैर का काम न हो। दोनों से चलती है और दोनों की क़दर करनी है, आदर करना है।

और तो गरज़ कि आप आजकल के कैसे ज़माने में हैं, मैंने शुरू में आपसे कहा कि मैं सोचता हूँ, कभी-कभी इधर देखता हूँ जो पचास वर्ष गुज़रे, मेरे कुछ जान-बूझ के काम करने के, थोड़े-बहुत और मैंने देखा दुनिया को और भारत को बदलते। अब जो पचास वर्ष आयेंगे और जब ये बच्चे मेरी उम्र के होंगे और वो पीछे देखेंगे तो उनके सामने क्या-क्या तस्वीरें आयेंगी, मालूम नहीं, लेकिन उन तस्वीरों को बनाना हमारा काम इस समय है। हमारा और जो आइन्दा चुस्त लोग आयें। कैसी तस्वीरें हम बनायें, विचार करना है। यह बात याद रखिए, मैं बार-बार दोहराता हूँ कि जो भी कुछ आप नीति पकड़ें, जो भी पॉलिसी लें, उसके पीछे चन्द मोटी बातें हैं। एकता भारत की...ज़ाहिर है, अगर भारत की एकता न हो तो भारत दुर्बल है, कमज़ोर है, और भारत की एकता के माने यह नहीं हैं कि एक नक्शे पर एक रंग भारत का हो, नक्शे पर लिखा हो कि यह स्वतन्त्र देश है, बल्कि भारत के अन्दर एक दिल की एकता हो। अभी तक वह नहीं है पूरी तौर से। कभी अलग-अलग प्रदेशों में झगड़े होते हैं, कभी भाषा पे झगड़े होते हैं, कभी जातियों पे झगड़े होते हैं, कभी धर्म के नाम से झगड़े होते हैं। दुर्बल हमें करते हैं। काफ़ी दुर्बल किया धर्म के नाम से झगड़ों ने, यहाँ तक कि हिन्दुस्तान के दो टुकड़े हो गये धर्म के नाम के झगड़ों में और फिर भी लोग ऐसे हैं भारत में जो यह साम्प्रदायिकता और इन बातों को मानते हैं और बढ़ाते हैं। वहाँ इस हेर-फेर में आप बड़े यक़ीन मानिये कि भारत के टुकड़े होंगे, और टुकड़े होंगे। नक्शे में न हों तो असल में हो जायेंगे, दिलों में टुकड़े, तो ताक़त नहीं होगी। इसलिए पहला सबक़ हमें हमेशा याद रखना है, भारत की एकता, दिलों की एकता। अलग-अलग धर्म हैं, प्रदेश हैं, रहें, मुबारक हो उनको, लेकिन उससे हमारी एकता न टूटे। हम एक-दूसरे का आदर करें और अगर जो भारत के गुण रहे हैं, खूबियाँ रही हैं, आज नहीं, हज़ारों वर्ष से, भारत का नाम मशहूर हुआ है तो इस बात से कि भारत में एक-दूसरे का सब्र था, चाहे राय भी अलग हो, वह एक-दूसरे को...धर्म भी फैलाने के लिए एक-दूसरे का गला नहीं काटते थे। बर्दाश्त करते थे एक-दूसरे को, टॉलरेन्स थी, टॉलरेशन थी और यह कोई किताबों में पढ़ने की बात नहीं। आइए, पत्थर पर लिखा हुआ है, जो सम्राट अशोक ने लिखा है तेईस सौ वर्ष हुए। उनका लिखा हुआ, उनकी भाषा, किसी की बनायी हुई नहीं है, अब आपको पुकार कर बताती है। क्या भारत की संस्कृति असल में बुनियादी है? किस तरह से बर्दाश्त करना है? याद है आपको उन्होंने क्या लिखा? उन्होंने लिखा कि अगर तुम अपने धर्म

का आदर करते हो तो काफ़ी नहीं है, तुम्हें दूसरे के धर्म का, दूसरे के विचारों का आदर करना है। जो आदमी यह नहीं करता है, दूसरे के धर्म और विचारों का आदर, वह अपने धर्म का भी आदर नहीं करता। ज़रा सोचिए कि तेईस सौ वर्ष हुए यह आवाज़ हिन्दुस्तान में उठी और उसके पहले की भी थी। यह चीज़ है जिसने हिन्दुस्तान की ताक़त बनायी है, ऊँचा किया, एक शान हिन्दुस्तान की रही है, चाहे वो गिर भी गये हैं तब भी शान रही है हमारी, और उस बात को हम इस ज़माने में भूल जायें और ये सब तरह-तरह की साम्प्रदायिक और कम्यूनल संस्थाएँ उठें और हवा ख़राब करें हमारी पुरानी संस्कृति के नाम ले कर, संस्कृति को गिरायें, तबाह करें तो कैसे हिन्दुस्तान बढ़ सकता है! सोचने की बात है। यह तो बुनियादी बात है।

दूसरी बुनियादी बात है परिश्रम करना, मेहनत करना और मेहनत का, परिश्रम का आदर करना। यह भी बार-बार आपसे कहता हूँ, क्योंकि हम लोग हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत परिश्रमी नहीं हैं, आप माफ़ करेंगे मेरा कहना, और मुल्कों के मुक़ाबले में। हमारे यहाँ और छोड़िए बातें, जितनी छुट्टियाँ होती हैं, दुनिया में किसी देश में नहीं हैं और हर वक़्त माँग और छुट्टियों की रहती है। ठीक मुझे याद नहीं, लेकिन साल का एक बड़ा हिस्सा छुट्टियों में जाता है, त्योहारों में, छुट्टियों में, हर तरह की। लेकिन वह भी छोड़िए आप, हमारे काम का नतीजा वह नहीं होता जो कि एक ज़्यादा सधे हुए काम का होना चाहिए। कोई काम हो, किसी जगह का, चाहे मज़दूर का, चाहे किसान का, चाहे दफ़्तर का, चाहे कहीं का, इसके माने यह तो नहीं कि हर एक आदमी नहीं करता, यह मेरा मतलब नहीं है। लेकिन औसत जो हमारे यहाँ है, वह नीची औसत है। वह नहीं है ऊँची औसत, और जहाँ हमारे लोग काम करते हैं, कर सकते हैं, बहुत माक़ूल है, इसमें कोई शक़ नहीं। हमें हवा बदलनी है। काम-काजी मुल्क बनाना है इसको।

आप चीन का पढ़ते हैं बहुत सारी बातें, और बहुत सारी बातें हम उनकी सीख सकते हैं, बहुत सारी, हमारा ढंग दूसरा है। मालूम नहीं वहाँ से ख़बरें आती हैं, कितनी सही हैं, कितनी नहीं हैं। लेकिन एक बात आप समझ लीजिए पूरी तौर से सही है कि चीन के लोग बेहद परिश्रमी हैं, बेहद मेहनती हैं, इतनी मेहनत करते हैं कि शायद दुनिया में कोई उनका मुक़ाबला नहीं कर सकता। जब ये मेहनत करते हैं, बढ़ेंगे, तरक्की करेंगे। हिन्दुस्तानी भी बाज़ क्रौमों के मुक़ाबले में मेहनती गिने जाते हैं। मैं मानता हूँ, बाज़ एशियाई क्रौमों के मुक़ाबलों में हिन्दुस्तानी मेहनती गिने जाते हैं, लेकिन यूरोप और अमरीका के मुक़ाबले में हम मेहनती नहीं हैं। हमें होना होगा, तब हम बढ़ेंगे।

ख़ैर, परिश्रम है। अब हम अपने रास्ते ढूँढ़ें, किस रास्ते पर चलना है। हाँ, एक और बात है, मैं कह दूँ। उसी का जुज़ है, जो मैंने आपसे कहा। गाँधीजी अहिंसा पर ज़ोर देते थे। ख़ैर, अहिंसा बहुत ऊँचा सिद्धान्त है और जिस ढंग से वो उसको समझते थे, बहुत सारे लोगों का वहाँ तक पहुँचना कठिन है, लेकिन यह मोटी बात हमें समझनी है कि अगर हम शान्तिमय तरीक़ों से काम नहीं करते तो हम आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते; नहीं करते हम तो हिन्दुस्तान में फूट फैलेगी। यों ही हम में आदत है इस क्रूर खेंचा-तानी की, चाहे जातिभेद से, चाहे धर्म के नाम से, चाहे भाषा के नाम से, चाहे प्रदेश के नाम से कि जहाँ हमने यह शान्ति का रास्ता छोड़ा,

फूट पैदा होती है, जो हमें खा जायेगी, हिन्दुस्तान बढ़ नहीं सकता।

खैर, फिर किस रास्ते पर हम चलें? क्या तस्वीर बनायें? मुश्किल है भविष्य की तस्वीर बनानी, लेकिन चन्द मोटी बातें तो हम कह ही सकते हैं, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि हमारे देश से गरीबी निकले, दरिद्रता निकले। हरेक शाख...में नहीं कहता सब बराबर हों...लेकिन हरेक शाख खुशहाल हो। जो आवश्यकता है, वह हरेक को मिले। खाना ठीक मिले, कपड़ा मिले, घर रहने को मिले, पढ़ाई मिले, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध हो, काम मिले। फिर जहाँ तक जा सकता है, जाये वह। यह तो पहली बात है। कैसे करें, ये बड़ा सवाल हो जाता है न? इसीलिए हम पंचवर्षीय योजना और क्या-क्या बनाते हैं इसी प्रश्न पर, इसी पे सोचने के लिए, कैसे करें। क्योंकि जो हमें बढ़ना है, वह हमें अपनी शक्ति से बढ़ना है, कोई हमें उठाता नहीं है। हम अगर गिरे हुए हैं ज़मीन पर, तो अपनी टाँगों में शक्ति ला कर खड़ा होना है। कैसे करें? वही सारा चर्चा है पंचवर्षीय योजना का, कैसे हम अपने देश में अधिक धन पैदा करें। अधिक सामान...धन के माने सामान है...कैसे? क्या सामान? हज़ारों तरीकों से पैदा होता है। विशेषकर ज़मीन से पैदा होता है। किसान पैदा करता है, कारखाने में पैदा होता है। ग्रामोद्योग से पैदा करता है, कारोबारी पैदा करता है, जितने हज़ार तरीके हैं, वो पैदा करते हैं। जितना अधिक आप पैदा करेंगे, उतना ही आपके पास धन है, उतना ही आप खर्च सकते हैं। जनता के लाभ के लिए, जनता की पढ़ाई के लिए, जनता की भलाई के लिए और काम निकालना। यह सवाल आ जाता है।

अब हमारे सामने यह पेंच हो गया कि जनता की माँगें तो हर तरफ़ हैं और ठीक माँगें हैं। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ, कोई मज़दूर कहे कि मुझे काफ़ी नहीं मिलती मज़दूरी, हो सकता है सही हो वो; कोई दफ़्तर का काम करने वाला कहे कि हमारी तनख्वाह काफ़ी नहीं है, हो सकता है सही हो वो। या कोई भी काम करे, सही हैं सब बातें, माँगें, बमुक़ाबले और मुल्कों के हमारी बहुत कम आमदनी है। लेकिन वह मज़दूर को, दफ़्तर वाले को, किसान को, इसको, उसको, चारों तरफ़ कहाँ से उनको तनख्वाहें और मज़दूरी और हर तरह से फ़ायदा हम पहुँचा सकें। वह आता कहाँ से है? कोई आसमान से टपकता है? उसी मज़दूर की जेब से निकलता है या काम से, या किसान के या और काम करने वाले जितने है, उन्हीं से वसूल हो कर खर्च होता है। और कहाँ से आता है? यानी जनता से वसूल होता है, टैक्स में, लगान में, जो कुछ आप समझिए, तरीके हैं। तभी तो लोगों को यह सब मिलता है। यानी आख़िर में जितना धन पैदा होता है जो प्रोडक्शन है कुल हिन्दुस्तान का, चाहे ज़मीन से या कारखानों से है, उससे ज़्यादा तो हम नहीं खर्च सकते, क्योंकि है ही नहीं, दीवाला निकल जाये देश का, चौपट हो जाये। तो जब तक कि देश का [जो] प्रोडक्शन है, वह बढ़े नहीं, नामुमकिन है कि हम लोगों की आमदनी बढ़े। हाँ, यह हो सकता है कि ऊँच-नीच हो, कुछ ज़्यादा ले भागें, कुछ को कम मिले, दूसरी बात है और उसको बराबर करने की हम कोशिश करें। जहाँ तक मुमकिन है, यह तो होना ही चाहिए। लेकिन उससे बहुत ज़्यादा फ़र्क नहीं होता है। असल बात तो यह है कि देश की आमदनी जब तक काफ़ी नहीं बढ़ती, देश का प्रोडक्शन, देश की मेहनत, इनकम, जब तक



काफ़ी नहीं बढ़ती...जितनी बढ़ेगी, उतना ही लोगों को बँटवारे में मिलेगा, चाहे मज़दूरी मिले, तनख्वाह मिले, यह जो तरीक़ा है देने का, मिले। और कोई ज़रिया नहीं है और यहाँ चारों तरफ़ चर्चा यही है कि ज़्यादा मिले, तनख्वाहें ज़्यादा मिलें, पे कमीशन बैठे तय करने को, कितना अधिक मिले [...], वह आये कहाँ से? इस पे ग़ौर लोग कम करते हैं। आखिर में उसी किसान के पैदा करने से या कारखाने से या और ऐसी जगहों से जहाँ चीज़ें पैदा होती हैं और कोई ज़रिया नहीं है।

यह कोई धन न आप समझिए कि सोना-चाँदी वग़ैरह कुछ थोड़े ही मिल जाता है। सोना-चाँदी तो व्यापार की चीज़ें हैं। तो घूम-घाम कर हमारे सामने सवाल आ जाता है कि हम अपने...पैदा करने की मशीन जो देश में है, वह तेज़ी से चले और अधिक पैदा हो, ज़मीन से और कारखाने से और उसमें यह भी कि उसमें रोज़गार मिलेगा, एम्प्लॉयमेंट मिलेगी लोगों को। यह भी फ़ायदा है कि रोज़गार भी मिलता जाये, बेरोज़गारी हटे और मशीन ज़ोरों से चले। पंचवर्षीय योजना के यही माने हैं कि कैसे हो। अब एकदम से तो बातें नहीं हो सकती हैं। अगर अमरीका एक धनी देश है, तो याद रखिए, अमरीका एक डेढ़ सौ, पौने दो सौ वर्ष से इस काम में पड़ा है। या अंग्रेज़, या जर्मनी, या जो कुछ है, एक दफ़े आप उस जगह पे पहुँच जायें, उतनी तरक्की आपकी देश की हो जाय कि यह मशीन प्रोडक्शन की ज़ोरों से चलने लगे। आपकी खेती अच्छी होती है, आपके कारखाने बेशुमार हैं, चलते हैं और सब में बड़ी बात आपके सीखे हुए लोग हैं, जो इस काम को कर सकते हैं। क्योंकि असल में लोग चलाते हैं मशीन को, मशीन थोड़े ही अपने आप चलती है। अगर एक दफ़े यह हो जाता है, तब वह चीज़ टूट भी जाये तो जल्दी से बन जाती है। जैसे जर्मनी में लड़ाई के बाद टूट गया सब, लेकिन दस वर्ष में उन्होंने बना लिया, क्योंकि उनके पास मक़सद था, सीखे हुए आदमी थे। हालाँकि, मालूम नहीं, दस-बीस, पचास लाख आदमी लड़ाई में मरे, फिर भी सीखे हुए बाक़ी थे, खँडहर थे, उन्होंने फिर से कारखाने बनाये, फिर चार-पाँच वर्ष में सिलसिला चलने लगा। हम किस तरह से ऐसी जगह पहुँचें, अपने मुल्क को पहुँचायें कि वह बड़ा कारखाना ज़मीन पर खेती का, वो चलने लगे ज़ोरों से और काफ़ी सीखे हुए लोग हो जायें जो उसको चला सकें। एक दफ़ा जब यह हो जाता है तब वह अपने आप तरक्की करता है। जैसे अमरीका में, जैसे रूस में अलग-अलग क्रिस्म के देश हैं...कितना ही पैसा ज़ाया करें...अमरीका से ज़्यादा...अमरीकन से ज़्यादा कोई फ़िज़ूलखर्ची नहीं करता, कोई पैसा ज़ाया नहीं करता। फेंकते हैं, हर चीज़ फेंकते हैं वहाँ, खाना फेंकते हैं, सामान फेंकते हैं, मोटरें चन्द महीने चला कर फेंक देंगे, दूसरी लेंगे, लेकिन बावजूद इसके उनकी पैदावार इतनी है कि फिर भी इफ़रात है, फिर भी बच जाता है। इतना उनका प्रोडक्शन है, बड़ा। यही और मुल्कों में भी है। उतना न हो उससे कम हो कि वो कारखाना ऐसा हो जाता है कि पैदा करता है और सीखे हुए लोग, मेहनती लोग...तो हमें वह करना है। कैसे करें? उसमें भी समय लगता है और सारा फिर मैं आपसे कहता हूँ यह पंचवर्षीय योजना वग़ैरह इसलिए हैं कि हमें क्रदम-ब-क्रदम वहाँ तक पहुँचायें। एकदम से हम पहुँच नहीं सकते, क्योंकि जितना रुपया हम तरक्की में लगायें, उसको पहले हमें पैदा करना

है और खाली पैदा नहीं करना है, अपने खर्च से बचाना है। क्योंकि रुपया जितना हम पैदा करते हैं और खर्चते हैं, नहीं बचता तो तरक्की के लिए नहीं रहता। फ़र्ज़ करो कि हमें कारखाने बनाने हैं, जो भी बनाना है, उसमें पैसा लगता है। वह पैसा कहाँ से आता है? वह जो हमारे रोज़मर्रा के खर्च से बचता है मुल्क के, वह उसमें लगता है। नहीं बचता तो नहीं लगेगा, इसलिए बचाना पड़ता है। अब गरीब देश बचाये कैसे? क्योंकि गरीब देश के माने यही हैं कि उसके पास नहीं है ज़्यादा। यह पेंच गरीब देश में पड़ जाता है। तो गरीब देशों को बावजूद गरीबी के, बचाना पड़ता है, कुछ तकलीफ़ उठा कर, ताकि तरक्की करे, ताकि उनका कल और परसों अच्छा हो, उससे लाभ उठायें।

हम इस देश में चाहते हैं कि यहाँ कारखाने बनें, इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़्ड हो, और बड़े-बड़े कारखाने हों, बनें। अब यों तो आप कहें कानपुर में कुछ हैं, बम्बई में, कलकत्ता में हैं कुछ। लेकिन फिर भी हमारा देश पिछड़े हुए देशों में गिना जाता है, क्योंकि काफ़ी बुनियादी कारखाने हमारे यहाँ नहीं हैं। बुनियादी कारखानों से छोटे कारखाने निकलते हैं, और बनते हैं। बुनियादी कारखाने क्या होते हैं? बुनियादी कारखाने होते हैं लोहे का। लोहे के बग़ैर आजकल काम नहीं चलता। स्टील। बुनियादी कारखाने होते हैं, मशीन बनाने के, क्योंकि मशीन हमें बाहर से न ख़रीदनी पड़ें, हम खुद बनायें और बड़ी मशीन, छोटी नहीं, यह सीविंग [सिलाई] मशीन वग़ैरह नहीं, फ़ुटकर चीज़ें, लेकिन हम बड़ी मशीन बनायें जिससे हम लोहे का कारखाना बना सकें या सीमेंट का कारखाना या कोई कारखाना बनायें।

तीसरी चीज़ जो आवश्यक है, वो पावर है, शक्ति! क्योंकि मशीन चले कैसे? पावर से चलती है। बिजली की पावर हो, थर्मल पावर हो, जो हो; शक्ति से। ये दो-तीन चीज़ें आवश्यक हैं; आपके यहाँ अगर लोहा काफ़ी है और पावर काफ़ी है और आपके यहाँ मशीनें बनती हैं बड़ी-से-बड़ी और दो-तीन चीज़ें और, एक केमिकल इण्डस्ट्री आपके यहाँ माकूल है और कोयला वग़ैरह काफ़ी निकलता है तो आपने एक बुनियाद डाल दी। उसके बाद जो चीज़ें, एक-दो चीज़ें बहुत ज़रूरी और एक सब में ज़रूरी तो यह है कि सीखे हुए आदमी, जो इस बात को कर सकें। याद रखिए कि हम एक लोहे का कारखाना बनायें, पाँच वर्ष में हमने बनाया इसको, सौ-डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये खर्च किये, लेकिन जो आदमी उस लोहे के कारखाने को चलायेगा, उसको बीस वर्ष, पन्द्रह वर्ष लगेगे सीखने में। आदमियों को तैयार करने में कहीं ज़्यादा वक़्त लगता है, बनिस्वत फ़ैक्टरी बना देने के। तो हमें फिर काफ़ी आदमी तैयार करना है इस काम के लिए। ये सब बातें होती हैं, जब ये बातें हो जायेंगी तब मुल्क तेज़ी से बढ़ने लगता है।

अब इन सब बातों को करने में समय लगता है, ख़ासकर आदमियों को तैयार करने में और इतना रुपया पैदा करने में अपनी मेहनत से, इत्ता बचाने में, जिससे यह काम हो सके। तो मैंने आपको समझाने की कोशिश की, यह मामला क्या है, पंचवर्षीय योजना। यह हुल्लड़वाज़ी नहीं है कि यहाँ पुल बना दिया, यहाँ एक सीमेंट का कारखाना खड़ा कर दिया, यहाँ कुछ और हो गया। उनकी माँग आयी कि यह कर दो हमें। आपकी माँग आयी कि रोपवे

नैनीताल में बना दो। मुबारक हो आपको रोपवे नैनीताल में या कहीं। लेकिन रोपवे कोई पंचवर्षीय योजना की चीजों में नहीं आ सकता है, जाहिर-सी बात है। बेहतर है लोग पैदल चढ़ आयें यहाँ, रोपवे उन्हें न मिले, बेहतर है रेल भी उनके आने के लिए न हो। लेकिन रेल होगी, कारखाने में जाने को, कारखाने से माल लाने को, वो ज़रूरी बातें हैं ट्रांसपोर्ट की। तो इस तरह से हमें करना है। तो आप समझें, मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें इस नक्शे को, क्योंकि यहाँ बहुत सारे नौजवान बैठे हैं, लड़के-लड़कियाँ, उनको समझना है, उनके ऊपर बोझा पड़ना है इस हिन्दुस्तान के चलाने का। वो एक जुलूस निकाल कर और नारे उठा कर नहीं चलेगा। हाँ, कभी जुलूस निकाल लें, कभी दिल ठण्डा करने को नारे [बाज़ी] कर दें और बात है, लेकिन मेहनत से और सीखे हुए आदमी की मेहनत से यह बात होगी।

आजकल हमारे देश में हल्के-हल्के क्रदर इंजीनियर की और साइण्टिस्ट की बढ़ती जाती है, क्योंकि इसके माने यह नहीं हैं कि और लोगों की क्रदर न हो। ठीक है, लेकिन वाक़या यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान को बनाना, इसमें...और इस वैज्ञानिक दुनिया में बनाना...इसमें साइण्टिस्ट और इंजीनियर की सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता है। इंजीनियर हर काम करते हैं, चाहे आपकी नदी की योजना हो, रिवर वैली स्कीम हो, भाखड़ा नांगल और दामोदर और ये सब बड़े-बड़े हैं, हीराकुंड। वो तो दुनिया से लोग देखने आते हैं। इंजीनियर लोग उसे बनाते हैं। और उससे हम पावर पैदा करते हैं, शक्ति, और उससे हम पानी लेते हैं अपनी नहरों के लिए, सींचने के लिए, सब बातें हैं। तो ये सब बातें हमें सीखनी हैं, इन सब बातों में और एक माने में सभों को साथ-साथ करना है, अलग-अलग थोड़े ही हैं कि हम पहले कहे अच्छा, हम जा के खेती को सँभालेंगे, फिर हम कारखाने शुरू करेंगे। या हम कहे अच्छा, खेती को पीछे देखेंगे, ज़रा कारखाने बना लें। यह चलता नहीं। तो सब एक बातें साथ-साथ करनी हैं और प्लानिंग के माने ये हैं, योजना बनाने के माने ये हैं कि इस तरह से चारों तरफ़ से हम बढ़ें, दुश्मन पर हमला करें चारों तरफ़ से कि दुश्मन को घेर लें, उसको हरा दें। दुश्मन कौन? हिन्दुस्तान की गरीबी, हिन्दुस्तान की बेरोज़गारी। वह दुश्मन है। कोई मुल्क दुश्मन हमारा नहीं है, न कोई क्रौम है। नहीं तो हम एक तरफ़ से बढ़ें, दूसरी तरफ़ से वह दुश्मन निकल जाये, निकल भागे या हमला करे। तो हमें ये बातें करनी हैं साथ-साथ। इसमें रोज़गार देना बड़ी ज़रूरी बात है। अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट के सवाल को हल करना है, लेकिन उसको भी इस ढंग से कि जिस तरह से हमारी पैदावार बढ़े, प्रोडक्शन बढ़े। हमें हर बात को देखना है, इस गज़ से नापना है कि हमारी...हमारा प्रोडक्शन कैसे बढ़ता है।

मैंने आपसे कहा, ये सब काम हमें साथ करने हैं; फिर भी देखना होता है कौन पहले, कौन पीछे। क्योंकि हर समय हर बात तो साथ नहीं हो सकती। तो उनमें चुनना होता है कि क्या हम पहले जैसे, पहले बड़े कारखाने पे ज़ोर दे रहे हैं, क्योंकि उसकी औलाद छोटी होगी, छोटे कारखाने भी हम बनायेंगे और बन ही रहे हैं, बनने चाहिएँ काफ़ी; उससे रोज़गार भी मिलेगा, पैदावार भी बढ़ेगी। लेकिन अगर किसी बात को इस वक़्त अब्बल जगह देते हैं, बिलकुल ही अब्बल तो वह ज़मीन की पैदावार है, ज़मीन से पैदा होना? क्योंकि अगर ज़मीन से हम काफ़ी

पैदा नहीं करते हैं तो हम कोई जड़ और बुनियाद नहीं डालते अपने कारखाने बनाने की। हमारा एक खेतिहर देश है अब भी, ऐग्रिकल्चरल मुल्क है और अगर हम अपना खाना काफ़ी पैदा न करें, औरों से माँगना पड़े तो फिर खाना ख़ाली है हमारा, और तरफ़ से कैसे तरक्की करें। इसलिए अब्बल बात, सब में अब्बल यह है कि हम अपनी ज़मीन से गल्ले की और और चीज़ों की पैदावार बढ़ायें और उसके साथ यह भी आप याद रखें, जो हम इस समय पैदा करते हैं, वह और मुल्कों का आधा-चौथाई है फ़ी एकड़। क्यों हम इतना कम करते हैं? हमारे किसान अच्छे मेहनती लोग हैं, लेकिन मेहनती कितने ही हों, पिछड़ गये हैं वो। छोटी-मोटी बातें जिससे फ़ायदा होता है खेती में और मुल्कों में, उसका वो प्रयोग नहीं करते। हल चलाते हैं, एक ऐसा हल होता है कि दो-तीन इंच खोदता है ज़मीन। अब पूछिए तीन इंच खोदने में क्या बड़ा लाभ हो। अगर ज़रा मज़बूत हल लगाओ, गहरा, तो जो बैल खींचते हैं, इतने कमज़ोर हैं [कि] उसको खींच ही नहीं सकते, यह तो हालत है। यह सब ग़रीबी के नतीजे हैं। ज़ाहिर है कि हमें ज़्यादा अच्छे हल का इस्तेमाल करना है। ज़्यादा अच्छे चुने हुए बीज हों, खाद हो, फ़र्टिलाइज़र हो, ये सब बातें हों, पानी हो। जहाँ-जहाँ यह हुआ है, हमारी पैदावार दुगुनी-तिगुनी हो गयी है। यों तो बहुत जगह अब यह नया नाम ट्रैक्टर वगैरह चलते हैं, ख़ूब खोदते हैं; मैं नहीं कहता कि हिन्दुस्तान में सारे में ट्रैक्टर चलें; जहाँ चल सकता है, चले; एकदम से हम कर नहीं सकते हैं हिन्दुस्तान में। लेकिन छोटी-मोटी फुटकर चीज़ें हैं आजकल जो हमें विज्ञान सिखाता है, टेक्नोलॉजी, जो कि दुनिया में इस्तेमाल होती है, हमें करनी चाहिए। बहुत महँगी नहीं है।

इसीलिए हमने इस बात पर ज़ोर दिया कि जो हमारे किसान हैं, जिसके पास एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़, ज़मीन है, उस के पास ताक़त नहीं है कि बड़े साइन्स के काम सीखे, या उस पर चले, उसके पास पैसा नहीं है कि कोई नये औज़ार ले। इसलिए हमने ज़ोर दिया कि कोऑपरेटिव तरीक़े से हमें काम करना चाहिए। सहकारी संघ बनाने चाहिए किसानों को, अपने गाँव का, बहुत बड़ा नहीं। क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि एक सहकारी संघ गाँव वालों का एक बड़ा परिवार-सा हो। एक-दूसरे को जाने, न कि बड़ा भारी हो, फिर उसमें अफ़सर आयें। जहाँ बड़े अफ़सरों का, ज़ाहिर है, दुनिया में काम है, हिन्दुस्तान में काम है, लेकिन मैं घबड़ाता हूँ बड़े अफ़सरों से, क्योंकि जहाँ यह अफ़सरी चीज़ आयी, वहाँ ज़रा ढंग बदल जाता है। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि इतने बड़े-बड़े काम जो होते हैं तो कोई चारा नहीं है उसमें अफ़सरी ढंग को लाना ही पड़ता है। आखिर अफ़सर कौन होते हैं? सीखे हुए आदमी होते हैं, जिनको तजुर्बा है, अभ्यास है, सीखे हैं, उनको काम दिया जाता है। लेकिन जब हम बड़े काम उठाते हैं, समाज के उठाने के, तो न अफ़सर, न मन्त्री उसको कर सकते हैं पूरी तौर से। उसको ख़ाली जनता करती है। समाज को उठाना, समाज ही कर सकता है। कोई ऊपर से बड़ा अफ़सर आ के या बड़ा मन्त्री आ कर नहीं करता। मन्त्री या अफ़सर मदद करता है। मन्त्री या अफ़सर सलाह दे सकता है, लेकिन समाज को करना है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि जो ढंग काम करने का हमारा हो, वह पूरा अफ़सरी नहीं होना चाहिए जिसमें समाज समझे कि अफ़सर कर देंगे यह काम। अगर यह समझेंगे तो समाज धोखे में है। जिसको अंग्रेज़ी में ब्यूरोक्रेसी कहते हैं,

ब्यूरोक्रेसी तो होती है और जितना समाजवाद होगा, उतनी ब्यूरोक्रेसी आपकी बढ़ेगी। लेकिन ब्यूरोक्रेटिक तरीका काम करने का फिर भी अच्छा नहीं है। समाज को लाना है, समाज को करना है।

आप सोचें, हमारे यहाँ साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव हैं देश में। हम कोई नक्शा बनायें कि गवर्नमेंट साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव में कोई काम करे तो बड़ा ज़बरदस्त नक्शा हो, बड़ा पैसा खर्चा हो, चाहे काम छोटा ही क्यों न हो। लेकिन अगर कोई ऐसा नक्शा हो कि एक-एक गाँव अपना काम कुछ कर ले तो साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव वाले एक-एक गाँव में कर सकें तो फ़ौरन कर देंगे और आसानी से हो जायेगा। इसलिए जितने काम हम करते हैं, वह सभी समाज का उठाना, तभी पक्की तौर से होता है कि जब जागृत समाज हो, जागी हुई हो, सीखी हुई हो, काम करने वाली हो। सड़क बनानी है, कुँआ खोदना है, विद्यालय बनाना है गाँव में, पंचायत घर बनाना है, पचासों बातें करनी हैं। गाँव वाले चाहें अपने परिश्रम से, मेहनत से कर लें। थोड़ा-सा खर्च भी हो। और सहकारी [सरकारी] तरीके से चलें तो ज़माना गुजर जाये, उता पैसा भी न निकले, नहीं आ सकता है, और खर्च बहुत ज़्यादा हो, हो नहीं सकता। इसलिए सारा ध्यान हमारा यह है कि लोग खुद काम करें, सरकार मदद करे और अफ़सर मदद करें, लोग करें और लोगों की ज़िम्मेदारी हो। जो ग्राम की पंचायत है, उसकी हैसियत ऊँची की जाये, उसकी ज़िम्मेदारी हो, उसकी आमदनी बढ़ायी जाये, उसको पैसा अधिक दिया जाये और उस पर छोड़ा जाये; यहाँ तक छोड़ा जाये कि ग़लती करे तो ग़लती करे, ग़लती से सीखे अपनी। वो समझ लें कि हमारी ज़िम्मेदारी है और पंचायत ग़लती करेगी तो गाँव वाले उससे सीखेंगे। यह अपाहिजपना नहीं जैसा आजकल है, जहाँ जाओ सरकार कर दे, गवर्नमेंट कर दे। जिधर देखो हाथ फैलाते हैं, पैसा लाओ, हम करेंगे।

यहाँ तक कि जो हमारे ऐसे बहुत-सी ऐसी संस्थाएँ हैं जो समाजसेवी संस्थाएँ हैं, आजकल हर संस्था का यह काम है कि गवर्नमेंट, लाओ पैसा दो तो हम काम करेंगे। जिधर देखो गवर्नमेंट से पैसा माँगते हैं, अजीब तमाशा है। पैसे का इतना सवाल नहीं है। यह दिमाग़ ग़लत है कि हर बात गवर्नमेंट से माँगिए और गवर्नमेंट करे। इस दिमाग़ को हमें तोड़ना है। लोगों को खुद करना है काम, गाँवों में, शहर में खुद करना है और ज़ाहिर है गवर्नमेंट का काम यह है कि रास्ता साफ़ करे, जहाँ हो सकता है, मदद करे। अफ़सर का काम यह सलाह करें। तो हम इन सब कामों से जहाँ तक हो सके अफ़सरों को हटाना चाहते हैं, सिवा एक सलाहकार की हैसियत से। यह मैं जानता हूँ कि गाँवों में फूट होती है, गाँवों में कोई फ़रिश्ते नहीं रहते हैं। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि हमारा किसान कोई देवता है जो कि...वह लड़ाई-झगड़ा करता है, वह झूठ बोलता है, वह सब बातें करता है, लेकिन फिर भी मुझे उस पे भरोसा है। उस पे, एक आदमी पे नहीं, हिन्दुस्तान के किसान पर भरोसा है कि उसको ज़िम्मेदार तुम बनाओ तो उस ज़िम्मेदारी से वह सीखेगा। इसी तरह से क्रौमें बढ़ती हैं, नहीं तो क्या। आप तैरना सीखना चाहते हैं तो क्या ऊपर नाच के सीखेंगे, पानी में घुसना पड़ता है। तो इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि पंचायत की ताक़त बढ़े और उसकी आमदनी बढ़े और उसकी ज़िम्मेदारी बढ़े और उसमें

हिम्मत हो। जब देखे कि अपना काम उसे करना है उसको हिम्मत हो अपने ऊपर टैक्स बढ़ाने की, जो औरों की नहीं होती हिम्मत आजकल, अपने काम के लिए, किसी और के लिए नहीं, अपने गाँव के काम के लिए।

दूसरे यह कि हर गाँव में सहकारी संघ हो, कोऑपरेटिव हो, गाँव वालों में। उस पर भी हम बहुत कुछ छोड़ा चाहते हैं। वो सीखें। ये दो बातें और गाँव में विद्यालय, स्कूल तो होना आवश्यक है। अब यह हरेक मानता है कि कोऑपरेटिव, कोऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट एक अच्छी चीज़ है। हर मुल्क में खेती में कोऑपरेशन है, हर मुल्क में है, सवाल एक उठा जिसमें कुछ बहस यहाँ हुई कि कोऑपरेशन तो हो, लेकिन कोऑपरेशन में वह हमने कहा कि बाद में मिल कर खेती हो गाँवों की, बड़ी नहीं। हमारी राय में उसे बहुत लाभ होगा, ज़्यादा पैदा होगा उन गाँव वालों का फ़ायदा होगा। याद रखिए, हमने यह नहीं कहा कि गाँव वालों की ज़मीन उनसे छीन ली जाये, वह ज़मीन तो उनकी रहेगी, उनकी मिलकियत रहेगी, लेकिन मिल कर काम। जैसे फ़र्ज़ करो एक बड़ा परिवार है, अपनी अलग-अलग भाइयों की ज़मीन है, मिल कर वे जोतते हैं, अलग-अलग हिस्सा है, हम एक गाँव को बड़ा परिवार समझते हैं। और उसको भी हम किया चाहते हैं उनकी रज़ामन्दी से, उनकी समझ से। समझ जायें, तैयार हो जायें, हम जल्दी नहीं किया चाहते हैं। फिर भी लोग, कुछ इसका विरोध कर रहे हैं। मेरी तो समझ में नहीं आती बात, और विरोध करते हैं, कोई और बात बताते नहीं हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि हमें एक जगह पहुँचना है जो मैंने आपसे कहा एक आगे हमें अपने पाँच लाख गाँवों को उठाना है। कैसे उठायें, मुझे कोई समझाये। मैं कहता हूँ कोई और तरीका नहीं है, सिवा यह कोऑपरेशन का और परिश्रम का। और एक और बात कि हम गाँवों में उद्योग-धन्धे शुरू करें यानी अलावा खेती के, उद्योग-धन्धे, छोटे कारखाने, वगैरह। क्योंकि ज़मीन पर हमारे बहुत लोग फ़िज़ूल रहते हैं, उनकी ज़रूरत नहीं है ज़मीन पर। जो मुल्क पिछड़ा हुआ होता है हमेशा आप यह बात देखेंगे कि ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा लोग ज़मीन पर पड़े हैं। तो मैं नहीं चाहता कि गाँव के लोग शहरों में आयें, लेकिन गाँवों में धन्धे शुरू हों, ग्राम-उद्योग तो हम चाहते ही हैं, लेकिन छोटे कारखाने, छोटी मशीन चलें, जिससे गाँव उभरेगा। यानी हमारा ऐग्रिकल्चर, हमारी खेती बढ़े, वह सब में ज़्यादा कोऑपरेटिव मूवमेंट से बढ़ेगी और वहीं और काम हों, उद्योग-धन्धे गाँव में हों, इस तरह से गाँव उठेगा। बड़े कारखाने वगैरह तो हिन्दुस्तान में बनेंगे ही, और बन रहे हैं, बढ़ेंगे।

तो इस तरह से हमें यह काम करना है और इस तरह से हमें लोगों को सिखाना है। इसके लिए, इन कामों को करने के लिए। हम बढ़ाते जाते हैं, इस वक्रत हिन्दुस्तान में पहले के मुक्राबले में मालूम नहीं कितना गुना बढ़ गयी हैं हमारी इंजीनियरिंग सीखने की जगहें, साइन्स सीखने की जगहें, बड़ी-बड़ी लेबोरेटरीज़, क्योंकि जिस मुल्क में विज्ञान नहीं, विज्ञान में तरक्की नहीं करता, पिछड़ा हुआ मुल्क है। आपको ये बातें करनी हैं।

तो आप देखें कि आजकल के हिन्दुस्तान में कितने, एक नये-नये नक्शे बनते हैं, कितने नये-नये रास्ते खुलते जाते हैं। हाँ, उन रास्तों में काँटे हैं, पत्थर हैं। उन पे चलने में ज़रा तकलीफ़ है, मेहनत है। लेकिन कोई इतने बड़े काम को आप करें पलंग पर लेते-लेते यह तो

फ़िज़ूल बात है सोचने की, किसी मुल्क ने नहीं किया है। परिश्रम करना है, लेकिन परिश्रम कैसा करना है। परिश्रम करना अपने लिए, अपने क़ौम के लिए, अपने मुल्क के लिए, अपने मुल्क को बढ़ाने के लिए। ऐसा परिश्रम परिश्रम नहीं होता है, यह खेल होता है। यह एक दिल बढ़ता है, इन्सान को बढ़ाता है, आपका क्रोध बढ़ेगा। यह हमारे सामने की चीज़ है।

लोग मेरे पास आये, एक साहब अभी, एक यूनिवर्सिटी में एक सवाल किया गया, यूनिवर्सिटी के लड़के ने किया, कि साहब अब हमारे सामने क्या है? मालूम नहीं, नौकरी मिले कि न मिले और अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट और यह और वह। मैंने सोचा असल में यह सवाल मुझ से नहीं, यह हमारे उपराष्ट्रपति डॉ. राधाकृष्णन से किया गया था। तो डॉ. राधाकृष्णन ने उनसे कहा कि ज़रा थोड़ी देर के लिए तुम सोचो कि जब वो डॉ. राधाकृष्णन यूनिवर्सिटी में पढ़ते थे तब हिन्दुस्तान में नौजवानों के लिए ओपनिंग्स क्या थीं? क्या हिन्दुस्तान की शक्ल थी, क्या रास्ते थे तरक्की के, काम करने के, और उससे मुकाबला इस वक़्त का करो तब तुम्हारी कुछ समझ में आयेगा, क्या फ़र्क़ हुआ और ऐसे ही बदलता जायेगा, बदल रहा है, कोशिश कर रहे हैं हम। इस वक़्त भी हज़ार रास्ते आपके लिए हैं, हज़ार रास्ते नौजवानों के लिए हैं। हाँ क्राबलियत की ज़रूरत है, मेहनत की ज़रूरत है। छोड़ दीजिए, हमारी फ़ौज ही को आप लीजिए। कोई फ़ौज के अफ़सर उस ज़माने में होते नहीं थे हिन्दुस्तान के, ख़ाली सिपाही होते थे। अब फ़ौज के अफ़सर, हवाई जहाज़ के अच्छे-से-अच्छे हमारे अफ़सर, समुद्री फ़ौज के हैं। हमारी साइन्स को लीजिए, इस वक़्त काफ़ी अच्छे हमारे नौजवान लड़के और लड़कियाँ साइण्टिस्ट काम कर रहे हैं, हज़ारों की तादाद में। मैं नहीं जानता कितने लेकिन फिर भी मेरा ख़याल है, बीस-पच्चीस हज़ार हैं साइन्स के ख़ालिस।

अब मैं इसमें यूनिवर्सिटीज़ को नहीं ले रहा हूँ, वह तो पढ़ने वाले हैं। मैं कह रहा हूँ, हमारे इंजीनियर इस वक़्त हमने गिनती की थी चार वर्ष हुए, बहतर हज़ार थे बड़े-छोटे। मेरा ख़याल है, इस वक़्त एक लाख से ऊपर काम कर रहे हैं हमारे। मैं यह गवर्नमेंट के काम का नहीं कहता। देश हमारा बड़ा है हमारी डिप्लोमैटिक सर्विस में राजदूत कितने हैं, बीस, दस-बीस हज़ार आदमी वहाँ काम कर रहे हैं। ज़ाहिर है हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों में दस-बीस हज़ार आदमी और एक लाख उधर बहुत नहीं हैं, लेकिन ये तो सब रास्ते हैं। असल में तो काम हिन्दुस्तान में हो रहा है, तिजारत बढ़ रही है, कारखाने बढ़ रहे हैं, हज़ारों काम हैं, कितने रास्ते हों और कितना एक आइन्दा...आप देखिए तकलीफ़ वग़ैरह ज़रूर है, नज़र आती है, मेहनत करनी है। लेकिन एक भविष्य कितना खुशनुमा मालूम होता है। हाँ, जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, ऐसे आदमियों का, ऐसे मौक़े पर जब मुल्क तेज़ी से बढ़ता है, ऐसे मौक़े पर कमज़ोर की, और सुस्त आदमी की, ढीले आदमी की क्रदर नहीं हो सकती। जो आदमी आगे बढ़ता है अपनी हिम्मत से दूसरे के साथ सहयोग से काम करता है, जिसमें अपना भी फ़ायदा होता है, और का भी, वो बढ़ता है।

तो मैंने आपके सामने कुछ तस्वीर रखने की कोशिश की, पुराने ज़माने की, गुज़रे ज़माने की। आजकल का ज़माना आपके सामने है और आगे का। आजकल का ज़माना अजीबो-ग़रीब

है। दुनिया को देखिए तो डॉवाडोल है। या तो ऐटम बम से तबाह हो जायेगी या ज़ोरों से तरक्की करेगी, अमन होगा पता नहीं। बहरसूरत, जो भी कुछ हो, हमें अपने मुल्क को महफूज रखने को, बचाने को अपनी ताकत बढ़ानी है, छोटे झगड़ों में नहीं पड़ना है। तैयार रखना है, मेहनत करनी है।

अपने मुल्क को देखिए, एक तरफ़ से ज़ोरों से तरक्की, दूसरी तरफ़ से परेशान करने वाले सवाल। अभी दो-तीन फ़सलों से खाना बहुत नहीं मिलता। पिछले दो-तीन वर्ष गुज़रे, फ़सलें ख़राब हुईं। अब दो फ़सलें अच्छी हुईं, काफ़ी अच्छी हुईं, क्यों अच्छी हुईं वो? ख़ैर, बारिश हुई, माना, लेकिन अलावा इसके यह पहले के काम का नतीजा है कि फ़सलें अब अच्छी हुईं हैं कि ज़्यादा हम पैदा कर रहे हैं। मुझे कोई दिल में शक नहीं है कि हम ज़्यादा पैदा करते जायेंगे। हमारा प्रोडक्शन बढ़ेगा, बढ़ता जायेगा।

लेकिन एक अजीब तमाशा आजकल है कि हमने इस साल हमारी फ़सल अच्छी हुई, फिर भी कुछ दाम बढ़े हुए हैं मण्डियों में काफ़ी ग़ल्ला नहीं आता। अजीब तमाशा है, लोग दबाये बैठे हुए हैं कि ज़्यादा दाम मिलेंगे। यह अच्छी बात नहीं है और मैं नहीं कह सकता कि उनको उससे कुछ फ़ायदा हो या नुक़सान हो, हो सकता है, कुछ फ़ायदा हो जाये, लेकिन बाद में उन्हें उस तर्ज़ से काफ़ी नुक़सान होगा, यह मुझे यक़ीन है। क्योंकि अब ज़माना आता है ग़ल्ले के सिलसिले में हमारी पैदावार बढ़ेगी, मुझे कोई शक नहीं है। जैसे बढ़ी है, बढ़ती जायेगी। कब तक वो दबा कर रखेंगे, इनको सोचना है, यह बेजा बात है कि इस तरह से एक-दो पैसे ज़्यादा बनाने के लिए दबाना या ज़मींदार से कहना, तुम दबाये रखो, हम पीछे ले लेंगे। कहीं-कहीं उन्होंने ख़रीद भी लिया है। कहा, तुम रखे रहो इस डर के मारे कि हम अब ले आयें, शायद हमसे गवर्नमेंट ले लेगी। ख़ैर, गवर्नमेंट लेना चाहेगी जब तो ज़रूर लेगी, अगर आवश्यकता हुई तो लेगी गवर्नमेंट, क्योंकि यह तो बर्दाश्त नहीं है कि किसी के पैसे बनाने के लिए आम लोगों को परेशानी बढ़े। लेकिन हम चाहते नहीं हैं यह करना। हम चाहते हैं समझ के, बूझ के, मशविरे से, समझौते से ये बातें हों। लेकिन खाने और ग़ल्ले के मामले में यह ऐसा नाजुक मामला है कि कोई रास्ते में आये तो उसको हटाना पड़ेगा और कोई अपने पैसे के लालच के रास्ते में आये और नुक़सान हो कुछ दिन तक, उससे फ़ायदा उठा ले, ज़्यादा दिन तक नहीं कर सकता।

लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ, आप ज़्यादा दूर तक देखिए, ये बातें हो नहीं सकतीं, क्योंकि मुझे उम्मीद है कि हमारी अब हर साल ...हमारा प्रोडक्शन ग़ल्ले का बढ़ेगा। अच्छी बात है, बढ़ना चाहिए और उसमें यह चाल नहीं फिर चली जा सकती और मैं तो समझता हूँ कि जैसे हमारे ये सहयोग से, सहकारी संघ चलेंगे, यह मसला भी आसानी से रोज़-बरोज़ हल होता जायेगा।

तो अब मैंने तो आपका बहुत वक़्त लिया और कुछ अब हवाएँ भी ठण्डी हो गयी हैं इसलिए, और बच्चे बहुत परेशान हैं। तो अब मैं ख़त्म करता हूँ और आपने बड़े शान्ति से सुना उसके लिए धन्यवाद।

जयहिन्द!



अब ज़रा बच्चे बहुत देर से यहाँ बैठे हैं चुपचाप। अब ज़रा बच्चों को और बड़ों को मेरे साथ तीन दफ़े जयहिन्द कहना है, जब मैं कहूँ तब – जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द!

[ Translation begins:

President and Members of the Municipality, brothers, sisters and children, Let me first get through a formality. I use the word formality but it is something more than that. I want to say thank you for the manpatra given to me by the Municipality. Though the relationship between you and me is not such as to warrant a formal manpatra from you, I thank you for it. Occasionally formality is also a good thing. I shall tell you a secret which you must not tell anyone. Ever since I became the Prime Minister, I have never liked too much of protocol. I do not think there is a proper translation of the word “protocol” in Hindi. Like various formalities which have to be gone through on special occasions. There are old traditions and new, some have come down from the times of the British, the viceregal days, and some we have added on. There is a certain protocol when the ambassadors and others of two nations meet, which has to be observed. An ambassador is the representative of his country and in honouring him formally, we honour his country. That is true but even so I am not in favour of too much protocol. I have not got used to it and often feel hemmed in. Therefore, as you may have seen, sometimes I misbehave which upsets my colleagues very much, because their rules and regulations are disturbed somewhat.

However, I have not come to talk about formal matters nor shall I reply to the various things mentioned in this manpatra. There is a demand that there should be a broad gauge railway line to Kathgodam and also that some arrangements should be made for the residents of this place for protection against the cold in winter, and so on. They are essential and something will be done when the time comes. The question is of priorities, not only in Nainital but all over India.

I do not remember, but I think I have come to Nainital after five or six years. I had come last in connection with the elections and stopped here for a few hours. Perhaps, I did not stay the night; I do not remember. I came here exactly eleven years ago, in 1948<sup>64</sup> and stayed for a couple of days on that occasion. As far as I remember, before that, in 1945, when I was released from Almora Jail, I had passed through Nainital.<sup>65</sup> I think a meeting was held in this very ground. All this was long ago but sitting here and looking at these

64. See fn 62 in this section.

65. See fn 63 in this section.

mountains, I am reminded of the days gone by and the past unrolls before my eyes. I do not know when I came to Nainital for the first time. I think I must have been brought here as a child, when I was as old as the children seated here. I do not remember. But I remember coming here fifty-six or fifty-seven years ago and since then I have come many times, although for a long time now, my trips have become very infrequent. So as I sit here, not only my past associations with Nainital come before me, but also the entire period of fifty to sixty years of India's history and to some extent of the world.

And, I think of the innumerable changes and turmoil and upheaval that occurred in the world and in our country. When we grew out of childhood and began to look around us, new thoughts and ideas and visions filled our minds and we dreamt of building a new India. To some extent we have participated in making the history of this country during this period. We have played a small role in the great drama that unfolded in India and sitting at the feet of a great leader, we too accomplished something. India fought a peaceful battle for freedom and won. Some of our dreams came true and it is very few people who have the good fortune to clothe their dreams in reality. This happened to us.

So, sitting here and thinking of the days gone by, the thoughts immediately draw towards the other side, towards the future, towards the period about to come and I wonder what upheavals the next fifty years will bring. What will be the condition of India and the world when the children who are sitting here grow up to be my age? Nobody can say because it is difficult to peep into the future. But what is the future? It is not something which descends on you from the heavens. The future is what we in the present make. The present age in India has not come out of thin air. It has been moulded by the hard work and effort of the people of India and their sacrifices. Similarly, the future will be what you and I and the millions of people in this country want it to be and the way we mould it. It is absurd and highly foolish to sit in idleness and think that the future will be as we want it to be. Such people should get no help at all because it is only by daring and courage that nations achieve something. One does not get anything by sitting idle or counting beads or bemoaning one's fate. You can count beads for other purposes. But to count beads with the idea that we are thereby moulding the future of India is to malign the divine and prove one's foolishness. We can build India's future only by the strength of our arms, courage, daring, hard work, sacrifice, unity and cooperation. There were certain obstacles in the past and there are obstacles now. In the past, one big obstacle was British rule of which Nainital was an important centre. Evidences of those days can be seen even to this day. Anyhow, one big obstacle, which countries under foreign domination face, has been removed. We became free and most of the restrictions, that we laboured under, have been removed. We

are now free to make our own decisions and choose a path for ourselves. It may not be quite correct to say that we are completely free, because there are always all kinds of restrictions and compulsions, of the world around us, of circumstances, which we cannot escape. But a nation which has courage can overcome even those obstacles.

We have seen a great many ups and downs in the last fifty years. There have been occasions when one felt frustrated and pessimistic. There have even been occasions when one felt a sense of hopelessness, and I would say that these have been more frequent since Independence, as compared to the time when a storm burst over North India and Pakistan was created. We felt more frustrated at that time than we ever did during the freedom struggle. During the days of the freedom struggle, there were ups and downs which we put up with quite cheerfully. Moreover, we had a leader in whom we reposed complete confidence and no matter how great the difficulty, we had complete faith that we would be able to solve it with his advice and guidance. We had confidence in ourselves, in our courage and the country and the people. But in the holocaust which followed close on the heels of independence, when Hindus as well as Muslims and Sikhs behaved in a completely barbaric way, we lost that faith somewhat. It is absurd to blame the Hindus or the Muslims alone, because the fact is that everyone had turned into a barbarian and committed all kinds of atrocities. We were amazed because this was the country which had fought a non-violent battle against the British. This was the country which had won a great reputation in the world as a peace-loving, non-violent, soft hearted nation. The fact is that there are both godly qualities as well as animal instincts in all of us. A nation's progress or downfall depends on the extent to which these qualities are suppressed or encouraged. When a great leader like Mahatma Gandhi comes on the scene, he imparts his own strength to the nation and exercises a spell under which people learn to behave courageously. Under his shadow we also grew in stature...By saying "we" I mean not only you and I, but the millions of farmers and others in India...We began to hold our heads high and gained courage. This was a period which will find a permanent place in India's history. The great leaders who are talked about today, will be forgotten. But the common man in India will find a place in Indian history for the way in which he fought for freedom during the last thirty or forty years under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and got it, by peaceful, civilised methods and set a new example before the world. Under the influence of Gandhiji we, too, became a little taller, we, too, gained some height. Still, after all, some of our defects have not been removed; many weaknesses still persist and it is obvious that they can be removed only gradually. Since Independence, these have started coming to the fore once again. For one thing, as I told you, we have become lazy and are willing to go

around with a begging bowl. There are very few people who are prepared to work hard and take on the burden of building a new India. Everyone seems to think that with the coming of freedom, the time has come to relax. They think that now all their demands should be fulfilled. They have a right to do so. But at the same time, they must think about how the poverty that afflicts India can be removed and what we should do to make the country more prosperous. We want everyone to have a better standard of living, reduce the disparity between the haves and the have-nots. These are the problems that we face today. They were there before Independence, too, but then we were busy in our struggle for freedom. Now, we have to tackle them urgently. There are demands from every side and perhaps they are justified. But where is the money to come from? It is obvious that other countries cannot give us much. We are an independent nation and will have to stand on our own feet. We will not get wealth from the Soviet Union or China, Japan or the United States and if by any chance, we do, it will only ruin us because a nation can never progress by relying on others.

The greatest lesson that Mahatma Gandhi taught us was to stand on our own feet. In all the twenty-five to thirty years when he was fighting for India's freedom he did not ask for assistance from any other country, except perhaps their blessings and sympathy. He did not ask for donations or money, because he kept one big goal before him constantly. What was that? You may say it was getting freedom and in a sense that is correct. But I would say that the real problem before him was different. The real problem was to somehow uplift a downtrodden country and to infuse new life and spirit into crushed souls. He did this by teaching millions of human beings to stand on their own feet, hold their heads high and to work hard because he knew that once the people learnt these things, *swaraj* will come automatically. Nobody would be able to keep it away from us. But if we did not learn these lessons, then, even if we managed to get freedom, it would soon slip away, because there would be no one to defend it and take on responsibilities. Therefore, his attention was concentrated not upon acquiring freedom from the British through some cunning moves. It is possible that in those twenty-five or thirty years, he could have come to an agreement with the British on a number of occasions if he had wanted to. He laid great stress on mutual agreement. But his attention was concentrated on uplifting the people of India and not to win freedom somehow for a weak nation. That would have meant substituting Indian officials for British officials and nothing would have changed much. Gandhiji was far-sighted and his attention was concentrated entirely on the weak and the downtrodden sections of society in India. He drew the attention of the people constantly to the poor and the oppressed; the so-called untouchables whom the higher castes had suppressed for centuries and the social organisation which permitted such things. To him

freedom meant the upliftment of these millions.

So you can see where his attention was focused. His main goal was to make the country strong and teach the people to work hard, to be united and stout of heart. He did all this and for a short while, he gave a fresh lustre to a downtrodden nation in the eyes of the world. It would be an exaggeration to say that the country was immediately transformed forever or improved at once. Ultimately, our progress depends on our own effort. But he showed us the path and we took advantage of his teachings. Then he passed away; by a strange quirk of fate, he lost his life at the hands of an Indian lad. It should serve as a constant reminder about the evil forces that operate in this country and the need to combat them.

Well, this was all in the past. But the present is a product of the past. The past, the present and the future are all linked together. Just as Indians believe that an individual has to reap the consequences of his actions, similarly a nation too reaps the consequences of its actions. A stout-hearted nation will progress, while a cowardly one will become backward.

Now with the coming of freedom we were faced with enormous problems of reorganising society and planning to make the country more prosperous. The idea has never been to substitute an Indian officer for the British and to preserve the status quo. Freedom meant many things and one of them obviously was that British rule should go. But the real measure of freedom for us has been the impact that it has on India's millions and how far they progress and become more prosperous and get out of the mire of poverty, etc. How much they gain in strength and fortitude ?

The task of uplifting forty crore human beings is an uphill task. It cannot be done by magic and requires hard work. But behind that, the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi about the importance of unity, hard work, sacrifice, etc, are very essential. We must remember that the freedom that we fought for is the birthright of every single Indian and not of a handful of the upper castes or rich men or high officials. We want no part of such freedom. We want that everyone should have an equal share in that freedom and, as far as possible, the disparity between the rich and the poor should be removed. After all, everyone is not alike nor do I say that they be should be alike. There are bound to be differences in stature and intelligence and what not. But people should get an equal opportunity for progress and then each individual can go as far as his ability permits. It is obvious that such opportunities are not available nowadays, especially to the millions of people in the rural areas. People in big cities can afford to send their children to schools and colleges and they are welcome to such opportunities. But what needs to be considered is how many people in the country get such opportunities.

All these things need to be done. What is the true yardstick for measuring progress? You cannot judge India's progress by the growth of a city or the beautiful buildings that are built there. The true yardstick is the state of the slums in the urban areas and so long as they continue to exist, our task will not be complete. It will take time, require an investment of crores of rupees and there are tremendous difficulties in the way. But our task will not be complete so long as you have crowded, dirty slums and downtrodden people in the country.

Mahatma Gandhi had once said that so long as there is a single tear in the eyes of one human being, man, woman or child, his mission will be incomplete. This was his greatness and the memory of it moves one. But it is obvious that there are many tears in many eyes in India. There is dire poverty, difficulties and hardships which need to be removed. It cannot be done in a year or even ten years. But so long as that does not happen, the task will be incomplete. Please remember that that should be the yardstick. That does not mean that we should make a noise, shout slogans and raise a hue and cry about the problems of the country as if they will be solved by such tactics. First of all, we must have definite goals and ideals before us. We must know where we are going and the kind of India that we wish to build. Secondly, we must think intelligently about our problems and try to find a solution for them. Thirdly, hard work and effort are extremely important, for no nation can progress without that. There are often debates over the various isms—socialism, communism, capitalism, Gandhism, and what not. But you must always bear in mind the fact that no matter which ism we may adopt, it requires a tremendous amount of hard work. The nation which becomes slack and lazy will be weakened and become backward. The world shows no mercy to the weak and the backward and the timid. Individuals may show some mercy to one another, but the world is ruthless. Nature shows no mercy either and follows its own rules and laws. But we can benefit greatly if we understand nature and use the great sources of energy and power hidden in it. We cannot compete with nature – the Sun and the stars and the mountains. But if its energy is harnessed and the laws of nature are clearly understood, we will gain in strength.

What is the world like today? You often read in newspapers about man's effort to reach the moon. Then there is atomic energy and the atomic bomb which can kill millions of human beings at one stroke. Atomic energy is a great source of power which can transform the world. There is no magic about all this. Electricity is being used for this microphone through which I am speaking. It merely requires a skilled and trained man to utilise electricity in various ways. There is no magic involved in it. It is a question of understanding the forces of Nature and harnessing them, whether it is to run a train or fly a plane or whatever it is. Secondly, the important thing is the manner in which these

forces of nature are utilised. If used unwisely, they can destroy the whole world. It would be no fault of nature. It will only be a symbol of man's wisdom or foolishness. If you give a knife to a monkey it will misuse it. Human beings cut off people's throats with knives which shows their foolishness and is not the fault of the knife. Therefore we must try to understand these things. We must understand clearly the world of today and our own country and nature.

What does that imply? The countries which have understood nature like England, the United States, the Soviet Union and other European countries have advanced very far and grown extremely powerful. They have become very wealthy because they have served nature and tried to understand it through the medium of science. They have used it for good as well as evil. The big stockpile of arms is definitely harmful to the world. But the countries of the West have mastered the forces of nature by a great deal of hard work and effort. You might have seen Englishmen indulging in various sports in Nainital. But the establishment of the British Empire in India is a saga of their heroism and spirit of adventure. They came to India at a time when there were no trains and steamships, etc., and had to weather great storms on the way. It took six months to reach here and they had to cross uncharted oceans. But in spite of thousands of deaths and disasters, they reached the shores of India, because they had courage and a spirit of adventure. What they did in India is a different matter. But you have to respect their courage.

So, the West has advanced by its courage and hard work and by serving the cause of science. I can give you innumerable examples. There have been two great world wars in the last forty to forty-five years and the second one ended just twelve or thirteen years ago. Many countries were ruined particularly Germany. Its cities and industries lay in a mass of smoking ruin and rubble. Similarly, Japan was also ruined and the atom bomb razed two of its cities to the ground. The German forces devastated the Soviet Union. This was the situation in Europe at the end of the Second World War twelve or thirteen years ago. Today, Germany and Japan are two of the world's leading capitalist countries. The Soviet Union is a Communist country. The two ideologies are completely different. But within a space of eight to ten years, all these three are on their feet once again. Germany, Japan and the Soviet Union are prosperous and wealthy and highly industrialised countries today. Cities, where it was difficult to find even a single undamaged house, are prosperous, thriving hives of activity once again. Is it not extraordinary that within twelve or thirteen years, the people of these countries have been able to put themselves back on their feet by their courage, daring and hard work? They have been able to do so by serving the cause of science. The people are hardworking. No amount of intelligence and other things can be of any use without hard work.

It has been an old tradition in India to look down upon manual labour and to respect people who live off the labour of others. How can a country which believes in such a principle progress? A country can progress only by hard work and respect for manual labour. It is obvious that intellectual work should be respected. But manual labour should not be looked down upon. Moreover, the people who live off other peoples' labour must not be respected. I had a friend in Europe who had three beautiful little children whom he used to teach not to let a single day pass without doing some work. His principle was that no individual has the right to anything without working for it. So every day the children were asked what they had done. They were not given anything very strenuous to do. But the idea was imprinted in the minds of those eight to ten year olds about the importance of working. How many mothers would there be in this country who feel this way? By and large, they spoil their children by over indulgence and over feeding with the result that their health suffers and they become weak and delicate.

Therefore, it is necessary to change our way of thinking and dividing people into compartments and give respect to manual labour and hard work because the world moves through the effort of human beings. I agree that mental effort is very essential, but nothing can be achieved without hard work. So both intellectual and manual work should be respected.

As I said in the beginning, sometimes I look back upon the fifty years that have gone by and the changes that have come over the world and India. Then I wonder what these children who are sitting here will find when they grow up to be my age and look back upon these years. It has fallen to our lot to build the edifice of a new India for the future generations. We must be clear in our minds about the direction in which we wish to move. I keep repeating again and again that we must always bear in mind the fact that whatever policy we decide to follow has to be backed by a few important factors. One is unity. It is obvious that if there is no unity in the country, India will be free only on the map. Even now, complete emotional integration is lacking in India. Sometimes there are disputes between provinces or over languages and caste and religion and what not. These things weaken us terribly.

Communalism has done great harm to the country and ultimately resulted in the partition of India. Yet, even today, there are people in the country who are inclined towards communalism and incite others in the name of religion. The moment you indulge in such activities, believe me, India will be divided and subdivided into further little pieces, if not physically, certainly mentally and emotionally, and become weak. Therefore the first lesson to be constantly borne in mind is India's unity and emotional integration of the people belonging to various religions, states, etc. They are welcome to cherish their diversities,



but the unity of the country should be unbroken. We must respect one another. The greatness of India and the factor that has made her famous all over the world during her thousands of years of history was the tolerance among the people of conflicting views on different religions, etc. They existed side by side with the mutual consent and tolerance of the people. This is not something which existed on paper. You find it engraved in the stone inscriptions of Emperor Ashoka more than 2300 years ago. His message carved in stone calls out to us to this day. The basis of Indian culture is tolerance. Do you remember what the inscriptions say? He wrote that it is not enough to respect your own religion. You must respect the religions and ideas of other people. The human being who fails to do this will fail to respect his own religion. Just imagine this was the voice that rang out in India more than 2000 year ago and even earlier. This is what was responsible for India's strength and greatness. How can India progress if we forget it in this age and indulge in communal activities which vitiate the atmosphere in the name of our ancient religion and culture? This is a fundamental thing.

The second fundamental thing is hard work and respect for labour. I keep repeating this also again and again because people in India are not generally very hardworking, if you will forgive me for saying so, in comparison to the other countries. We have more holidays in India than in any other country in the world and there is always a demand for more of them. I do not remember exactly, but the best part of every year goes in holidays and festivals. Apart from this, the work that is done here is not efficient, whether it is in the field or in an office or somewhere else. That does not mean that nobody works. But the average of work done here is very low. There is no doubt that we are capable of working very hard. We must change the atmosphere and become a more hardworking nation.

You often read about China. We can learn a great deal from them even though we follow different systems. Reports keep coming in and I do not know how far they are right or wrong. But you can take it as certain that the people of China are extremely hardworking, so much so that perhaps no other country can compete with them. Naturally, they are bound to progress. Indians are also regarded as hardworking people in comparison to some other countries. I agree that compared to some Asian countries, Indians are hardworking but not in comparison to the people of the West. We must become like them if we want to progress.

We will have to chalk out a path for ourselves. One aspect of it is non-violence which Gandhiji used to lay stress on. Well, non-violence is a great principle and it is very difficult for most people to reach the interpretation that he gave to it. But we must understand the broad fact that if we do not adopt

peaceful methods, we cannot go very far because dissensions will spread in India. As it is, we are in the habit of pulling in different directions, in the name of religion, caste, language, state, etc. The moment we leave the path of non-violence, there will be dissensions and disunity in the country.

Well, then, the question is what our goal should be. It is difficult to plan for the future. But there are a few broad things which we can strive for. There is no doubt that poverty must go from the country. I do not say that everybody can become exactly equal. But at least everyone must be well off and get the essential things of life like food, clothes, a house to live in, education, health care, a job, etc., and after that each one can progress as far he is able to. This is the first thing.

How are we to go about it? It is an enormous problem. That is why we have drawn up the Five Year Plan and what not to try to find a way to achieve our goals. We can progress only so far as our strength and resources will permit. We cannot depend on other people. We must stand on our own feet. The entire focus of the Five Year Plans is to increase the production of wealth in the country by producing more and more goods. There are a thousand different ways of producing wealth. What a farmer produces is wealth as also what the factories produce or the cottage industries, carpenters, etc. We can spend only as much as we produce, for the good of the people, their education, etc.

Now the dilemma before us is that there are demands from all sides which are justified. If workers demand higher wages or people sitting in offices want higher salaries, their demands, too, are probably justified. The per capita income in India is far less compared to other countries. But where is the money to come from to pay increased wages and salaries or to take up tasks of development for the people's benefit? It cannot drop from the skies. It has to come from the people's pockets, from the pockets of workers and farmers and others, in the form of taxes. It means that, ultimately, we cannot spend more than the total production in the country from land and industries and what not. If we spend more, we will become bankrupt. So, unless the production goes up in the country, it is impossible that the people's income can go up. It is possible that some might get more than their fair share. We are trying to equalise it as far as possible. But it does not make much difference. The fact of the matter is that until national production goes up, national income cannot increase. The greater the production, the more there will be to distribute among the people as wages and salaries. There is no other way. There is great demand on all sides for increase in wages and salaries and for the appointment of a Pay Commission. Where is the money to come from? People do not seem to consider this.

Ultimately, there is no other source of income except what is produced from land or industries and other avenues. Please do not think that gold and silver constitute wealth. Those are tools of trade. So we come round again to

the need to improve the machinery of production in the country which will provide an increased income to the people as well as employment. The Five Year Plans aim at this goal. Now these things cannot be done in a hurry. You must remember that the United States is a very wealthy country because there has been an enormous increase in production of goods during the last 150 or 200 years. The same thing has happened in Germany and England and elsewhere. Once a country reaches a stage where the machinery of production goes into top gear, whether it is land or industries, etc., there is no looking back. The most important thing is trained personnel because, ultimately, it is human beings who run the machines, not the other way round. Once this happens, even if there is some obstacle somewhere, it can be overcome. After the world war, Germany lay completely devastated and yet within ten years, it is back on its feet because they had trained personnel and the technical knowhow in spite of the fact that millions of people had died in the war. But those who remained have built a new Germany out of the smoking ruins and it is one of the most highly industrialised countries in the world today. We, too, want to reach that stage in the country where the production is speeded up and there are enough trained human beings available to run the machinery. Once this happens, progress will be automatic as it is happening in the United States or the Soviet Union though they follow different systems. Nobody wastes money or indulges in extravagant expenditure more than the Americans do. They throw away food and goods and even motor cars on scrap heaps after a few months. In spite of all this, they have a surplus because their production is so enormous. The same thing is true of other countries, though, perhaps not to the same extent.

So, we need to gear up production and train human beings in various fields. How is it to be done? I repeat once again that the Five Year Plans aim at our gradual move in that direction. It cannot be done immediately because we will have to produce the wealth to invest in the tasks of development. We have to produce and save because otherwise there will be nothing left for development.

Suppose we wish to put up industries. Where is the money for that to come from? It has to be saved out of the earnings of the country. If there are no savings, there can be no progress. The problem for poor countries is how to save money when they do not have enough for their needs. But they must save in spite of their poverty by tightening their belts further in order to progress and for a better future.

We want to industrialise India. You may say that industries exist in Kanpur, Bombay, and Calcutta. Yet we are counted among the backward nations because we do not have sufficient number of basic industries. What are the basic industries? One is steel, for you cannot do anything today without it. Then we need machine making industries, so that we do not have to import them from

outside. I am not talking about small machines or sewing machines. We need big machines to build steel plants or cement factories, etc. The third thing which is absolutely essential is power, electricity or thermal power or whatever it is. If we produce enough steel and power and heavy machines in the country and if there are good chemical industries and sufficient coal, we would have laid the foundations of industrial progress. The other essential thing is to train human beings who can run these industries. Please remember that if it takes five years to put up a steel plant, it takes fifteen to twenty years to train the human beings to run it. It takes much longer to train human beings than it does to put up factories. So we must start training people. Once all this is done, the country will progress very fast. But it takes time and requires a great deal of money.

I have tried to explain what the Five Year Plans are for. You cannot put up industries or build bridges or something else on demand by shouting slogans or making a noise. There is a demand for a rope way in Nainital. You are welcome to have a rope way in Nainital or elsewhere. But it is obvious that it cannot be one of the priorities in the Five Year Plan. It is better that people should walk rather than have a rope way or even trains. But trains are essential for transporting goods and raw material etc. I want all of you to understand this. The boys and girls seated here have to understand these things because the burden of running the country will fall upon them. It cannot be done by shouting slogans or taking out processions, though such things are good occasionally to let off steam. But, ultimately, we need hardworking, trained human beings.

Nowadays, the stock of engineers and scientists is gradually going up in the country. That does not mean that the others are not held in respect. But the fact is that the scientists and engineers play a very important role in building a new India today. You need engineers for everything, for the river valley schemes as we have in Bhakra Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, etc., as well as other things. People come from all over the world to see our river valley projects. We will generate power and supply water for irrigation through canals, etc. We need trained personnel to do these things. In a sense, all these various projects have to be taken up together, because we cannot wait to put up industries until agricultural production increases, or the other way round. It will not work. We cannot say that we will first see to our agriculture and then pay attention to industries or that let us establish industries first and then we'll take up agriculture. We must take up all these things together and planning means an attempt at over all development. It is a strategy to attack the enemy on all fronts. Who is our enemy? It is the poverty and unemployment in India and not another country which is our enemy. If we attempt to progress on one front at a time, the situation will get out of control.

The most important thing is to provide employment to the people, to solve

the problem of unemployment. But even that has to be done in such a manner that production increases. Our yardstick must always be to see that any move on our part increases production in the country and to what extent. As I told you, we have to take up all these tasks together. But at the same time, we have to decide on priorities, because everything cannot be done immediately. Therefore, we have to choose what must come first. We are laying emphasis on heavy industries first and the smaller industries, their offshoots will follow. In this way, there will be more employment opportunities and production will also increase. But we shall give the highest priority to improving agricultural production. Unless we do that, we cannot lay the foundation for industrialization of the country. India is basically an agricultural country and if we are not self-sufficient in food and have to import it from outside, how can we progress in other directions?

Therefore, the first priority is to become self sufficient in food by increasing agricultural production. We produce half or one fourth of what the other countries do from an acre of land. Why is our production so low? Our farmers are extremely hardworking but they have become backward. They do not use the small improvements in agricultural technique which have taken place elsewhere. For instance, they use ploughs which barely manage to scratch the surface of the earth. The bullocks are too weak to plough deeper. All these things are the results of poverty. It is obvious that we must use better ploughs, better seeds and fertilizers, there should be water for irrigation, etc. Wherever these things have been done, our production has increased rapidly. I do not say that everyone should start using tractors, though they plough really deep. But there are small scientific and technological improvements which are being used all over the world and are not very expensive. That is why we are laying emphasis on cooperative societies. The small farmers with an acre or two of land do not have the wherewithal to adopt modern techniques or to buy new tools. There should be small cooperative societies in each village so that they are like one large family. If they are too large, there will be official interference. I agree that we need officers in India, but I am a little wary of them, because the moment they come in, the entire pattern of working changes. I agree that in the huge projects that we have undertaken, there is no other alternative except to have government officers to manage them. After all, they are men who are trained and experienced, and qualified to handle big tasks. But, ultimately, it is the society and the people who can help in completing them. It cannot be done by officials or Ministers. They can certainly help and advise. But the work has to be done by society itself. That is why I feel that we should not depend on officials for everything. If a society does this, it is making a mistake. With the spread of socialism, bureaucracy is bound to expand. But generally speaking,

the bureaucratic method of functioning is not a good one. It is the society which must do the work.

There are nearly five and a half lakh villages in India. Whatever plans the government draws up for the rural areas immediately become gigantic, involving enormous sums even if the tasks are small in themselves. But if each village were to undertake improvements and it is done simultaneously in five and a half lakh villages, the work will become simplified. Therefore, the plans that we draw up for social improvement, can become meaningful only if the society is vigilant, trained and hardworking. The villages need roads, wells, schools, panchayat bhavans and many other things and the villages must do them on their own so that the expenditure will also be less. If the government has to do everything, years will pass before the resources are available and the expenditure will be enormous. So, our entire attention is on encouraging the people to undertake these tasks with a little help from the government. But the responsibility should rest with the people. The village panchayats must be given a higher status and wider powers, financial and otherwise. The task of improving the condition of the villages must be left to them even if they make mistakes, because they will learn from their mistakes. The panchayats must realize their responsibilities and if they make mistakes, the villagers will learn from them. Dependence on the government to do everything for the people is crippling. This is what is happening everywhere today; so much so, that even social service organisations look to the government for financial support. It is really extraordinary. It is not so much a question of money, but the attitude itself which is wrong. We must get rid of this mentality and the people must learn to stand on their own feet, whether it is in the rural or the urban areas.

The duty of an officer is to guide and advise people. So, we want to reduce official interference as far as possible in the tasks of improving the villages. Officials should be there merely in the role of advisers. I am aware that the people in the villages are by no means angels. They often fight among themselves, tell lies and what not, yet I have faith in them; not in a single individual, but in the Indian farmer in general. If he is given responsibilities, he will learn. This is how nations progress. If you want to learn to swim, you will have to get into the water. You cannot learn by watching from outside. We want to make the panchayats stronger by giving them more responsibilities and wider financial powers. When they realize their new responsibilities, they will gain the courage to impose additional taxes for the tasks of the villages. Today people hesitate to increase the taxes.

Secondly, there should be a cooperative society in every village. We want to entrust them also with greater responsibilities. Thirdly, it is essential to have a school in every village. Now, everyone knows that a cooperative movement

is a very good thing. Practically, in all other countries there is cooperation in agriculture. In India, we have decided that there should be small cooperatives of one or two villages each, because we feel that there will be greater benefit to the villagers. Please remember, the title to their land will remain intact. Only the work will be done in cooperation. For instance, in large joint families, the brothers farm together and the profits are divided. We want each village to function like one large joint family. Moreover, we want that it should be done with the consent and willingness of the people. We do not wish to force anything down their throats. Yet some people are opposing this movement and that is something which I cannot understand. There seems to be no logical explanation.

As I told you, the goal before us is to uplift the five lakh villages in India. I would like to know how it should be done. Personally, I think there is no alternative to cooperation and hard work. Secondly, we must start small village industries, because there is too much pressure on land at the moment. In all backward countries, you will find that too many people are dependent on land. Nor do I want that there should be an exodus to the urban areas. Therefore, small industries should be set up in villages for which we need small machines. But the most important thing is to increase agricultural production by giving a fillip to the cooperative movement and other avenues of employment must be opened. This is how the rural areas can progress. Big industries will in any case come up in the country.

It is essential to train people for all these tasks. We are making arrangements to train engineers and scientists all over the country. We are opening huge national science laboratories and engineering colleges, and so on, because the country which does not progress in science will remain backward.

So, you can see the new map of India that is emerging and all sorts of avenues are opening up. It is true that it is a thorny and difficult path and requires very hard work. But it is absurd to think that these great tasks can be done by lying in bed. No country has ever been able to do it. So, hard work is essential for the service of the country and the people. Such work is very satisfying and is no burden. It enhances the stature of the people and makes them large hearted.

Recently, a young man from a University came to me and asked what the future holds for him and his generation, what with the prevalent unemployment and what not. The question was actually asked of Dr. Radhakrishnan, our Vice-President. Dr. Radhakrishnan asked them to think carefully what the openings before the youth of India were when he, that is Dr. Radhakrishnan, was young. He said that they should compare the condition of India and the avenues of employment which were open to them with what the position is today. He said they would then understand the change that had come about and the fact that the effort to improve the situation is going on constantly. There are thousands

of avenues of progress open to the youth today. What is required is effort, ability and hard work.

Take our armed forces for instance. During the days of the British, no Indian could become an officer. Today there are innumerable posts of officers open to them in the Army, Navy and Air Force. Similarly in the field of science, thousands of our young boys and girls are working in the national laboratories all over the country. I do not know exactly but I think they number more than 20-25,000. I am not taking into account the boys and girls who are in the universities. There were more than 72,000 engineers in the country four years ago and I think the number must be more than a lakh today. I am not talking of the government officials. India is a vast country and there are innumerable men who are in the diplomatic service and other cadres. There must be at least 20,000 of them. It is obvious that a few thousands or even a lakh is not a very large number for a country of India's size. But all these are openings. India is a hive of activities today with new industries coming up, expansion of trade and a hundred other things which are open to you. It is certainly a difficult path and requires great effort. But the future certainly seems good. As I told you, in a fast changing country like ours, there is no room for lazy and weak people. People can progress only by working hard, in mutual cooperation which will benefit everyone.

I have tried to give you an idea of the past as well as the present and the future. We are living in extraordinary times today and the whole world is in turmoil. Either it will be destroyed completely by the atom bomb or will progress far beyond anyone's imagination if there is peace. Well, whatever happens, we must be strong enough to protect our country and not indulge in petty feuds. We must be ever vigilant and work hard.

If you look at India today, on the one hand we are making rapid strides and on the other, there are complex problems. During the last two or three years, the crops have not been good. But the two recent harvests have yielded excellent produce. I agree that it was due to good monsoons. But it is also because of the hard work and effort that have been put in. I have no doubt that we will continue to produce more and more.

The strange thing is that in spite of the good harvests this year, prices have gone up and there are shortages in the market which is not a good thing. Some people may profit by all this but I am convinced that their attitude will only lead to harm in the long run. I have no doubt that food production will keep increasing. How long can the food grains be kept underground? It is absurd. Where is the sense in hoarding food grains for the sake of some monetary profit? In some places, some big zamindars have bought up large stocks for fear that the government will procure them. Well, the government will procure



the food grains whenever it thinks it is necessary, because we cannot tolerate the idea of the people bearing hardships for the sake of a few individuals' profit. But we do not want to take any drastic steps just now. We want the matter to be brought under control by normal methods. But it is too crucial and delicate a matter for us to ignore it for too long. The profiteers will have to be ruthlessly suppressed. So people should give up trying to make a quick profit because it will not pay in the long run. I want you to realize this, because I have great hopes that our production will continue to increase in the years to come. Then such underhand methods will not pay. Soon our cooperative societies will begin to function and this problem will be brought under control gradually.

I have taken up a great deal of time. It has become slightly cooler, and the children are restless. I thank you for having listened to me peacefully. Thank you. Jai Hind.

Please say Jai Hind with me thrice, children as well as adults. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

## 11. Public Meeting: Cooperative Movement and Planning<sup>66</sup>

दिनांक 19-6-1959

बहनो और भाइयो,

आज मैं पहली बार चैल आया हूँ। कल सवेरे तक मैं एक-दूसरे पहाड़ी मुक़ाम पर था, नैनीताल, हिमालय का हिस्सा वो भी, और उसके चन्द रोज ही पहले मैं एक और पहाड़ पर था, दक्षिण में उटकमन्ड। बहुत सुन्दर जगह है वो भी। तो इस तरह से पिछले चन्द दिनों में कई पहाड़ी मुक़ामों पर मुझे जाना हुआ। आप शायद जानते हों कि मुझे पहाड़ आम तौर से पसन्द हैं और हिमालय पहाड़ से तो कुछ बचपन से खास रिश्ता रहा।

तो यहाँ आ कर मुझे खुशी हुई, फिर से इन पहाड़ों में आ कर और उनको देख कर मेरे सामने कुछ लम्बे ज़माने आने लगते हैं, आँखों के सामने। गुजरे हुए ज़माने और बहुत कुछ आने वाले ज़माने, क्योंकि...गुजरे हुए ज़माने आते हैं, इसलिए कि आखिर उसी गुजरे हुए ज़माने ने हमको बनाया जो कुछ हम हैं, हम एक उसका नतीजा हैं, फल हैं, आजकल के लोग जो हैं कि जिनको पिछले सैकड़ों-हज़ारों बरस ने बनाया है, और फिर सवाल यह उठता है कि आजकल का ज़माना...हम किस तरह से आने वाले ज़माने को बना रहे हैं। आने वाली क़ौमों को बना रहे हैं, क्योंकि जैसे हम एक गुजरे हुए ज़माने के नतीजे हैं, जो हम करेंगे उसका नतीजा भविष्य

66. Speech in Chail, Simla Hills, 19 June 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

होगा, आने वाला ज़माना होगा। तो एक तरफ़ से आँख पिछले ज़माने पर रहती है, उससे सीखें, लेकिन उससे ज़्यादा निगाह रहती है आगे और ज़ाहिर है, आजकल के ज़माने पर। पिछले पचास बरस से ज़्यादा में मैंने बहुत कुछ हिन्दुस्तान में और दुनिया में उलट-पलट देखा, परिवर्तन हुआ, इन्क़लाब हुआ, बहुत कुछ आपने भी देखा। उस परिवर्तन और इन्क़लाब में जो पिछले पचास बरस में हुआ, आपने और हमने कुछ हिस्सा भी लिया, उसके करने में, कराने में।

तो अब क्या हमारा कर्तव्य है, [...] हम आने वाले ज़माने को कैसा बनायें? आने वाले ज़माने के माने, हमारा...जो हिन्दुस्तान के लोग रहते हैं, हमारा पहला तो वही फ़र्ज़ है, क्या, कैसे होंगे वो, क्या उन्हें मौक़ा तरक्की का मिले आइन्दा, कैसे उनकी परेशानियाँ तकलीफ़ें दूर हों, कैसे वो हर तरह से आगे बढ़ें? याद रखिए आप कि आजकल का ज़माना शायद दुनिया की तारीख़ में सबसे ज़्यादा इन्क़लाबी ज़माना है, दुनिया में। क्योंकि जैसे मैं और एक जगह कह रहा था वहाँ इंस्टीट्यूट में,<sup>67</sup> इन्क़लाब जिसका नाम आप बहुत लेते हैं और नारे उठाते हैं, इन्क़लाब से ताल्लुक़ हुल्लड़बाज़ी और मार-पीट नहीं है, इन्क़लाब वो चीज़ है जो दुनिया को पलटती है, जो समाज का रहन-सहन बदलती है, बुनियादी तौर से। और वो बातें होती हैं जब कोई नयी ताक़तें दुनिया में आये।

आजकल की दुनिया में एक बहुत बड़ी ताक़त आयी है जो कि हल्के-हल्के दुनिया को पलटेंगी। वो ताक़त ऐटोमिक एनर्जी है, अणुशक्ति है, जो कि यक्रीनन दस-बीस-पच्चीस-तीस बरस में बहुत दुनिया को उलट-पलट करेगी। अगर उसने उसके क़ब्ल दुनिया का ख़ात्मा नहीं कर दिया। क्योंकि दोनों बातें हो सकती हैं। यह ज़बरदस्त ताक़त हो आयी दुनिया में, ताक़त तो एक ताक़त होती है उसका अच्छा इस्तेमाल हो, या बुरा। ग़लत इस्तेमाल हो तो इतनी बड़ी चीज़ है कि कहा जाता है कि सारी दुनिया को ख़त्म कर देगी, अगर कोई बड़ी जंग हो और ख़त्म करे, महज़ अपने वार से नहीं, बल्कि ख़त्म करे, हवा को ऐसे बिगाड़ दे कि जहाँ-जहाँ वो हवा जाये, वहाँ मुल्क ख़त्म हो जाये। रेडियो-ऐक्टिविटी फैले। एक तरफ़ से यह है। दूसरी तरफ़ से यह बात है कि इस बड़ी भारी ताक़त से दुनिया फ़ायदा उठाये और अक्सर मसले जो दुनिया के, हल कर दे। यह तो मैं नहीं कहता कि ऐटोमिक एनर्जी से सब दुनिया के मसले हल हो जायेंगे। दुनिया के मसले आखिर इन्सान हल करता है। इन्सान अपनी ताक़त से अपनी काम करने के माद्रे से, अपने चरित्र से, जो कुछ कहिए, लेकिन इन्सान के हाथ में जब ताक़त, ऐटोमिक एनर्जी, ताक़त, आती है तो इन्सान की ताक़त बढ़ जाती है, तोड़ने की, मारने की या अच्छा करने की और बनाने की। तो मैंने आपके सामने इसका इशारा इसलिए किया कि ज़रा हमारे सामने यह बात रहे कि हम कैसी दुनिया में रहते हैं, कैसी लड़खड़ाती हुई दुनिया है? मालूम नहीं किस तरह चले, किस तरफ़ गिर जाये। ख़ैर, कोई दुनिया का सँभालना तो हमारे क़ाबू के बाहर है, न हमारी ख़ास ज़िम्मेदारी है, यों हरेक की ज़िम्मेदारी है। लेकिन ऐसी दुनिया में हम अपने मुल्क में क्या करें? वो हमारी ज़िम्मेदारी आ जाती है। हमारा मुल्क कैसे इन मसलों का सामना करने के लिए तैयार हो। यह सवाल है।

67. Earlier Nehru had addressed trainees at the Self-Culture Institute at Chail cricket ground.

आपके सामने तरह-तरह की बातें कही जाती होंगी और आपने सुना होगा फ़ाइव इयर प्लान और पंचवर्षीय योजना और विकास योजना और कम्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट और यहाँ सेल्फ़ कल्चरल इंस्टीट्यूट में मैं आया तो ये सब बातें कही जाती हैं। और सब किसी-न-किसी सवाल के कोने के ऊपर इशारा करती हैं। लेकिन आखिर में हमारी ज़िम्मेदारी एक तो शख़्सी, व्यक्तिगत, हरेक की, कि अपने को क्या बनाता है और दूसरे अपने समाज की सेवा कैसी करता है, समाज को क्या बनाता है? समाज के माने और बढ़ाइए तो सारा मुल्क भी हमारी समाज हो गयी, यह है। हाँ, हम अपने मुल्क की भी सोचेंगे तो आजकल की दुनिया में, और दुनिया से अलग करके नहीं सोच सकते। दुनिया बहुत जुड़ गयी है। हरेक मुल्क दूसरे का पड़ोसी हो गया है। चन्द घण्टे में आप हवाई जहाज़ से दुनिया के दूसरे हिस्से में पहुँच सकते हैं। अब कोई मुल्क अलग नहीं रह सकता, यह बात ठीक है, लेकिन फिर भी हमारी ज़िम्मेदारी आखिर हमारे मुल्क की है, और हमारे मुल्क को समझिए। यह भी नहीं, मैं पूरी तौर से मंज़ूर नहीं करूँगा कि आपकी ज़िम्मेदारी आपके गाँव की है, गाँव की तो है ही, या आपके शहर की है। ज़ाहिर है, आपका ज़्यादातर काम आपके गाँव में होगा, आपके ज़िले में होगा, जो कुछ है। सारे हिन्दुस्तान में तो आप दौड़ते नहीं फिरेंगे। लेकिन यह बात याद रखने की है कि हमारी तरक्क़ी चाहे शख़्सी हो, चाहे किसी एक हिन्दुस्तान के हिस्से की हो, वो बँधी हुई है सारे भारत की तरक्क़ी से। अच्छी तरह से समझ लेना है, अगर भारत बढ़ता है तो हम सब बढ़ते हैं, अगर वो गिरता है तो हम सब गिरते हैं और अगर भारत आज़ाद हुआ तो हम सब आज़ाद हुए, अलग-अलग हिस्से नहीं हुए। यह बात याद रखने की है, हालाँकि सीधी-सादी बात है। उसमें कोई शक नहीं हो सकता, याद रखने की है, क्योंकि अगर ज़रा भी हमें ग़फलत हो इसमें, ज़रा भी हम भूल जायें हिन्दुस्तान को, अपने छोटे हलक़े को सामने रख के, चाहे वो गाँव हो, चाहे वो सूबा हो, तब हम काम अपना ठीक नहीं कर सकते। इसके माने हो जाते हैं कि हम कुछ अपनी निगाहों के सामने रखें कि हिन्दुस्तान है क्या चीज़? बहुत बड़ा मुल्क है। बड़े-बड़े सूबे हैं, प्रदेश हैं, बहुत अलग-अलग धर्म, मज़हब हैं, अलग-अलग ज़बान हैं, भाषाएँ हैं, और बेशुमार मालूम नहीं कितनी हमारे मुल्क में जातियाँ हैं। सैकड़ों, हज़ारों, लाखों, मुझे तो मालूम नहीं। क्या गिनती है यहाँ की जातियों की, कितनी, कास्ट्स कितनी हैं। हर चीज़ आप देखें जो कि किसी क्रदर अलग होने का ख़याल पैदा कराती हैं दिल में, सूबे हैं। कुछ-न-कुछ ख़याल होता ही है, अलग होने का, और उसमें बुराई भी नहीं है उस ख़याल में। आप कहें कि आप पंजाबी हैं, आपको पंजाब का अभिमान हो, बड़ी अच्छी बात है, यह तो कोई बुरी बात नहीं है, या आपको किसी और बात का ग़रूर हो, ठीक है। लेकिन हमेशा, लेकिन अगर यह बात आपको भुला देती है कि आप का कर्तव्य, और फ़र्ज़ हिन्दुस्तान से क्या है तो वो ग़लत हो जाती है? अगर आप हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर जायें, क्या आपकी हैसियत है वहाँ? आप वहाँ जा कर कहेंगे कि आप पंजाबी हैं? आप कहेंगे हम हिन्दुस्तान के सिटिज़न हैं, हम सिटिज़न ऑफ़ द रिपब्लिक ऑफ़ इण्डिया हैं, तब आपकी क्रदर होगी। न कि यह कि आप पंजाब से, या मद्रास से, या बम्बई या बंगाल से आते हैं, अक्सर लोगों ने नाम भी नहीं सुना होगा इन जगहों का।

तो यह जो एक हिन्दुस्तान हमारी चीज़ है, क्या है? मैं उसकी कहानी तो कहने से रहा, हज़ारों बरस की, लेकिन लम्बी कहानी है उसकी और इन हज़ारों बरस में हम बने हैं अच्छे या बुरे जो कुछ हैं। और सच बात यह है कि अच्छाई भी इसमें है और बुराई भी काफ़ी है। कमज़ोरी काफ़ी है, और एक बड़ी कमज़ोरी और बीमारी हमारी रही आपस में नाइत्तफ़ाक़ी और आपस में झगड़ा-फ़साद करना। बात करते हम टूटते हैं। अपनी एकता भूल जाते हैं, कभी मज़हब के नाम से, कभी सूबे के, किसी हलक़े के नाम से, कभी ज़बान के नाम से, कभी जाति के नाम से। जो बातें मिलीं उनको पकड़ करके हम अलग होते हैं, एक-दूसरे से झगड़ा करते हैं। क्या माने इसके हैं? इसके माने यह हैं कि हज़ारों बरस में हमने बहुत कुछ बातें सीखीं, लेकिन वाक़या यह है कि अभी तक हमने एक पक्की तौर से क्रौमियत नहीं सीखी है, राष्ट्रीयता पूरी पक्की नहीं सीखी है। हम बह जाते हैं, कभी मज़हब के नाम से, कभी भाषा के नाम से, कभी किसी नाम से और जिसके कोई मायने नहीं होते। अगर पक्की तौर से हममें भारतीय राष्ट्रीयता, हिन्दुस्तानी क्रौमियत हो तो इसको पूरा हमें करना है, क्योंकि जब तब यह बात पूरी न हो हमेशा ख़तरा रहता है कमज़ोर हो जाने का मुल्क के, और जो हमारी ताक़त है वो फैल जाती है या ज़ाया हो जाती है आपस के झगड़ों में कशमकश में।

मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें, एक-एक बच्चा समझे कि वो वारिस किस बात का है? वो वारिस है सारे हिन्दुस्तान का। उसको पैदाइश से हिन्दुस्तान में विरासत में यह सारा मुल्क मिला है, हिमालय पहाड़ से लेके कन्याकुमारी तक। यह नहीं कि ख़ाली उसका शहर जहाँ पैदा हुआ है, या अगर पंजाब में हुआ है तो पंजाब उसकी ख़ास चीज़ है। बल्कि उसको हक़ उतना ही वहाँ दक्षिण में कन्याकुमारी में या पूर्व, पश्चिम में है और उसी तरह से कोई पंजाब आपकी कोई ज़ाती जायदाद नहीं हैं, पंजाब के रहने वालों की, उसमें और हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वालों को उतना ही हक़ है जितना आपको है जैसे आपको हक़ उनकी जगह है।

तो हम और आप...हमें और आपको विरासत में, इनहेरिटेस में यह एक ज़बरदस्त जायदाद मिली है, हिन्दुस्तान। और ख़ाली आजकल का हिन्दुस्तान नहीं, लम्बा-चौड़ा, बल्कि उसी के साथ हज़ारों बरस का हिन्दुस्तान। सारी उसकी पुरानी कहानी, हिस्ट्री, उसकी सभ्यता, संस्कृति जो कुछ है, जिसने हमें बनाया। काफ़ी क़ीमती चीज़ है यह जो हमें मिली और जिसके हम एक जुज़ हैं। हम कोई अलग तो हैं नहीं और काफ़ी हम खुशानसीब हैं कि यह जायदाद हमारी है। अब उसकी हिफ़ाज़त कैसे करें, उसकी तरक्की कैसे करें, सवाल आता है। अब उसमें अलावा और बातों के एक और पेच आता है, वो यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान आपकी जायदाद है या जो कुछ है, वो कम-से-कम इन्सानों की गिनती में वो बढ़ता जाता है। हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी ज़ोरों से बढ़ती है। तो आबादी बढ़ने से एक तरह से फ़ायदा हो सकता है। ज़्यादा हिन्दुस्तान की ख़िदमत करने वाले लोग आये मिल कर काम करें, बड़े कामों को उठाये, और दूसरी तरह से बड़ा नुक़सान हो सकता है कि हिन्दुस्तान की छाती पर बैठ के उसका बोझ बढ़ाने वाले और आ गये, क्योंकि बोझ तो है। हरेक आदमी जो देश में रहता है, उसको खाने की ज़रूरत है, जाहिर है, कपड़ा पहनने की ज़रूरत है, घर रहने को है और अगर ठीक इन्तज़ाम हो तो उसकी

पढ़ाई का इन्तज़ाम हो, उसके स्वास्थ्य, सेहत का इन्तज़ाम हो, उसको काम करने को मिले। बढ़ता जाता है।

हम हिसाब लगाते हैं पंचायती योजनाओं का, आप सुना करते हैं और आजकल चर्चा है तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना, जो कि दो बरस बाद से शुरू होगी। तो कैसे हिसाब लगाते हैं उसका, क्या माने हैं? बैठ कर महज़ एक फ़ेहरिस्त बना देते हैं। आप क्या समझते हैं, कहाँ सड़कें बनायें, कहाँ पुल बनायें, कहाँ अस्पताल बनायें, कहाँ कॉलेज बनायें। यह कोई प्लान करने का तरीक़ा नहीं है। यह चीज़ तो नक्शे में, प्लानिंग में आ जाये, ये और बात है। किस तरह से प्लान हम करते हैं? कितनी आबादी के लिए हमें इन्तज़ाम करना है। आबादी कब? आज की आबादी? वो तो आबादी बदलती है, बढ़ती जाती है। मैं आज की आबादी के लिए इन्तज़ाम करूँ, पाँच बरस बाद वो कम हो जायेगा। फिर क्या किया जाये? चुनांचे अन्दाज़ा लगाना पड़ता है। [...] तीसरा फ़ाइव इयर प्लान हमारा दो बरस बाद शुरू होगा और पाँच बरस का होगा। यानी अब से सात बरस बाद के लिए। तो फिर यह सोचना पड़ता है कि सात बरस बाद हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी क्या होगी जिसके लिए हमें इन्तज़ाम अब करना है। मैंने आपसे कहा कि आबादी तेज़ी से बढ़ती है, पिछली मर्दुमशुमारी में ठीक मुझे याद नहीं, शायद छत्तीस-सैंतीस करोड़ थी, अब समझा जाता है चालीस करोड़ हो गयी है। और सात बरस बाद खयाल होता है कि अड़तालीस करोड़ होगी। काफ़ी तेज़ी से तरक्की है इस तरफ़ तो कम-से-कम हिन्दुस्तान में। बहुत कुछ चर्चा होता है हम अपना प्रोडक्शन बढ़ायें, पैदावार बढ़ायें, तो बच्चों के पैदा करने में तो काफ़ी कामयाबी हासिल की।

और दूसरी कामयाबी यह हुई है कि ज्यों-ज्यों हमारे मुल्क में सेहत अच्छी होती है, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध अच्छा होता है, उतने वो लोग मरते कम हैं। अच्छी बात है, इसकी कोशिश है। यही [इसी] कोशिश से लोगों की उम्र बढ़ती जाती है। पहले औसत आयु कुछ बरस हुए चौबीस थी, अब छत्तीस बरस हो गयी। छत्तीस बरस औसत है याद रखिए और बढ़ती है हर साल। मलेरिया पर अब क़ब्ज़ा हो गया मुल्क में। कितने लोग मलेरिया से मरते थे, बीमार रहते थे, क़रीब-क़रीब पूरी तौर से क़ाबू में आ गयी और यक़ीन है कि दो-चार बरस में बिलकुल क़ाबू में आ जायेगी। और बीमारियाँ है, हैज़ा है, टाइफ़ाइड है, यक़ीनन वो भी बिलकुल क़ाबू में आ जायेंगे, ज़रा बरस दो-चार, पाँच-सात बरस लगेंगे इसमें, शायद ज़्यादा लगें। तो इन सब का नतीजा यह होता है, उम्रें ज़्यादा होती हैं, लेकिन आबादी और बढ़ती है। यह भी नतीजा होता है। तो ख़ैर, इसमें कई सवाल उठते हैं। एक तो यह ज़ाहिर है कि अगर आबादी ज़्यादा बढ़े और सामान कम बढ़े, उस आबादी के लिए सामान खाना-पीना कपड़ा जो कुछ है, तो मुल्क में ग़रीबी बढ़ती है, ज़ाहिर है। चन्द अमीर आदमी हों, उनको छोड़ दीजिए आप। लेकिन जब कम खाने को है तो ज़ाहिर है, दिक्कत होगी।

आप अक्सर सुनते हैं, और पढ़ते हैं रामराज का कि रामराज में हरेक को पेट भर के खाना मिलता था और हर तरह के आराम थे। ख़ैर, मालूम नहीं उस ज़माने में क्या हाल था? लेकिन यह बात समझ में आती है, क्योंकि एक पहलू याद रखें आप कि रामराज, रामराज से मेरा

मतलब है पुराना ज़माना, जो भी हो वो, दो हज़ार बरस पुराना कहिए, डेढ़ हज़ार, दो हज़ार, ढाई हज़ार बरस और ज़्यादा उससे। उस ज़माने में हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी क्या होगी? बहुत कम थी, बहुत कम थी। कुछ उसके अन्दाज़े भी लगे हैं। मैं नहीं कह सकता, लेकिन आजकल की आबादी का एक शायद सौवाँ हिस्सा था, यानी आजकल उससे सौ गुने ज़्यादा हैं। अगर आजकल चालीस करोड़ हैं, तो वो लाखों में गिनती उसकी होती थी, चालीस-पचास लाख की, हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी की। अब ज़ाहिर है जब चालीस-पचास लाख आदमियों के खिलाने का इन्तज़ाम [करना] और बड़े मुल्क में तो आसान है। ज़मीन पड़ी हुई है, लोग कम हैं, काफ़ी पैदा कर सकते हैं ज़मीन में, बेशुमार ज़मीन है। तो खाने को तंगी किसी की नहीं हो। तंगी तो तब होती है जब लोग बढ़ते जाते हैं, ज़मीन तो बढ़ती नहीं, लोग बढ़ते हैं उस पर रहने वाले।

तो इसलिए हमें कई उपाय करने हैं। एक तो इस बात पर ग़ौर करना ही है कि अगर आबादी का बढ़ना, बढ़ने की रफ़्तार कुछ कम हो जाये तो हरेक का फ़ायदा है, मेरा मतलब यह नहीं कि बच्चे पैदा करने बन्द कर दिये जायें। बहरसूरत, यह मेरे क़ाबू की बात तो है नहीं, न आप के ग़ालिबन क़ाबू की होगी, पूरी तौर से। लेकिन मेरा मतलब ज़रूर यह कि एक बेढंगे बच्चे पैदा होना, एक बहुत लम्बा-चौड़ा खानदान हो जिसका बोझा भी खानदान वाले उठा नहीं सकते, न उनकी परवरिश कर सकें, न उनको पढ़ा-लिखा सकें, यह न बच्चे के लिए इन्साफ़ है, न माँ-बाप के लिए, न मुल्क के लिए। ज़ाबिते से बच्चे पैदा होने चाहिएँ, ताकि उनका ठीक इन्तज़ाम हो। और इस बारे में आजकल काफ़ी आपको इत्तलात मिल सकती हैं और इससे इन्साफ़ होगा, आइन्दा के लोग भी जो हैं। लेकिन दूसरा सवाल तो यह हो जाता है कि हम किस तरह से ज़रूरी सामान मुल्क में पैदा करें अपनी सारी आबादी के लिए? कैसे सामान पैदा होता है? इन्सान के काम से, इन्सान के परिश्रम से। तो हमारे यहाँ इन्सानों की कमी तो है नहीं। अगर हम उन लोगों को जोड़ दें, काम में तो नतीजा होना चाहिए कि बहुत पैदा हुआ, ज़ाहिर है, होना चाहिए। यह ठीक है। लेकिन वो नतीजा मुन्हसिर है कि जो काम करने वाले हैं, वो कैसे हैं? एक तो यह कि तगड़े, मेहनती काम करने वाले हैं, या सुस्त हैं। दूसरे यह [की] उनके पास औज़ार कैसे हैं काम करने के, क्योंकि औज़ार से बहुत फ़र्क़ हो जाता है, आपके पास कोई औज़ार न हो तो आप मुश्किल से कुछ अच्छा काम कर सकें। दो बातें हैं। अगर यूरोप ने इतनी तरक्की की और दौलतमन्द हो गया, यूरोप और अमरीका, क्यों, एक तो मैं समझता हूँ, सही है कहना कि काफ़ी काम करने वाले लोग हैं, मेहनती लोग हैं। यहाँ कुछ अंग्रेज़ अफ़सरों को देख कर आप न समझिए कि यूरोप के लोग ख़ाली अफ़सरी करते हैं शान में। यूरोप के आखिर आम, वहाँ के जो लोग हैं, काफ़ी मेहनती हैं, और दूसरे यह, उन्होंने फ़ायदा उठाया है नये-नये औज़ारों से, नयी-नयी मशीनों से, नयी-नयी शक्तियों से, ताक़तों से। जो उन्होंने अपनी आजमाइश से ढूँढ के निकालीं। और यह सब एक सौ-डेढ़ सौ-दो सौ बरस की बात है। तो चुनांचे उनके हाथ में बड़ी ताक़त आ गयी। और आप भी जानते हैं मोटर को, एक इंजन होता है, उसको कहा जाता है कि मोटर कितने हॉर्सपावर की है, मोटर में घोड़े तो नहीं जुते हैं, कहा जाता है तीस हॉर्सपावर, चालीस-सौ कैन्डलपावर वगैरह। लेकिन उसमें ताक़त होती है। सौ घोड़ों की क़रीब-क़रीब, कमोबेश, इंजन की ताक़त। तो इस तरह से यूरोप

ने तरक्की की, सामान पैदा करने में, अपनी ताकत से, अपने परिश्रम से और साइन्स और विज्ञान के ज़रिये से उन्होंने तरिके निकाले, नयी-नयी ताकतों का प्रयोग करना, बढ़ गये आगे। हम लोग अक्सर एक सख्त-सुस्त कहते हैं अंग्रेज़ों को कि उन्होंने आ कर यहाँ यह जुल्म किया, वो किया, यह किया और जो कुछ हम कहते हैं, उसमें बहुत कुछ सही होता है, बहुत कुछ मुमकिन मुबालगा भी हो, लेकिन सही भी होता है। लेकिन मोटी बात यह है कि अंग्रेज़ यहाँ आये, तो अपनी अक़ल से और हिम्मत से आये और हमारी जहालत से हम गिरे। मोटी बात यह है। जहालत किसी दूसरे को कोसने से तो दूर नहीं हो जाती। जहालत जहालत को कोसने से दूर होती है या उसका मुक़ाबला करने से।

तो अंग्रेज़ या यूरोप की क्रौमों ने तरक्की की, बढ़े वो, और उन्होंने सीखा, दौलत पैदा करना यानी सामान पैदा करना। दौलत तो सामान है। अगर ज़मीन है तो वहाँ के किसानों ने ज़्यादा पैदा करना सीखा ज़मीन से, और अगर कोई कारखाना है तो कारखाने से बेशुमार चीज़ें बनाने लगे। आजकल की दुनिया में सबसे अमीर मुल्क अमरीका गिना जाता है। तो उसका अमीर होना यह थोड़े है कि उसकी दौलत कहीं गड़ी हुई है, जमा है बहुत, उसका अमीर होना यह है कि हर साल उसकी ज़मीन से और उसके कारखानों से बेइन्तहा, बेशुमार सामान पैदा होता है, वो दौलत है। हर चीज़ पैदा होती है। जो हर साल और इतनी पैदा होती है किता वो ज़ाया करते हैं, किता वो फेंकते हैं फिर भी बच रहती है, इसलिए कि उन्होंने सीखा, फ़ायदा उठाया, इन सब साइन्स, विज्ञान से और अपने परिश्रम से और अपनी अक़ल से यह किया। तो ये मिसालें हमारे सामने हैं। वो अमीर हुए एक डेढ़ सौ-दो सौ बरस की कोशिश में। और मुल्क रूस है, वहाँ बड़ा इन्क़लाब हुआ और बहुत तरक्की उन्होंने की है ज़ोरों की और करेंगे, लेकिन उनकी भी...उनके करने में चालीस बरस से ऊपर लगे हैं, याद रखिए आप, एकदम से बात जादू से नहीं हो जाती, बेहद मेहनत, बेहद परिश्रम, बेहद त्याग से वो हासिल होती है।

अच्छा, तो हमारे सामने यह सवाल पैदा होता है कि जहाँ एक हमारा सफ़र ख़त्म हुआ स्वराज का, तो दूसरा सफ़र, दूसरी यात्रा का चर्चा कि स्वराज मिला तो वो आगे बढ़े और सारे लोग हमारे खुशहाल हो जायें...वेलफ़ेयर स्टेट हमने कहा, यानी सब लोग खुशहाल हों, खुशहाल होने का मौक़ा मिले, और फिर उसके बाद जिसकी जितनी हिम्मत है, उतना आगे बढ़े। लेकिन ग़रीबी मुल्क में न रहे, बेरोज़गारी न रहे, ऐसा इन्तज़ाम करें, पेचीदा बात है। ज़ाहिर है, यह थोड़े ही सवाल है कि मेरे पास दस-बीस-पचास आदमी आयें, कहीं कि साहब आपने स्पीच दी थी, हमें नौकरी दीजिए। यह सौ-पचास या हज़ार या लाख-दो लाख नौकरी देने से तो हल नहीं हो जाता है। इसका तो इन्तज़ाम करना है कि मुल्क में हज़ारों-लाखों किस्म के काम हैं, वो बढ़ते जायें और हरेक को काम मिले, जैसा वो कर सकता है, जितना उसकी ताकत है, ज़मीन पर, कारखाने में, दुकान में, हज़ार बातों में। आप जानते हैं कोई इन्तहा नहीं, और काम ऐसा हो जिस काम से कुछ पैदा होता है, कोई क़ीमती चीज़ पैदा होती है। ऐसा काम हो। आप ज़रा खोदें, उधर गढ़े को भरें, इसको खोदें। उससे तो आपको, मुमकिन है आपकी सेहत को फ़ायदा पहुँचे और दुनिया को तो फ़ायदा नहीं पहुँचता, लेकिन काम हो प्रोडक्टिव, जिससे पैदा होता

है कुछ, क्योंकि आप खाते हैं, आप कन्ज्यूमर हैं, आप कन्ज्यूम करते हैं, खाना, कपड़ा, हज़ार चीज़ें। और अगर आप प्रोडक्टिव नहीं हैं, प्रोड्यूसर नहीं हैं तब आप किसी और का पैदा किया हुआ खाते हैं, ज़ाहिर है। क्योंकि खाते तो आप हैं। हरेक आदमी को अपने-अपने ढंग से कम-से-कम उतना पैदा करना है जितना वो खाता है, बल्कि ज़्यादा। क्योंकि कुछ बच जाना चाहिए, जिससे सामान बढ़े, अगर बचे नहीं तो समाज बढ़े नहीं।

तो हमारे सामने ये बड़े सवाल हैं, किस ढंग से हम हिन्दुस्तान को खुशहाल करें। इसके सोचने से, फिर हम इस नतीजे पर पहुँचे कि बहुत कुछ इसका निर्भर है समाज के संगठन पर, कैसा समाज का संगठन हो। समाज के संगठन के माने, क्या रिश्ते हों लोगों के काम में। अपने पचासों-लाखों रिश्ते हैं दुनिया में काम कराने वालों के यह करने के, कितने लाखों पेशे हैं और समाज बनती है उन्हीं रिश्तों से। वो समाज है।

तो अगर हम चाहते हैं कि सारा मुल्क खुशहाल हो तो हम इस नतीजे पर पहुँचे कि मोटी तौर से उस रास्ते पर चलना चाहिए जो कि समाजवाद का गिना जाता है, सोशलिज़्म का, मोटी तौर से मैंने कहा जान के, क्योंकि मैं नहीं मंज़ूर करता कि हम किसी और मुल्क की कोई नक़ल करें। यह ग़लत बात मालूम होती है, कोई नक़ल करना बुरा नहीं है, अगर अच्छी बात हो तो। लेकिन नक़ल करने की आदत बुरी है, क्योंकि हर मुल्क के सवाल अलग होते हैं, हर मुल्क के लोग अलग होते हैं, और जो कुछ करें वो उनको अपने दिमाग़ से निकालना होता है, ताकि वो ठीक जमे मुल्क में। हम बैठ के यहाँ अमरीका की नक़ल करने की कोशिश करें तो हम बेवकूफ़ बनेंगे। हम रूस की नक़ल करें, दूसरी चीज़ है, तो भी हम बेवकूफ़ बनेंगे। लेकिन अगर हम रूस से और अमरीका से अच्छी बातें सीखें और फिर उसको अपना जामा पहनायें, वो अक़्त की बात है। वो हमारी चीज़ हुई, और हमने उससे सीखा भी। जितना हम समझते थे हमारे लिए मुनासिब है। तो इसलिए मैंने कहा मोटी तौर से इसको हम कहेंगे समाजवाद और मोटी तौर से उसके माने यह हैं कि हरेक को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले।

याद रखिए, यह मैंने नहीं कहा कि हरेक बिल्कुल बराबर हो जाये, क्योंकि यह क़ाबू से बाहर की बात है। आप क़ानून से या किसी कोशिश से हर इन्सान को एक-सा नहीं बना सकते, और अगर बना सकते तो मालूम नहीं, वो अच्छी बात होती भी या नहीं। वो तो एक अजीब दुनिया होती, जहाँ हरेक एक-सा है इन्सान। खुशी की बात है कि इन्सानों में फ़र्क़ होता है, लेकिन यह खुशी की बात नहीं है कि इन्सानों को मौक़ा न मिले बराबर का। यह ग़लत बात है, नाइन्साफ़ी की बात है। किसी तरह का मौक़ा या तो इक्वितिसादी मौक़ा न मिले बढ़ने का, या जैसे हमारे समाज ने, खासकर हिन्दू समाज ने, दबाया लोगों को, किसी को अछूत कहा, किसी को कुछ कहा, सारा कास्ट-सिस्टम जो है यह एक निहायत, निहायत मेरी राय में ग़लत चीज़ है। मैं नहीं जानता, दो हज़ार बरस हुए उससे फ़ायदे हो सकते हैं आजकल के ज़माने में, वो ग़लत चीज़ है, नाइन्साफ़ी की चीज़ है, और उससे कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है, डेमोक्रेसी से, न सोशलिज़्म से। सोशलिज़्म और डेमोक्रेसी कास्ट सिस्टम के साथ नहीं हो सकता, क्योंकि कास्ट सिस्टम एक टुकड़े करता है, ऊँच-नीच करता है और डेमोक्रेसी और सोशलिज़्म दोनों इस बात



की तरफ़ देखते हैं, बराबरी, समानता की तरफ़। तो हाँ, बराबर का मौक़ा मिले, फिर आजकल नहीं मिलता बराबर का मौक़ा।

तो जानते हैं, हमारे कितने बच्चे हैं, सुन्दर बच्चे हमारे, उनकी देख-भाल ठीक नहीं होती, गाँव में कितने हैं, नहीं होती, कितने हैं उनको अब तक स्कूल जाने का मौक़ा नहीं है, या कितने स्कूल जाते हैं वो स्कूल ही निकम्मे हैं। मोटी बात है। आजकल जो खुशहाल लोग हैं, वो अपने बच्चों को खास स्कूलों में भेजते हैं, ज़्यादा पैसा ख़र्चते हैं, क्योंकि वो समझते हैं उनकी वहाँ पढ़ाई अच्छी होगी। ठीक है, लेकिन बात यह होनी चाहिए कि वो अच्छी पढ़ाई हर बच्चे का हक़ है, अच्छी सेहत हर बच्चे का हक़ है। तो इस तरह से मेरा मतलब है बराबर का हक़, बराबर के मौक़े मिलें सभों को, और जब पढ़-लिख के, खाना मिले ठीक, कपड़े मिलें, पढ़ना मिले, सेहत हुई, कोई पेशा सीखा, काम मिला, उसके बाद जितना दम होगा उसमें, बढ़ेगा आगे। उसको धकेल-धकेल कर आप किसी इन्सान को नहीं बढ़ा सकते। अगर बुज़दिल वो है, निकम्मा है, उसको बहादुर आप नहीं बना सकते धकेल-धकेल के। तो बराबर के मौक़े मिलें, यह है। इसमें काफ़ी दिक्कतें हैं। एक तरफ़ से तो बराबर के मौक़े का बहुत ताल्लुक़ है पैसे से। जब ग़रीबी फैली हुई है बहुत, तो बराबर के मौक़े नहीं मिल सकते।

दूसरे, इस समाज के संगठन से मतलब है। जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा ये जात-पात के झगड़े हैं। हमारी सारी समाज बराबरी पर नहीं बनी। हम कितनी ही शेखी करें, ऊँच-नीच पर बनी है। एक आदमी दूसरे के कन्धे पर सवार है, इसको बदलना। अब ये चीज़ें बदलनी आसान नहीं होती हैं करोड़ों आदमियों में, और असल इन्क़लाब जो होता है...याद रखिए वो इन्क़लाब, सियासी इन्क़लाब असली नहीं होता, वो ऊपरी होता है...असल इन्क़लाब समाज का होता है, असली इन्क़लाब आर्थिक होता है, इकोनॉमिक रेवोल्यूशन, सोशल रेवोल्यूशन असली इन्क़लाब होता है। तो हमारा यह इन्क़लाब तो हो गया। पोलिटिकल इन्क़लाब तो हो गया स्वराज आने से। तो इसके बाद ये दो बड़े इन्क़लाब रह गये, आर्थिक और सामाजिक, और उनको लाने में हम पड़े हैं। वो कोई ढोल बजा के नहीं आते, लेकिन काफ़ी तेज़ी से वो भी आ रहे हैं, मुझे इसमें कोई शक़ नहीं। हिन्दुस्तान की हालत बदल रही है और काफ़ी तेज़ी से बदल रही है, फिर भी एक ज़माना लगेगा उसको पूरी तौर से बदलने में और बदलना कभी ख़तम थोड़े ही होता है।

तो यह जो आप पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरह सुनते हैं, यह सब कोशिश है कि हम अपने सामने एक तस्वीर रखें, हम कहाँ जा रहे हैं और रास्ते ढूँढ़ें, कैसे जायें, क्या करें इस वक़्त, जिससे हमारा रास्ता साफ़ हो। अगर हम हरेक पर छोड़ दें कि भाई, जो तुम्हारा जी चाहे करो, ज़ोरों से करो, हिन्दुस्तान को बढ़ाओ, वगैरह, और ज़ोरों की तक्रारें हों, तो यक़ीनन कुछ-न-कुछ हो, लेकिन कोई इधर खींचे, कोई उधर खींचे, और मिल कर क़ौम एक रास्ते पर दूर न जा सके। कुछ लोग चले जायें। अक्सर पिछड़ जायें। तो हमारा यह काम तो नहीं है कि हम थोड़े-से आदमी, दस-बीस-पचास या हजार या दस-बीस लाख भी आदमी जो ज़रा चुस्त हों, चालाक हों, हम तो पहुँच जायें वो खुशहाली पर; और लोग चाहे पीछे रह जायें, यह तो ठीक नहीं है। हमारी ज़िम्मेदारी तो है कि हम हमसफ़र हो के, हमक़दम हो के चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को ले जायें। इसमें पंच पड़ जाते हैं। तो कैसे इन्तज़ाम इसका किया जाये, जैसे मैंने

आपसे कहा, ये मुश्किल बातें हैं, वक्रत लगता है। करोड़ों आदमियों को एक बात समझाने में वक्रत लगता है, कराने में और भी वक्रत लगता है। तो...और सामान हमारे पास कम है, सामान से मतलब चाहे रुपया-पैसा कहिए, चाहे जो कुछ और सामान कहिए, याने जो काम भी हम करते हैं उसमें खर्च की ज़रूरत है। हम चाहते हैं कि तेज़ी से पढ़ाई-लिखाई का इन्तज़ाम सबक़े लिए कर दें, ख़्वाहिश तो है। लेकिन फ़ौरन हिसाब लगाते हैं तो उसमें इतना खर्च होता है, सैकड़ों करोड़ रुपये जो पास ही नहीं हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि अस्पताल सब जगह हो जायें, फिर वही सवाल आ जाता है।

अच्छा, दूसरी बात यह कि हम चाहते हैं कि कारख़ाने बहुत सारे बनें, छोटे-बड़े वग़ैरह। ठीक है। लेकिन सबमें पैसा लगता है, कहाँ से आये। हम चाहते हैं नहरें बनें, पानी देने के लिए। अब भाखड़ा नांगल, उसमें डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपया खर्च हो गया, खयाल तो कीजिए। तो यह कहाँ से पैसा आये। यह कहना कोई बाहर से तो आयेगा नहीं या बाहर से कुछ आता है और हम मजबूर होते हैं, उसको लेते हैं, शुक्रिया करते हैं। यह क़र्ज़ा-वर्ज़ा ले लेते हैं हम, लेकिन आख़िर में जो हम पैदा करें, वही हम खर्च कर सकते हैं न? यही पेंच है जो ग़रीब मुल्क के सामने आता है। ग़रीब मुल्क को खर्चना है अपनी ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा, अपनी तरक्की के लिए और...यानी ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा से मेरा मतलब यह है जितना अपने ऊपर खर्च रहा है बिलफ़ैल खाने-पीने पर, उससे बचा कर अपनी तरक्की पर खर्च करना है, अपनी तरक्की पर इन्वेस्ट करना है। यानी भविष्य में, फ़्यूचर में, इन्वेस्ट करना है। इन्वेस्ट क्या करना है? जो इस वक़्त वो बचाता है। अब अगर एक मुल्क ग़रीब है, तो बचा ही नहीं सकता। ज़्यादातर अमीर बचा सकते हैं। यह पेंच पड़ जाता है। तो बेचारे ग़रीब मुल्क को तरक्की के लिए और बोझा लादना पड़ता है ताकि हम तरक्की करें ताकि कल बोझा कम हो। यह एक पेंच आ जाता है। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि हम...हमारी तरफ़...हमने सोचा कि ज़रूरी है हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की के लिए कि बहुत सारे उद्योग-धन्धे, इण्डस्ट्री, कारख़ाने वग़ैरह बनें। जैसा कि हम समझते हैं, बड़े-छोटे हर क़िस्म के। लाखों बनें, करोड़ों बनें। तो हमारे सामने सवाल आता है बनें कैसे? उसकी मशीन कहाँ से आये, आये जर्मनी से और जापान से और अंग्रेज़ों से, अमरीका से ख़रीदें जा के। तो उस मशीन का पैसा कहाँ से आये? अटक जाते हैं। इक्के-दुक्के का आप न सोचिए। तो हम इस नतीजे पर पहुँचते हैं कि बुनियादी बातें हमें पहले करनी हैं। बुनियादी बातें क्या हैं? मशीन बनाने की मशीन यहाँ हो; क्योंकि जब तक हम जर्मनी से मशीन लेते जायेंगे, छोटी-मोटी ले-लो, पैसा हमारा निकलेगा, और पुर्ज़ा उसका ढीला पड़ गया, फिर हम जर्मनी दौड़े जायें, चलती नहीं बात। हमें...जब तक मशीन अपने यहाँ नहीं बनायी...जब मैं मशीन कहता हूँ तो मेरा मतलब ये फुटकर छोटी मशीनें नहीं हैं, वो तो आजकल बहुत बनती हैं, चाहे वो सीविंग मशीन हो, चाहे ये हो, वो हो। आपके पंजाब में, लुधियाना वग़ैरह में बहुत काफ़ी हैं, वो अच्छी हैं, लेकिन वो छोटी चीज़ हैं; फैलाना है मशीन का ख़ानदान हमें। मशीन के माने वो मशीन जो एक, फ़र्ज़ कीजिए, लोहे का प्लाण्ट बनायें और जंगी ज़बरदस्त एक-एक मशीन एक-एक शहर के बराबर होती है वो मशीन। जमशेदपुर है। वो मशीन बनाने की मशीन हमारे पास होनी चाहिए, बड़ी

भारी चीज़ है, वो बनायें। लोहा हमारे पास काफ़ी होना चाहिए, बुनियादी चीज़ है, लोहा न हो तो मशीन कैसे बने और पावर होना चाहिए, ताक़त, शक्ति, पावर जैसे बिजली का पावर, या थर्मल पावर, जो कुछ है पावर। जैसे भाखड़ा नांगल से निकलता है; और जगहों से। तीन चीज़ें बिलकुल ज़रूरी हो गयीं, लोहा पैदा करना, बड़ी मशीन बिल्डिंग, पावर और भी ज़रूरी है, मसलन कोयले की ज़रूरत है, और भी कई चीज़ों की ज़रूरत है, कैमिकल इण्डस्ट्रीज़ की ज़रूरत है, ट्रांसपोर्ट की ज़रूरत है, रेल, मोटर वगैरह, क्योंकि एक जगह से चीज़ दूसरी जगह ले जायें, ग़रज़ कि कुछ बुनियादी चीज़ें हो जाती हैं, लेकिन इण्डस्ट्री जिसके बगैर मुल्क नहीं बढ़ सकता बहुत, लेकिन उन्हीं बेसिक इण्डस्ट्रीज़ के बनाने में इतनी मुसीबत उठानी पड़ती है, इतना खर्च होता है, बगैर बहुत दिन तक फ़ायदे के।

अब आप ग़ौर फ़रमायें हमारे तीन-चार बड़े लोहे के कारख़ाने बन रहे हैं तीन बरस से, चार बरस से और हर कारख़ाने में करीब-करीब डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये हमारे लग रहे हैं। ख़याल तो कीजिए, कितनी बड़ी रक़म। तीन-चार को मिला कर करीब 500 करोड़ रुपये, और एक ग़रीब मुल्क के लिए बहुत ही बड़ी है। और उससे हमें फ़ायदा इन तीन-चार बरस में कुछ नहीं हुआ, ख़ाली खर्च हुआ है। फ़ायदा तो तब होगा जब वो बन जायेगा और पैदा करेंगे स्टील। तब ज़रूर फ़ायदा होगा और बहुत फ़ायदा होगा। लेकिन उस वक़्त तक हमें फ़ाक़े करने पड़ते हैं, ख़ाली खर्चते ही जाओ। अब भाखड़ा नांगल बनायें, बरसों तक खर्च हो, खर्च आपका होता जाता है, बाद में एक ज़माने बाद फिर उससे फ़ायदा होता है। और तब फ़ायदा काफ़ी होता है और बहुत दिनों तक होता है। तो ग़रीब मुल्क के सामने यह पेंच होता है कि ज़ोर लगा कर उसे खर्चना पड़ता है, ताकि उससे लाभ, फ़ायदा हो। अगर न करें तो ग़रीबी में पड़ा रहता है, निकलता नहीं।

एक और खर्चने की बात...मैंने आपसे कहा कि मशीन हो, लोहा और यह और वो। लेकिन इस मशीन को चलाता कौन है? वो जो हमारे लोहे के कारख़ाने बने हैं, कौन चलाता है? सीखे हुए आदमी, इंजीनियर चलाते हैं। उस लोहे के कारख़ाने को, समझिए, हमने पाँच बरस में बना दिया, लेकिन जो इंजीनियर उसको चलायेगा, उसको पन्द्रह बरस सिखाना पड़ेगा। वो ज़्यादा मुश्किल है। तो हमें सबमें ज़्यादा ध्यान देना पड़ता है लोगों को सिखाने का, लोगों को बचपन में उनको सिखाने का, यानी पढ़ाई की तरफ़। क्योंकि आखिर में जड़, बुनियाद पढ़ाई हो जाती है, पढ़ाई से लोग काम करने वाले निकलते हैं, काम करना सीखते हैं, चाहे वो काम कहीं हो, चाहे वो काम खेत में हो, चाहे कारख़ाने में हो। यह न आप समझिए, इस धोखे में नहीं पड़िए कि खेत का काम तो ऐसा कि हमारे अनपढ़ भी किसान-ज़मींदार कर लेते हैं। हाँ, कर लेते हैं कुछ-न-कुछ, लेकिन यक़ीनन वो उसका दुगुना अच्छा करेंगे अगर पढ़े-लिखे होते। जैसे कि यूरोप में हुआ है। जहाँ किसान-ज़मींदार पढ़ा-लिखा हुआ, उसका काम ज़्यादा अच्छा होगा, उसने फ़ायदा उठाया जो दुनिया में तरक्की हो रही है उससे। यह नहीं कि पुराना सिलसिला...तो आप देखें कितनी बातें हमें करनी होती हैं। पढ़ाना और पढ़ाना महज़, पढ़ाना इसलिए नहीं कि वो बी. ए., एम. ए. हो गया तो उसको नौकरी मिल जाये, पढ़ाना किसी पेशे

के लिए, काम के लिए, और एक तरफ़ से तो हरेक को पढ़ाना, आम पढ़ाई हरेक की होनी चाहिए, हमारा इरादा है, हर बच्चे को और खास पढ़ाई भी काफ़ी तादाद में हो। और दूसरी तरफ़ से यह जो मैंने आपसे कहा जिस ढंग से हम तरक्की करें तो आप देखिए, सवाल कितना फैला हुआ हो जाता है, और उसको सोचना पड़ता है, किस बात को पहले करें, किसको दूसरे। मैं आपको एक मिसाल देता हूँ।

मैंने आपसे कहा कि चार हम लोहे के कारखाने बना रहे हैं, अगर हमने एक लोहे का कारखाना पहले बनाया होता, यानी फ़र्स्ट फ़ाइव इयर प्लान में एक लोहे का कारखाना हमने शुरू किया होता, अगर हममें इतना दम होता कि हम करते तो इस वक़्त हमारा बोझा कम होता, हमारी हिम्मत नहीं हुई, क्योंकि डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये खर्चना था। काफ़ी खर्च थे, हमारी हिम्मत नहीं हुई। हमने कहा, बाद में करेंगे और नतीजा यह हुआ कि जितना बाद में आप उसको करते हैं, उतना ही मुश्किल हो जाता है, उतना ही बोझा बढ़ता है, अगर वो उस वक़्त हो गया होता तो सैकड़ों करोड़ रुपये हमारे बच गये थे [जाते] जो हमें खर्चने पड़े बाहर से लोहा ख़रीदने में। इसी तरह से आज लोग कहने लगे हमसे और अब भी कहते हैं कि चार-पाँच तुम बना रहे हो इसकी कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है, क्योंकि जितना ज़्यादा आप बनाओगे, उतना ही बोझा हम पर पड़ता है। क्यों? दो बनाओ, दो बाद में में बनाना, आराम से ज़रा हम चलें, लेकिन मुश्किल यह है कि आपको इसमें आराम नहीं मिलता, आपका कल का बोझा बढ़ जाता है, आज तो है वो कल और बढ़ जाता है और हटता ही नहीं यह कम्बख़्त बोझा। तो हम इसलिए इस वक़्त भी हम इस पेंच में पड़े।

हम तीसरी योजना का सोचते हैं कि हम किस तरह से अगर हम तरक्की ज़रा आराम से करें, तो वो काफ़ी तरक्की नहीं होती, हमें इस ग़रीबी की दलदल से निकलने को। आबादी बढ़ती है। अगर दो फ़ीसदी आबादी बढ़ती है जैसे कि है और हमारी तरक्की दो फ़ीसदी हो तो वो तो नयी आबादी ने खा लिया, हम तो वहीं-कै-वहीं रहे, आगे बढ़े ही नहीं। तो हमें इससे ज़्यादा पैदा करना है। चार-पाँच-छै फ़ीसदी करना है ताकि कुछ आराम लोगों को मिले, और ताकि हमारे पास सामान बढ़े, जिसको हम इन्वेस्ट करें आइन्दा की तरक्की में। आप हिसाब लगाते हैं तो कम-से-कम छै फ़ीसदी तरक्की सालाना होनी चाहिए यानी प्रोडक्शन की, पैदावार की। अब आप कहें, हाँ, ज़रूरी छै हो, छै नहीं, सात क्यों न हो। लेकिन मुश्किल तो यह है कि काग़ज़ी बात नहीं है कि वो तरक्की आख़िर में होगी जितनी मेहनत चालीस करोड़ आदमी हिन्दुस्तान में करें। कितनी मेहनत आप उनसे करवा सकते हैं। बहुत एक मोटी तौर से एक फ़ीसदी तरक्की के माने है एक हज़ार करोड़ का खर्च इन्वेस्टमेंट, छै फ़ीसदी के माने है छै हज़ार करोड़ का खर्च, बहुत मोटे तौर से। तो खर्च के माने पैसा लगाना तो है, लेकिन लोगों को मेहनत करके उतना पैदा करना। चुनावे ख़ाली काग़ज़ी बात नहीं है कि हम लिख दें, वो करना है। ख़ैर।

तो इसमें मेरा ख़याल है और सब लोगों का ख़याल है कि हमें इण्डस्ट्री के मैदान में ज़ोरों से तरक्की करनी है, और इण्डस्ट्री के मैदान के लिए ही हमने सब ये लोहे के कारखाने बनाये

और मशीन बिल्डिंग कारखाना, मशीन बनाने का बड़ा बनवा रहे हैं और पावर है जहाँ तक बन पड़े, पैदा करते हैं। यह बात तो ठीक है और इसी तरह से आखिर में यह अनएमप्लॉयमेंट का सवाल हल होगा। क्योंकि लोहे का कारखाना हम बनायें तो उसमें बहुत लोगों को काम नहीं मिलता जो कि दस-बीस-पचास हज़ार मिले, लेकिन उससे जो लोहा निकलता है, उससे हज़ार, दस हज़ार कारखाने बनते हैं, उससे दस हज़ार जगह काम मिलता है लोगों को, और इस तरह से बढ़ते हैं। यानी एक तो अव्वल काम होता है कारखाने का, एक दौयम, तीसरा उससे फिर नतीजे निकलते हैं, सबसिडियरी काम, वो तो हुआ। और मैंने आपके सामने कहा कितना ज़रूरी है इण्डस्ट्री का बढ़ना, उद्योग का। लेकिन उससे ज़्यादा ज़रूरी है ज़मीन का मामला। हिन्दुस्तान के लिए खास तौर से, क्योंकि ज़मीन ही बोझा उठायेगी, ज़मीन से जो पैदा हो, वही बोझा उठायेगा इण्डस्ट्री की तरक्की का और कोई चारा नहीं। अव्वल तो ज़मीन खिलाने के लिए हो एक अव्वल चीज़ है, काफ़ी हमें खाना मिले, ग़ल्ला मिले उससे, वो ही नहीं मिलता, तो हम इण्डस्ट्री क्या बनायेंगे और कहाँ से हम रोज़ ग़ल्ला बाहर से लायेंगे? पैसा है ही नहीं पास, और बाहर से ग़ल्ला कहाँ तक लायेंगे, कुछ और तो ला ही नहीं सकते। इसलिए बावजूद इण्डस्ट्री के बहुत अहमियत रखने के, उससे कहीं ज़्यादा अहमियत ज़मीन रखती है। सच बात तो यह है कि हर तरफ़ बढ़ना है। तो सवाल आ जाता है कि ज़मीन से ज़्यादा-से-ज़्यादा हम कैसे पैदा करें? ऐग्रिकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन हमारा कैसे बढ़े, खासकर फ़ूड ग्रेन्स का, ग़ल्ले का।

अब इस मामले में पंजाब के लोग, ज़मींदार लोग अच्छे हैं, अच्छा पैदा करते हैं। अच्छे मेहनती हैं, लेकिन आप फिर भी याद रखें कि और मुल्कों में हमारे यहाँ से फ़्री एकड़ कहीं ज़्यादा पैदा होता है, फ़्री एकड़? क्या माने है इसके? शर्म की बात है, क्यों नहीं हम कर सकते? और ज़रूर कर सकते हैं और करते हैं। पंजाब में कितने लोग आज के यहाँ अलग-अलग ज़मींदार जो कर रहे हैं, जो मामूली मुल्क की औसत का चौगुना निकाल रहे हैं, क्यों न सारा पंजाब करे, क्यों न सारा हिन्दुस्तान करे और यह सवाल आ जाता है और यह अव्वल सवाल है और सारा हमारा दारोमदार है इस बात पर कि हम अपनी ज़मीन से कितना पैदा करते हैं। कितना ज़्यादा पैदा करते हैं। अगर हमने किया जितना हम समझते हैं करें, करना चाहिए, और हम करेंगे, तब मुझे कोई शक नहीं कि हमारा बेड़ा पार, सब इण्डस्ट्री वग़ैरह आ जायेंगी, कोई शक नहीं इसमें। और सब काम हैं। लेकिन अगर इसमें हमें दिक्कतें हुईं तो फिर सारी हमारी इमारत खोखली हो जाती है। यह आप याद रखें, कितनी ज़रूरी बात है।

अब इस सिलसिले में नागपुर में कुछ कांग्रेस के रिज़ोल्यूशन हुए, जिसमें एक हुआ कोऑपरेटिव्स के बारे में, सहकारी संघ, कोऑपरेटिव्स का, हमने कहा कि गाँव में, हर गाँव में कोऑपरेटिव्स होना चाहिए, मिल कर काम करना चाहिए, वहाँ के ज़मींदारों को, किसानों को। बहुत बड़ा कोऑपरेटिव नहीं, कोऑपरेटिव तो आप बहुत दिनों से जानते हैं कुछ क्रेडिट कोऑपरेटिव, कुछ रुपया क़र्जा लेने का सवाल वग़ैरह। वो तो ठीक है। लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कोऑपरेटिव में और बहुत कुछ बात हो और ख़रीद-फ़रोख्त गाँव की तरफ़ से अपने कोऑपरेटिव की तरफ़ से हो। यह तो एक मोटी बात है। जब सब लोग मिल कर काम करें

तो उसमें ताकत बढ़ जाती है और अगर खासकर हिन्दुस्तान में जहाँ आम तौर से एक आदमी के पास ज़मीन है वो कम है, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़, चार एकड़ जो कुछ हो और जाइए पंजाब में तो कुछ ज्यादा है। और जगह और भी बहुत कम है। एक एकड़, डेढ़ एकड़ भी मिल जाये, जिसकी एक एकड़ ज़मीन है उसके पास, उसको हिम्मत नहीं है, न सामान उसका है कि वो तरक्की करे, बेचारा बेहद मेहनत करता है और मेहनत का फल भी कम पाता है। लेकिन वो ही एक और डेढ़ एकड़ वाले मिल के वो अपने एक हज़ार एकड़ कर लें या पाँच सौ एकड़ कर लें जो कुछ है, तब उनकी ताकत बढ़ जाती है। वो आजकल के पचासों छोटे-मोटे नये तरीक़े हैं उनका इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं। वो खाद वगैरह खरीद सकते हैं कोऑपरेटिव की तरफ़ से, वो अपना ग़ल्ला बेच सकते हैं कोऑपरेटिव के ज़रिये से, अच्छे दाम उन्हें मिलें। गरज़ कि वो एक मज़बूत चीज़ हो जाती है जो दुनिया का सामना कर सके। वो एक एकड़, दो एकड़ वाला किसान नहीं कर सकता। वो बनिये के हाथ में फँसता है, वो इसके हाथ में फँसता है, क़र्ज़ा लेता है, कभी निकल नहीं सकता। तो ज़ाहिर है, कोऑपरेटिव्स से उसका फ़ायदा है, ज्यादा पैदा होगा और उसका ज़ाती फ़ायदा है। यह ऐसी मोटी बात है, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता, इसमें बहस कैसे हो, लेकिन वो कोऑपरेटिव ख़ाली क़र्ज़ा देने को नहीं, क़र्ज़ा तो दे, और काम में, सर्विसेस कोऑपरेटिव।

अब उसके बाद हमने कहा, यह जम जाये तो और अच्छी बात हो। अगर वो गाँव वाले कोऑपरेटिव फ़ार्मिंग करें यानी मिल-जुल के वो अपने खेत जोतें। यह माने इसके नहीं हैं कि उनकी ज़मीन उनसे ले ली जाये। ज़मीन तो उनकी है, वो उनकी मिलकियत रहेगी, कोई सवाल नहीं, लेकिन यह माने कि वो मिल कर जोतें और फिर जिसको जितनी, और जितनी ज़मीन है और जितनी मेहनत करे उतना उसको हिस्सा मिले, यह कहा। अब आप ग़ौर करें कि इसमें भी ज़ाहिरा फ़ायदा है कोई शक़ नहीं। तो उसमें उनकी ज़मीन का हिस्सा कोई दूसरा नहीं ले जाता, गाँव की ज़मीन है वो मिल कर करें, मिल कर खेती में आजकल के ज़माने में, ज़ाहिर है, फ़ायदा है, मिल कर हो सकता है। अगर चाहें तो ट्रैक्टर चला सकते हैं, अकेला नहीं चला सकता; मिल कर करने में, ज़मीन ज़ाया होती है खेतों के बीच में, वो भी ज़ाया नहीं होती। और गरज़ कि आजकल के विज्ञान साइन्स टेक्नॉलोजी के तरीक़े लगाये जा सकते हैं जो अलग-अलग नहीं, ज़ाहिर है, और उससे उनका फ़ायदा होता है, हरेक का हिस्सा बढ़ता है। और अगर उसमें से कोई मिल कर बाद में फिर बाहर आना चाहे तो बाहर जा सकता है, कोई ज़बरदस्ती थोड़े ही है। उसके क्या क़ायदे-क़ानून हों, वो बनाये जायें, छोड़ भी सकता है उसको। ज़ाहिर है, उसमें जो असल दिक्क़त है वो यह नहीं है कि कोई सोचने को, दिक्क़त कुछ हो जाती है कि लोगों की तंग ख़याली, एक खुदगरज़ी, यह है दिक्क़त, इन्सान की कमज़ोरी की दिक्क़त है। लेकिन जब वो इन्सान, वही इन्सान देखता है कि इससे फ़ायदा होता है तो खुदगरज़ी उसको मजबूर करती है उधर जाने को, इसलिये...और हम तो नहीं चाहते कि मजबूरन, ज़बरदस्ती यह कोऑपरेटिव फ़ार्मिंग करवायें, और न हम करवा सकते हैं, निकम्मी बात है। ज़बरदस्ती थोड़े ही ऐसी बातें होती हैं। खुशी से नहीं आदमी आयेगा [तो] वो न ठीक काम करेगा न कुछ, और

वो खराब हो जायेगा। हम चाहते हैं कि उनकी रज़ामन्दी से यह हो, और उनकी रज़ामन्दी से ही खुशी से आर्यें और पूरी कोशिश से उसको कामयाब बनायें और उनका फ़ायदा हो ज़मींदारों का।

इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि इस वक़्त हमें दो बातें करनी हैं, एक तो सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव, यानी जॉयण्ट फ़ार्मिंग नहीं, सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव ख़ूब फैलायें। यही नागपुर कांग्रेस ने कहा। दूसरे हम जा-ब-जा, जहाँ मुनासिब समझें और जहाँ लोग पूरी तौर से राज़ी हों, अच्छी जगह हो, वहाँ मॉडल कोऑपरेटिव फ़ार्म्स बनायें, बहुत ज़्यादा नहीं, जितने हो सकें आसानी से। अगर हिन्दुस्तान भर में फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि हमने पाँच सौ किये, पाँच सौ, पाँच लाख में तो बहुत कम हैं, पाँच लाख गाँव हैं। मुझे मंज़ूर है हम पाँच सौ करें, पाँच सौ से ज़्यादा तो अब भी हैं, मैं उनकी नहीं कहता। लेकिन अच्छे अपने ढंग से पाँच सौ किये, या पाँच हज़ार किये, जितने हों, लेकिन वो अच्छे चुने हुए हों और क्योंकि उनकी कामयाबी से, और यक्रीनन कामयाबी होगी, सारे आस-पास के लोगों पर असर होगा और वो फैलेगी। यह चीज़ आप महज़ ज़बानी लेक्चर से नहीं समझा सकते। यह चीज़ आँख से दिखा के आप समझा सकते हैं कि कितना फ़ायदा होता है। इस ढंग से हमें चलना है, क्योंकि हमारी बढ़ती हुई आबादी का हम कोई इलाज नहीं कर सकते सिवा इसके कि अब ज़मीन वँटती जाये, ज़रा सी हो जाये, तो फिर चलता नहीं।

एक और बात हमें करनी है ज़मीन के लिए। हमारी ज़मीन पर ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा लोग रहते हैं। यानी ज़मीन पर काम करने वाले। उनकी ज़रूरत है नहीं, अगर आधे लोग हों तो ज़मीन पर उतना ही पैदा हो, और ज़्यादा पैदा हो शायद। क्या किया जाये? आबादी बढ़ती गयी, कहाँ जायें वो? इसलिए बहुत सारे उनमें शहर चले जाते हैं। लेकिन मुझे उनका शहर जाना बहुत पसन्द नहीं है, शहर बढ़ते जाते हैं। अच्छे लोग शहर जायें, मैं चाहता हूँ वहीं रहें, गाँव में, लेकिन गाँव में और काम हों। गाँव में छोटी इण्डस्ट्रीज़ हों, छोटे उद्योग हों, अलावा खेती के गाँव में, ताकि गाँव हल्के-हल्के बदलते जायें। और वहाँ खेती और इण्डस्ट्री और उद्योग, दोनों साथ-साथ हों, तब गाँव की हैसियत बढ़ेगी, और ज़मीन पर बोझ खाली खेती पर काम करने वालों का कम होगा।

मैंने दो-चार बातें आपके सामने रखीं, जिस ढंग से हम बढ़ना चाहते हैं और इन सभी के पीछे तो मेहनत है, परिश्रम है, अवल है, और यह कि हम अपनी ताक़त इधर-उधर ज़ाया न करें, झगड़ों में, फ़िज़ूल बातों में झगड़े होते हैं और कमाल हासिल है पंजाब में भी छोटी बातों पर झगड़ा करने का। पंजाबी बहुत मेहनती लोग हैं और मैं देखता हूँ यहाँ से जो पंजाबी गये हैं उत्तर प्रदेश, कुछ ज़मीन-वमीन उन्हें मिली। अभी मैं आया, कल ही तो आ रहा हूँ मैं तराई से। जहाँ पंजाबी की ज़मीन है, उसने दुगुना पैदा किया और सब पड़ोसियों से, मेहनती आदमी, पिल गया उसमें और दुगुना-चौगुना पैदा किया है उसने। सब उसने लगा दिया अपना जो कुछ उसके पास था उसने, और लोग अपने पुराने रहने वाले वहाँ और अपने पुराने ढर्रे पर चलते जाते हैं। तो काम करना जानता है, मेहनती आदमी है, लेकिन लड़ना भी जानता है, लड़ता भी जाता है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता इसका उपाय भी आप निकालें आपस ही में। यह सब

ताक़त जो उनकी इधर-उधर ज़ाया होती है वो अगर सही तरफ़ जाये तो बड़ी तेज़ी से पंजाब दौड़ के आगे निकल जायेगा हरेक से। ख़ैर, यक़ीनन निकलेगा और हिन्दुस्तान बढ़ेगा। इसमें तो कोई शक नहीं हैं। लेकिन ज़ाहिर है दिक्क़त के काम हैं, मेहनत है और यह समझना कि एकदम से हमें मेहनत का फल मिल जाये इतने बड़े मुल्क में, वो तो मुश्किल है।

गरज़ कि बहुत दिन से मेरी ख़्वाहिश थी यहाँ चैल आने की, देखने की, सुना था कि बहुत ख़ूबसूरत जगह है। आज वो पूरी हुई और उसी के साथ यह जो यहाँ सेल्फ़ कल्चरल इंस्टीट्यूट बना है उसी के लिए मैं आया था असल में। उसको देखा, वो ख़याल तो बहुत पसन्द है मुझे। क्योंकि बुनियादी ख़याल उसके नीचे यह है, उसके अन्दर यह है कि हम...एक-एक शाख़ बढ़े...अपने ऊपर भरोसा करें, हमारा जिस्म ठीक हो, दिमाग़ ठीक हो, आत्मा ठीक हो, और इस तरह से हम मुल्क में ऐसे लोगों को बनायें जितने ज़्यादा हों, मुल्क मज़बूत हो, मुल्क में भी ये ख़ूबियाँ हों। तो एक क़ौम जब मज़बूत ऐसी होती है तो मुल्क भी मज़बूत होता है। ख़ाली गिनती से तो बात चलती नहीं है, यह तो क्वालिटी से चलती है, हमारी क्वालिटी क्या है, क्वाण्टिटी से नहीं।

तो ख़ुशी हुई मुझे आ कर, कल सवेरे में चला जाऊँगा यहाँ से दिल्ली, परसों वहाँ से जबलपुर जाऊँगा, नरसों जबलपुर से मैं केरल जाऊँगा, फिर दक्खिन में, बहुत दूर। वहाँ एक कुछ शायद आपके कान तक आवाज़ पहुँची हो, कुछ वहाँ भी कुछ गुल-शोर थोड़ा-सा हो रहा है। लेकिन जहाँ भी जाऊँ कुछ यहाँ से आपकी हिमालय की हवा कुछ चुरा कर ले जाऊँगा, अगर आपकी इजाज़त हो, दिमाग़ ताज़ा करेगी।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

I have come to Chail for the first time today. Till yesterday morning, I was in another hill station, Nainital which is also in the Himalayas and a few days earlier I visited yet another hill station in the South, Ootacamund. It is a very beautiful place. So in this way I have had to visit a number of hill stations in the last few days. You may perhaps know that I love mountains in general and have had a very special relationship with the Himalayas since my childhood.

So, I am very happy to be here among the mountains once again and old memories are revived in my mind. It is the past which has moulded us and made us what we are. Human beings who are alive today are the product of thousands of years. And then the question is how to mould the future and the coming generations, because just as we are the product of the past, what we do will affect the future. So, on the one hand one looks at the past to learn from it. But it is obvious that we have to look more to the future. I have seen tremendous changes and upheavals during the last fifty years or more in India and the world.



There have been revolutions and changes and many of you must have been a witness to the revolutionary changes that have taken place in India. All of us played a small role in bringing them about.

What is our role in this changing world? How are we going to mould the future of the country? Our first duty is to ensure that future generations get ample opportunities for progress and to lighten the burden which the people have to bear today. Please remember that we are probably living in one of the most revolutionary eras in the history of the world. As I said at the Institute,<sup>68</sup> many of us talk about revolution and shout slogans. But revolution does not mean violence and chaos but something that changes the world or society and its way of life in a fundamental way. That happens when new forces make their appearance in the world.

Today a great power has come on the scene which will gradually transform the entire world. Atomic energy will undoubtedly turn the world upside down in the next twenty-five, thirty years if it does not destroy it in the process. Both these things are possible. This great power can be used for good as well as evil purposes. If it is used wrongly, it is such a tremendous force that it will not only destroy the world but pollute the atmosphere to such an extent due to radioactive fallout that even future generations will be affected. On the other hand, it is such a great source of energy that the world can benefit by it enormously and use it to solve many of its problems. I do not say that the atomic energy will solve all the problems of the world. That will ultimately have to be done by man himself with his strength and ability, character or whatever it is. But man becomes very strong when he has atomic energy in his hands. He can use it to destroy and kill or for the good of mankind. I have merely given you a hint so that you may always bear in mind the fact that we are living in a topsy-turvy world. Nobody knows which way the world will go. Well, to control the whole world is beyond us, nor is it our special responsibility. But what should be our role in such a world? That is where our responsibility comes in. The question is how should our country prepare to face these problems.

You must have heard about the Five Year Plan, community development and national extension scheme, etc. Yesterday I went to the Self-Culture Institute here. All the questions that are posed hint at this. But ultimately the responsibility is a personal one, of every one of us, to do something constructive and serve society and the nation. In fact we have to think of the whole world for no country can exist in isolation today. The world has become a very close knit

68. See fn 67 in this section.

place and every country is a neighbour of the others. You can reach any corner of the world in a few hours. No country can hold itself aloof today. All this is true and yet ultimately our main responsibility is to our country, I will not accept it if you feel that your responsibility is only to your village or city. It is obvious that most of your work will be done in your village or district. You are not going to run around all over India. But you must remember that progress, whether it is of an individual or of a part of India, is tied up with the progress of the entire nation. We must understand quite clearly that if India progresses so will all of us and if she falls, none of us can hope to progress. When India became free, all of us became free, not some parts of the country. This is something that we should remember though it is a simple thing and there can be no doubt about it. But if we forget, even for a little while, the larger issues of the country in our preoccupations with our own locality and village and province, we cannot go very far. We must always strive to remember what India is all about. India is a huge country with big provinces and different religions and languages and innumerable little castes. I do not know how many hundreds of castes there are in India. Every one of these divides the people into compartments. There is no harm in cherishing one's individuality. You may be proud of belonging to the Punjab or somewhere else and there is nothing wrong in that. But if in the process you forget what your duty is towards India then it is wrong. What is your status when you go out of India? You cannot say that you are a Punjabi. Your status is that of a citizen of India, of the Republic of India. You will be respected for being a citizen of India, not because you come from the Punjab, Madras, Bombay or Bengal. Most people would not have even heard of these places.

What is this India of ours? I cannot tell you her entire story for it is a long, long one, dating back to thousands of years. We have been moulded by that long history for good or bad. The fact is that we have many excellent qualities as well as shortcomings. There are innumerable weaknesses in us and the greatest weakness or vice has been disunity and the habit of quarrelling among ourselves. We quarrel at the slightest pretext and forget our unity. We quarrel in the name of religion or province or some locality or language, caste, etc. We are divided over petty issues. What does it mean? It means that though we have learnt a great many things during these thousands of years, the fact is that we have not developed a true spirit of nationalism. We get carried away in the name of religion or language or something else. This has no meaning if we are to be a fully united nation. We must rectify this, because unless we develop a sense of unity, there is always a danger of the country becoming weak and our energy will be frittered away in useless tensions and quarrels.

I want every one of you to understand what we are heirs to. We are all heirs

to the whole of India and have inherited this vast expanse of land from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari. We do not belong only to the city or the state where we are born. The child who is born in the Punjab belongs to it but has an equal right in the South in Kanyakumari or in the East and the West. Similarly, Punjab is not the personal property of the Punjabis but belongs to everyone in India. So, it is a great inheritance of ours, this huge country and not merely the India of the present but of the past thousands of years, her entire history, culture and civilization which have moulded us. It is a precious inheritance and all of us are part of it and we are fortunate that all this invaluable treasure is ours. Now, the question is how to protect and add to this great inheritance of ours. Apart from everything else, the wealth of India, at least as far as you can count her human beings as such, is increasing day by day. Increase in population may have its advantages in that there is greater manpower available in the country for the various tasks of development. But at the same time it is also a drawback because it is a greater burden to the country. After all, every single individual in the country is a burden for the nation because everyone consumes something. It is obvious that they need food, clothes, housing, opportunities for education, healthcare facilities and employment.

You must have heard about the Five Year Plans. Nowadays, there is talk of the Third Plan which will start after two years. Do you know how it is drawn up? It is not a question of drawing up a list of how many roads and bridges and hospitals and colleges that needs to be built. That is not the way to plan though all these things come into the plan. But we calculate on the size of the population for whom arrangements have to be made, not today's population but what it is likely to grow into. If we plan for the population of today, there will be a shortfall five years hence. What is to be done? Calculations have to be made for the population of India seven years hence, when the Third Plan will be over. As I told you, the population is increasing very fast. I think it was thirty-six or thirty-seven crores at the last census and now it has probably become forty crores. It is estimated that seven years hence it will be 48 crores. It is a pretty rapid growth and when there is talk of the need to increase production in the country, we seem to be succeeding most in producing babies. Secondly, with better healthcare facilities, the physical wellbeing of the nation is becoming better and the death rate is going down which is a good thing. The effort is to increase the life expectancy of the people which has now gone up from twenty-four to thirty-six years and is increasing every year. Malaria has virtually been brought under control all over the country and deaths due to malaria are almost negligible now. Other diseases like cholera, typhoid will also be brought under control within the next few years. But as a result of all this, the population increases, which poses innumerable problems. Firstly, it is obvious, that if production

does not keep pace with the growing population, then poverty increases in the country. If there is food shortage, it will be very difficult.

You must have often heard about Ramrajya when everyone used to get enough to eat and had every kind of facility. Well, we cannot say what the truth was. But we must remember one thing that in the period of the so called Ramrajya which might have been two thousand years or more ago, the population of India was very small. Some calculations have been made to prove that it was probably one-hundredth of what it is today. So the population which is forty crores today must have been forty or fifty lakhs then. Now, it is obvious that for a large country like India it would have been an easy matter to feed and clothe a few lakhs. There was plenty of land available and the people were not many and an enormous amount of goods could be produced from land. So, there was no shortage of food. Shortages arise when production does not keep pace with the growing population for the amount of land available remains the same.

So, we have to adopt various measures. One is to consider various means to control the birthrate. I do not mean that people should stop having babies. That is certainly not in my control and nor perhaps fully within yours either. But I do mean that people should not have large families which they cannot look after properly. It is not fair either to the parents or the country. Births should be planned so that proper arrangements can be made. Nowadays, plenty of information is available to everyone.

But the other question is how to increase production of essential goods in the country for the entire population. It can only be done by the hard work of the people, and there is no dearth of manpower in the country. If we can harness the enormous human resource which we have to the task of production, the result should be very good. This is all right. But it depends on the kind of people we have in the country. Are they strong and hard working or lazy? Secondly, the kinds of tools they possess make a great difference. If you do not possess modern tools, it is difficult to work efficiently. For one thing I think it will be correct to say that Europe and the United States have advanced so much and become extremely wealthy because the people in those countries are extremely hard-working. You must not think, having seen a few British officers, that the people of Europe are merely officers. The masses are extremely hardworking. Secondly, they have taken advantage of the new tools, machines and new sources of power and energy which have come on the scene. They have invented new techniques by experimentation. All this happened about a couple of centuries ago. So they acquired enormous power in their hands. The strength of a motor is calculated in terms of horse power, not that real horses are harnessed to the motor.

So Europe had advanced by increasing its capacity to produce goods through

science and technology and hard work. They have learnt new methods of using the power at their command by means of science and so they have progressed. We often criticize the British for committing atrocities here and what not and there is some truth in that. But the broad fact is even their coming here was due to their courage and daring while we fell because of our foolishness. There is no getting away from the fact that we were stupid.

So the countries of the West progressed and learnt to produce new wealth. Farmers learnt to use better methods of agriculture. They produce an enormous amount of goods from their industries. Today, the United States is regarded as the wealthiest country in the world. It is not that they have hidden treasures somewhere but because every year they produce an enormous amount of goods from their land and industries, so much so that they have to throw away the surplus or waste it. It is because they have taken advantage of scientific discoveries and worked very hard. So, all these examples are before us of countries which have become rich after 150 or 200 years of effort. In other countries like the Soviet Union, where a revolution took place, great progress has been made. But even they have taken over forty years to achieve that. So, you must remember that these things cannot be done by magic. It requires hard work and tremendous sacrifice.

Immediately after swaraj we had to embark upon yet another momentous journey, the journey towards a welfare state, to make India prosperous and provide equality of opportunity to everyone so that each individual could progress according to his ability. We want to remove poverty and employment from the country which is a complex task. It is obvious that the problem cannot be solved by a handful of people being given employment, or even to a million or two. Provision has to be made to open new avenues of employment to provide jobs to millions in the country so that each individual can do what he is capable of and work on land or in industries and shops or at a thousand and one things. The work done should be productive. Pointless work like digging pits and filling them up again may be good for your health. But it does not do any good to the world. Work has to be productive, and it should produce something, because all of us are consumers who eat and wear clothes and need a thousand other things. If the work we do is not productive, we will be consuming something produced by others. Therefore, each individual must produce in his own way at least what he consumes or little more because there should always be a surplus. Otherwise the society cannot grow.

So, the problem which confronts us is how to make India prosperous. We came to the conclusion that a great deal depends upon the social organisation of a country which means the relationship that exists among the millions of people in the country and the kind of work that is done, etc. So we came to the

conclusion that if we wanted the whole country to become prosperous, broadly speaking, we would have to adopt a socialistic policy. I deliberately said broadly speaking, because I do not agree that we should copy any other country. It seems wrong to me. The problems of each country are different and a solution has to be found to suit the needs of our country. It will be foolish if we try to copy the United States or the Soviet Union. Wisdom lies in learning the good points from them and adapting them to suit our needs. We have learnt a great deal from the other countries and adopted what we thought was feasible for us.

Therefore, I said broadly we will call it a socialistic policy which implies providing equality of opportunity to everyone. Please remember that I do not say everyone can become absolutely equal. That is beyond our control. You can make everyone equal by law and even if it could be done, I do not know if it would be a good thing. It will be a strange world where everyone is absolutely alike. It is a good thing that human beings are different. But it is not right not to give equal opportunities to everyone. It is wrong and unjust to deprive anyone of opportunity for economic betterment or as the Hindu society has done in the past, to suppress a section of society or label them as untouchables. I am not sure but the caste system may have been relevant two thousand years ago. It is absolutely wrong and unjust and there can be no relationship between the caste system and socialism and democracy. The caste system creates divisions and disparities while democracy and socialism both lean towards equality. There should be equality of opportunity which is not available today as you know. Our beautiful little children are not properly looked after in the villages and most of the schools that they go to are useless. It is a fact that the people who are well off can afford to send their children to good schools. But good education and good health should be available to every single child by right.

What I mean is that people should get equal opportunity, proper food, clothes to wear, facilities for education and health care and finally a job. After that, they can go as far as their ability permits. You cannot push a human being into progressing nor can you make him a hero if he is a coward. Some equal opportunity should be available to everyone. There are tremendous difficulties in this because on the one hand, you need money and secondly when poverty is so widespread, opportunities are not available in plenty.

The second thing is the structure of the society. As I said, so long as the caste system continues to exist, there can be no real equality in the country, no matter how much we talk about it, for disparities will exist. It is not easy to change these things in a hurry and you must remember that a real revolution is not a political one, but economic and social. The political revolution is over in the country with the coming of independence. Now two revolutions, a social

and an economic, have to be brought about. I have no doubt that they will come about soon. But it cannot be done by merely talking about it. India is changing rapidly. But it will take time for her to change completely and in fact, the process of change is never ending.

The Five Year Plans, etc., that you often hear about are efforts to find a solution to our problems and get a clear picture of our priorities. If we leave it to each individual to do what he wants and exhort them to work for the progress of the country, there will undoubtedly be results. But if each individual pulls in a different direction, the nation cannot go very far. Even if a handful of people are able to progress, the others will remain backward; it is not our duty to help a handful of people to progress, even if they are very good, while the rest remain backward. It is our responsibility to march ahead with forty crores of people. All these are complicated matters and it takes time to explain things to millions of people and even longer to get them to work. Moreover, our resources are limited and all the things that we have to do require money. We want to make arrangements to provide schooling for everyone. But when you make calculations, immediately you need millions of rupees. We want to build more hospitals. But again the same problem arises.

Secondly, we want to set up a number of industries, big and small. But where is the money to come from? We want to build canals for irrigation. Already 150 crores have been spent on the Bhakra-Nangal. Just think where the money is to come from. It cannot come from outside. We will take whatever little is forthcoming with gratitude. Or we can borrow some money. But ultimately we can spend only what we produce in the country. This is the dilemma that a poor country faces. A poor nation needs to invest a great deal for its development, it should invest more than it consumes for its future. But it can invest only what it saves. A poor country finds it impossible to save anything. So it becomes a vicious circle. A poor country has to take on a tremendous burden for the sake of progress in the future.

For instance, we feel that it is essential to industrialise the country and put up all kinds of industries, big, medium and small. We want to set up millions of them. But the question is how to go about it. Where are we to get the machines and the money to buy them from? We cannot keep importing machines from Germany, Japan, England or the United States. We will get stuck if we rely on others. So, we have arrived at the conclusion that we must undertake the basic things first. What are the basic requirements for industrialisation? We need to set up machine building industries. As long as we are dependent on other countries, money will flow out and every time there are repairs, work will come to a standstill. Until we start producing our machines in the country—I do not mean small machines like sewing machines or whatever it is for those are made

in plenty in the Punjab and Ludhiana, etc. – we cannot progress. By machines, I mean the huge machines which are necessary to put up steel plants in Jamshedpur or elsewhere. We need an enormous amount of steel for we cannot make machines without steel. We need power, thermal power or electricity, etc., which we are trying to generate at Bhakra Nangal and elsewhere. All these things are absolutely essential for industrialization – steel, power and coal. Other things are also equally necessary, like chemical industries, transport, rail, trucks, etc., to carry goods from one place to another. In short, there are certain basic industries without which a nation cannot progress very far. But these basic industries require an enormous amount of money and the benefit will not be visible for a long time to come.

Now, you must have heard about the huge steel plants which are being built. Already four years have gone by and we are investing 150 crores in each plant. Just imagine what an enormous sum it is. Altogether it will come to 500 crores which is a very large sum for a poor country like India. We will not benefit from them for years to come. It is only when they start producing steel that we will benefit. But until then we will have to bear hardships and keep investing enormous sums. We are investing large sums of money on the Bhakra Nangal without any immediate profit. But later on, once it is complete, it will continue to benefit people for generations to come. This is the dilemma that all poor countries have to face. Enormous sums of money have to be invested in order to progress and if they do not, they will remain poor.

I talked about investing large sums of money in setting up industries. But who is going to run all our steel plants and other industries? We need engineers and other trained workers to run them. Suppose it takes five years to build a steel plant, it takes fifteen to train and to run it. It is far more difficult. So we must pay more attention to training people and educating them from their childhood. After all, the basis for all these things is education which produces skilled and trained human beings who know how to work well, whether it is on land or industries or elsewhere. Please do not be under the misapprehension that you do not need education to do farming. Certainly, our illiterate farmers do manage to cultivate their land. But they will do it twice as well if they are educated as it has happened in Europe. Wherever the farmers are educated, they have been able to benefit by the progress that is being made in the rest of the world. They do not remain in the old rut. So you see what a lot of things we have to do. We have to educate the people and not merely to produce more graduates, B.As and M.As, who can do only white collar jobs. On the one hand people have to be trained for special jobs and on the other hand, we want that everyone should get basic education. So you can see how difficult and extensive the problems are and it becomes essential to be clear in our minds



about our priorities.

Let me give you an example. I have already mentioned that we are putting up four steel plants. If we had put up at least one plant during the First Plan, if we had had the wherewithal to do so, there would be less burden on us now. But since it involved an investment of 150 crores, we did not dare. We postponed it with the result that the later we undertake it the more the difficulties multiply and the burden is greater. If we had done it then we could have saved hundreds of crores of rupees which we have spent in importing steel. Even now, people feel that we do not need to put up so many steel plants all at once, because the burden falls on the people. They want that we should put up two plants at a time and proceed at a slower pace. But the problem is that instead of easing the burden on the people, the hardships will be greater tomorrow. The burden will not reduce in any way. So we are in a great dilemma when we are thinking of the Third Plan just now. If we opt for a slower rate of progress, we will not get very far, because the population is increasing all the time. If the population increases at the rate of two percent a year and our rate of progress is also two percent, we will stay where we are. The growth rate must be at least four or five percent so that there is something left over to invest in the tasks of development. We have calculated that we need to achieve a growth rate of at least six per cent a year. But the problem is that it is not a question of putting it down on paper, but to achieve it through the effort of forty crore people. Broadly speaking, one percent growth implies an investment of one thousand crores. But apart from that, it also requires very hard work on the part of the people. So we cannot put it down on paper and feel that our duty is done.

Anyhow, it is almost the unanimous opinion of all of us that we should progress rapidly in the field of industry and it is for this that we are putting up steel plants and machine building industries and trying to generate as much power as possible. This is how the unemployment problem will ultimately be solved. The steel plant itself may provide employment only to fifteen or twenty thousand people. But the steel that is produced will be used to set up thousands of other new industries which will provide employment to more and more people. This is how we will progress. When one major industry is set up, automatically other subsidiary industries spring up around it.

I have pointed out how essential it is to expand industries. But it is even more important to improve agricultural production, because it is land which will have to bear the burden of industrial progress as well. First of all, we need to grow more food so that we are self-sufficient. If there is not enough to eat in the country and we have to import food grains, how can we hope to expand industrially? Therefore, in spite of the fact that industrialisation is important, the question of increasing agricultural production is more crucial. The truth is

that we have to progress on all fronts.

The question before us is how to increase agricultural production, especially production of food grains. The farmers of Punjab are very capable and produce a great deal. They are extremely hardworking. Yet you must remember that in other countries the average yield per acre is far more than it is in India. It is shameful that we cannot do the same. It can certainly be done and many farmers in the Punjab are producing four times as much as the average yield in the country. Why should it not be done all over India? This is the most important task before us for everything else depends on how much we produce from land. If we reach the target that we have set for ourselves, I have no doubt whatsoever that industrial progress will follow automatically. There are other tasks which also need to be done. But if we falter in increasing agricultural production, the foundation for the rest of our edifice becomes weak. So you must remember how important it is to increase production from land.

Now certain resolutions were passed by the Nagpur Congress, one of which was related to cooperatives. We feel that there should be a cooperative society in every village to ensure more efficient working among the people. As you know, for a long time there have been credit cooperatives which give loans, etc., to farmers. But we want that the activities of the cooperative societies must expand and that they should undertake buying and selling of goods for the villages. It is pretty obvious that when people get together and work, their capacity for work increases. In India especially, where there are innumerable small farmers who do not own more than an acre or two of land each, their capacity to increase production by using improved techniques of agriculture is negligible. So in spite of tremendous amount of hard work, they get very little result. But, if the small farmers were to come together and have a thousand acres between them, or even five hundred acres, immediately their strength would increase and they would be able to use hundreds of new techniques of agriculture which are available today. They can buy good fertilizers on behalf of the cooperatives and sell their produce at greater profit. In short, the cooperative becomes an efficient instrument to deal with the world. A small farmer cannot do all these things. He gets into the clutches of moneylenders and can never be free. So it is obvious that cooperatives are extremely beneficial to individuals as well as the village. I cannot understand how there can be any argument about this when it is so obvious that cooperatives can be extremely useful. But they must not be used merely for giving loans, etc. There should be service cooperatives.

We feel that once these cooperatives are established, the villagers should gradually take up cooperative farming. That does not mean that they will lose their land. Their title to the land will remain intact. Of that, there is no doubt. It

only means that the farming will be done by everyone together and the profits will be divided among the members. Now, it will obviously be useful if you think about it. In the modern world, cooperative farming is the answer to many problems. The members can even use tractors if they want to. Moreover, the land between boundaries which is wasted will be brought under cultivation and the modern scientific techniques of agriculture can be adopted which individual farmers cannot do. It is obvious that it will benefit everyone and later on, if someone wishes to leave, he can. There is no compulsion about not opting out it. Rules will be framed for this. It is obvious that the difficulty arises, because of the narrow vision of the people and the selfishness of human beings. But soon they are bound to realise its benefits and their self interest would prompt them to take this step. We do not want to force anyone to take up cooperative farming and it is absurd even to think that we can do so. If people do not take up something voluntarily, the work will not be satisfactory. We want them to take it up willingly and try their best to make it a success because it will benefit the farmers.

Therefore I feel that we must take two steps. The first is to spread service cooperatives—not joint farming—everywhere, as the Nagpur Congress suggested. Secondly, wherever we think it proper and the people are completely willing, we should set up model farms. We need not take up too many, only as many as are easily possible. We could perhaps set up 500 of them all over the country which is a very small number when there are five lakh villages in India. I would agree that only 500 farms be set up, but it must be done well. They will definitely succeed and that will have an impact on others all around them. This kind of practical demonstration will be better than giving lectures. We have to do all this for there is no other solution with the population growing rapidly.

Another thing that needs to be done is to reduce the pressure of people working on land by half. The population is growing and many of them go to cities in search of jobs. But I do not like the idea because the cities keep growing. I want that the people should remain in the villages. But there should be other avenues of employment apart from farming, for instance, small industries and handicrafts. In this way the villages will change gradually and their status will improve and the pressure on land will be reduced.

I have told you a few things about the way we wish to progress. But behind all of them lies hard work and intelligence. The most important requirement is unity so that our energy is not frittered away in useless quarrels and disputes. There is a great tendency among the Punjabis to quarrel. They are extremely hardworking. The refugees who are settled in Uttar Pradesh have been given land and they are producing three or four times as much from the land by putting their entire strength into the job. The others have been going on in their old,

outdated ways. So the Punjabis know how to work hard and they also know how to fight. I cannot understand this. You will have to find a solution yourself. If the energy which is wasted in futile disputes is harnessed in the right direction, Punjab will progress very fast. There is no doubt that it will do so. But it requires a great deal of hard work. It is difficult to get results immediately in a huge country like ours.

Anyhow, I had wanted to come to Chail for a long time for I had heard that it was a very beautiful place. My desire has been fulfilled today. I came here to inaugurate the Self-Culture Institute and liked the underlying idea very much. The idea is that every individual should be able to develop self confidence and learn to be self-reliant, develop well, physically, mentally and spiritually, so that we can build a strong and great country. When the people are strong, the nation, too, will automatically become strong. A country does not progress by its numbers but by the quality of its people.

So I was happy to come here. I will return to Delhi tomorrow and then go to Jabalpur and after that to Kerala in the South. You may have heard about the disturbances that are taking place there. But wherever I go, I shall take with me some of the fresh air of the Himalayas to keep my mind cool, with your permission. Jai Hind.

Translation ends.]

## 12. Public Meeting: Industrialise Fast<sup>69</sup>

### **Rapid Industrialisation of India only way to Progress: Nehru's call to People**

Jubbulpore,

June 21

Prime Minister Nehru to-day declared that only through industrialisation in a big way could India go forward and solve her problems of poverty and unemployment.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing a mammoth public meeting here, laid considerable stress on rapid industrialisation and said in firm tones: "There is no other way out except industrialisation to go forward. It is a wrong idea that by industrial progress unemployment will grow. It is only through industrialisation that the ideal of full employment can be reached."

69. Report of speech in Jabalpur, 21 June 1959. From *The Hindu*, 22 June 1959.

Mr. Nehru said that the Third Five-Year Plan would lay emphasis upon greater industrialisation in a big way. At the same time, importance would be given to increasing food production also. Mr. Nehru said that the unemployment problem could not be solved without industrialisation. India would have to have big industries, small and medium industries and village industries. "I accept that all of them are necessary. Neither can the unemployment problem be solved, nor can we take India forward without industrialisation. If, however, any industry was badly run, it might result in temporary unemployment. Steps had to be taken to guard against it. But this could not be made an excuse to run down industrialisation. The very concept that employment opportunities will go down as a result of industrialisation was utterly wrong."

The Prime Minister said that along with industrialisation, an allround increase in agricultural produce, including foodgrains had also necessarily to be attained. The real thing is that we have to do both the things together. It is not a question of giving precedence to one over the other."

Mr. Nehru said that foodgrains production in the country this year had reached a record figure of 73 million tons. Last year it was only 62 million tons. This increase of eleven million tons was a remarkable achievement. He was sure that with better methods of cultivation and introduction of co-operative farming, the foodgrains production would go up further.

The Prime Minister made a frontal attack on the tendency to import religion into politics. This would ruin the country, he said.

Mr. Nehru condemned communalists of every colour and hue, Hindu communalists, Muslim communalists and Christian communalists. "It makes me angry when I find any communal trouble erupting anywhere in India. We will lose something very precious if public opinion does not assert itself to nip every communal move in the bud. India has been known through the centuries for its traditional qualities of tolerance and respecting the religions of others. If communal forces were not curbed, this noble tradition would receive a great setback and India herself would be thrown back in her march to progress.

Mr. Nehru expressed pain and sorrow at recent communal disturbances in Madhya Pradesh. "It is amazing that some Hindus should, in their communal frenzy, break Jain images as had happened recently in Jubbulpore, he said. This was the height of barbarism. In the same way, communal trouble between the Hindus and the Muslims or communal attacks against Christian or any other community demeaned the people. All this barbarism must be put an end to with a severe hand."

The Prime Minister began his 90-minute speech by referring to his travels in India and said "I try to seek a picture in my travels of the new India in the making."

He said: "Yesterday I was at Chail in the Simla Hills. I saw from there the snow-covered peaks of even far away mountains some of which like the Karakoram range were outside the borders of India. I am today in Jubbulpore which is very near the very heart of India. Tomorrow I will be somewhere in Kerala, in Trivandrum. In this way I seek out the picture of the new India in the making, the unity that runs through its many diversities. I also see many questions that we have to solve. But we must know that only nations which are alive have questions to solve. It was only those who were in a morass who had no questions to solve. They only waited for death to overtake them."

Mr. Nehru said that India was engaged in a mighty struggle of attaining economic and social revolutions. These revolutions were more difficult to attain than a political revolution. A war had to be waged against India's poverty.

"In a war, good generals have to see what moves to make to win the war. The generals have their own war strategy and tactics. They do not tell every soldier just to go and win the war. In the same way, the war against poverty had to be won through proper strategy and tactics."

The Prime Minister said that through hard, concerted work on planned lines alone could India go forward. The one handicap from which India suffered in the past was to shun concerted effort and lie in water-tight compartment of castes and creeds. People wasted a lot of their time in deciding what to eat, with whom to eat and the like. Some people even competed with each other on the length of caste marks they put on their foreheads. It was no wonder that a power like Britain was able to rule over India through greater intelligence and united, concerted effort for a long time.

Mr. Nehru said that India had her ancient traditions and roots going back to thousands of years. It was therefore important that those traditions were not forgotten in taking to the scientific and industrial path. The roots of a nation should be shown due respect and consideration but a nation which only looked to the roots and did not bother about the branches and the flowers and the leaves withered away. A proper synthesis had, therefore, to be brought about between the ancient roots and modern scientific knowledge.

### **Population Problem**

The Prime Minister appealed to the people to take active interest in the problem of over-population. It was possible that at the present rate of growth, India's population might go up to 48 crores or so by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan. This would raise tremendous problems, social and economic. Family planning had, therefore, become a great necessity. This was more so when famines had become a thing of the past and diseases like malaria had almost

been eradicated. In a few years cholera and typhoid would be wiped out from India, with more health measures as had been done in Europe. All this would mean longer expectation of life in India. Apart from the wider aspects of the country's population, it was even in the interest of a family to keep down the number of children.

### **13. At Gun Carriage Factory: Shaktiman Trucks<sup>70</sup>**

#### **Manufacture of Military Trucks: First Three-Tonner rolls off Plants: Inauguration by Nehru "Symbol of Achievements of Public Sector"**

Jubbulpore

June 21.

The first military vehicle, a three-ton truck, to be manufactured in the Public Sector in India, today rolled off the assembly line at the Gun Carriage Factory amidst a fanfare of trumpets and cheers from a vast number of workers.

Prime Minister Nehru, who inaugurated the truck-manufacturing project, christened the three-ton vehicle "Shaktiman" (the powerful one).

In a brief speech, the Prime Minister called the "Shaktiman", a symbol of the growing achievements of the Public Sector and the determination of the Indian people to enter the industrial age with confidence. "I would like our friends from the Private Sector to come and have a look at the working of the public sector and learn efficiency from it."

Mr. Nehru said that when the Government decided to manufacture military vehicles in the Public Sector, lots of doubts were raised in certain circles about the effectiveness of the venture. There were also controversies raised about the Public Sector and the Private Sector. "We want both of them to flourish. It is a good thing that there should be some element of competition between them which will profit both of them. Certainly, the Public Sector will grow and I hope the Private Sector will also "become more effective. In our Public Sector enterprises, the major ones have done remarkably well. So, I would like our friends of the Private Sector to come and have a look at the Public Sector and learn efficiency from it."

Mr. Nehru compared the building of "Shaktiman" in nine months to the birth of a child and said that this remarkable achievement would go down as a landmark in India's industrial history. The manufacture of these vehicles in the

70. Report of speech at Jabalpur, 21 June 1959. From *The Hindu*, 22 June 1959.

Public Sector had been launched in record time. The cost of making these vehicles would also be cheaper than privately-manufactured trucks.

“I would invite them (representatives of the Private Sector) to come and see the results of this nine months’ labour here and profit by it”, Mr. Nehru said.

The workers of the gun carriage factory who had made the truck were present among the audience at the inauguration ceremony.

As the Prime Minister pressed a button, the engine of the “Shaktiman” roared into life and the three-tonner rolled off the assembly line amidst thunderous cheers.

### **Ability of Indian Engineers**

The Prime Minister referred to the “doubts” raised by some people about the effectiveness of the venture to manufacture trucks in the ordnance factories and said that it reflected a lack of confidence in the people of India to do big things themselves. It also cast doubts on the capacity to undertake these ventures. But now a measure of confidence was bound to grow with the actual achievements of big thing.

Mr. Nehru said that Soviet scientists had expressed their wonder at the ability of Indian engineers and technicians in learning complicated technical matters in half the time that took Soviet technicians to learn the same thing. People had begun to recognise that India could produce good engineers and workers. But now there were some people in India who seemed to entertain doubts about the engineering skill of India.

“Our country is taking a new turn in entering the industrial age. I am confident that we will make speedy progress in industrialising India in a big way.”

Mr. Nehru stressed the importance of big industries and said that India would remain a second rate nation without developing her basic industries. India must have a machine-building industry from which smaller machines could be made for small and medium industries. India could not depend on machines coming from outside. “We cannot progress until we have the means to build big machines ourselves.”

The Prime Minister said that there were four “musts” that India has to observe to make progress: they were steel, machine-building plants, power and trained people. The importance of producing more foodgrains was equally great.

Earlier, the Prime Minister went round the various sections of the vehicle unit of the gun carriage factory and at the different stages of the manufacture of Shaktiman. He also met representatives of the workers. The eldest worker of the factory, Ganesh, who joined as a skilled worker in 1913,



garlanded Mr. Nehru.

The Shaktiman has been fitted with a multi-fuel engine, developed by MAN, the famous German firm, which has many strategic and operational advantages. It can run on petrol, diesel, kerosene and even vegetable oils.

The Shaktiman will be able to negotiate rough and muddy terrain to all climatic conditions. It has been built as a "study cross-country", vehicle.

Mr. Nehru evinced keen interest in the assembly line where newly-made Shaktimans in their fresh olive green paint stood to be released for service in the various departments of the Armed Forces.

The various components of the Shaktiman are being fabricated and produced in different Ordnance factories having the required installed capacity to produce specialised items. The machine tool prototype factory at Ambarnath is producing the "transfer castes", an important gear component which is a significant contribution to the indigenous content, are being made at the Ordnance factory at Kanpur. The main assembly line, however, would be at the gun carriage factory here which has contributed the largest share of the cab and manufacture of the body, fuel tanks and other components.

Plans are now in hand for the manufacture of components of the multi-fuel engine, some of which are very difficult to make. It is proposed to establish the engine assembly line at Kanpur, while the castings will come from the ordnance factories at Muradnagar near Delhi.

The ordnance factories are stated to be in a particularly advantageous position to undertake manufacture of these vehicles.

## 14. At Kisan Rally: Cooperation, Not Compulsion<sup>71</sup>

### Cooperative Farming for Brighter Future: Talk Of Compulsion Absurd, Says Nehru

JABALPUR, June 22- Prime Minister Nehru said yesterday that cooperative farming was very essential to enable the people living off the land to better their lot and hope for a brighter future.

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing a Kisan rally organised here by the Madhya Pradesh Cooperative Bank said: "We want cooperative farming to develop on the lines of a whole village treating itself as a big family and working in a cooperative way. Critics of cooperative farming have started the scare that

71. Report of speech, Jabalpur, 21 June 1959. *National Herald*, 23 June 1959.

it will be introduced through compulsion. This is absurd as cooperation will not remain cooperation if an element of compulsion is brought into it. There is no question of any compulsions and it can be undertaken only through the voluntary effort of the people. If any Government were to introduce cooperative farming through compulsion, it will not remain there for long. Cooperative farming cannot be done from the top by an official fiat.

The Prime Minister mildly rebuked the organizers for holding the meeting under a scorching afternoon sun. "I would have preferred this meeting to be held under the shade of the trees. But I am told by the organizers that security came in the way. I do not know what kind of dangers could lurk in a tree", he said.

Pandit Nehru said that some critics of cooperative farming were creating the impression in the minds of the villagers that through this movement peasants would be deprived of their lands. There was no such thing. The land would remain with the peasants. In the cooperative farming they would work together and share the produce on a basic fair to all.

### **Trained Workers**

The Prime Minister said that cooperative farming would require trained workers at all levels. It was not necessary for all of them to be "high pundits" in cooperative farming. While some, of course, would have to specialise in it, others could be given some training. "These are thoughts underlying the concept of cooperative farming. Some people oppose it even then. Well, what can be done? But we have to follow this path," Pandit Nehru added.

Pandit Nehru said that villagers had to be given opportunities in work together. Once this spirit caught on, they could easily run village industries and relieve the pressure on land. They could also increase the pitifully low average yield of foodgrains per acre.

The Prime Minister said that the principle of cooperative work would be gradually introduced in the industrial sphere also wherever it was possible.

## **15. Public Meeting: The Right Approach to Rural Development<sup>72</sup>**

पाँच मिनट में तो आपसे मैं बहुत नहीं कह सकता, लेकिन कुछ थोड़े-बहुत आपकी तरफ़ से सवाल उठें, मैं चाहता हूँ उसके निस्वत कुछ कहता। आपके मन में क्या विचार है, उससे पता

72. Speech at Rai, Punjab, 28 June 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

चले। बात एक सोचने की यह है कि हमारे ये देहात, गाँव-खेती, वगैरह, ये कुछ पिछड़ क्यों गये? और बाक्री दुनिया के मुकाबले में क्यों पिछड़ गये? सारी दुनिया नहीं, लेकिन अक्सर दुनिया जो बढ़ी है...और इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान बढ़ेगा, तभी बढ़ेगा, जब जो अस्सी फ्रीसदी लोग गाँव में रहते हैं, वो बढ़ें, तब बढ़ेगा। खाली शहर से तो नहीं बढ़ता। शहर भी बढ़ें।

तो हमें, आजकल वो जो कुछ नये तरीके निकले हैं साइन्स के वगैरह, नये-नये औज़ार, नये-नये सामान, खेती वगैरह के सिलसिले में, कुछ जिससे और मुल्कों ने काफ़ी तरक्की की है, उनको कुछ हमें करना है। दूसरी बात यह है कि हमारे यहाँ अंग्रेज़ी राज्य के ज़माने में सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस में एकदम से नहीं, बहुत कुछ काम-काज होते थे, हाथ की दस्तकारी, ये-वो, बहुत गाँव के काम, ये बन्द हो गये थे। तो जब बन्द हो गये थे तो लोग बेकार हो गये, तो सब वो भी ज़मीन पर आ गये खेती में, तो खेती पर बोझा बहुत बढ़ गया, और बढ़ता गया और आबादी भी बढ़ती गयी। या तो और कामों में लगते जाते।

तो अब इसका इलाज क्या दूँ हम? दो-एक तो यही कि ज़रा आजकल की दुनिया का जो इल्म है, खेती के बारे में, उससे हम पूरा फ़ायदा उठायें, अपने मुल्क को देखते हुए। मेरा मतलब नहीं किसी और मुल्क की नक़ल करना, क्योंकि हर देश में, हर मुल्क में अपना ढंग होता है काम करने का, यह नहीं कि हम अमरीका की नक़ल करें या रूस की करें, या अंग्रेज़ों की करें, लेकिन सीखें कि उन्होंने क्या किया है। मैं नहीं समझता कि हिन्दुस्तान भर में हम कोई चारों तरफ़ ट्रैक्टर चला सकते हैं। मैं ट्रैक्टर के खिलाफ़ नहीं हूँ, जहाँ चल सकता है, चले। लेकिन यह कहना कि हिन्दुस्तान भर में अमरीका की तरह या विलायत की तरह ट्रैक्टर चले तो यह मैं निकम्मी बात समझता हूँ, क्योंकि बहुत सारी बातें हैं उसकी, अमरीका और रूस में आदमी कम हैं, ज़मीन ज़्यादा है। यहाँ आदमी ज़्यादा हैं, ज़मीन कम है। इस का विचार करना है, नक़ल करने से थोड़ा कुछ होता है। हाँ, ट्रैक्टर चलें। मैं तो कहता हूँ सबमें पहली बात यह है आपके हल अच्छे हों जो ट्रैक्टर से ज़्यादा ज़रूरी हैं। अब आपका मैं नहीं जानता, मैं और जगह जा कर देखता हूँ, अच्छा हल रखें, ज़रा गहरा जाये; [जो] बैल खींचते हैं, वो इतने कमज़ोर हैं, उसे खींच नहीं सकते। आपके यहाँ शायद ज़्यादा तगड़े हों। तो गरज़ कि नये तरीके निकालें। बड़े पेचीदा नहीं हैं। कोई जादू नहीं है। आप लोग भी जानते होंगे, लेकिन इसका ज़रा मौक़ा नहीं मिला।

दूसरे, ज़्यादा लोग ज़मीन पर हैं, उसके क्या माने। इसके माने ये हैं कि उनके लिए और काम निकलें, कहीं शहर जा के नहीं, उसी गाँव में निकलें। किसी साहब ने यहाँ कहा था, ठीक है, उसी गाँव में निकले बहुत कुछ छोटे-छोटे उद्योग-धन्धे होते हैं, चाहे ग्राम उद्योग हों, चाहे छोटी मशीन आये, चाहे कुछ हो। पंजाब में तो है भी अक्सर ये, उनको बढ़ाना, ताकि बहुत कुछ आबादी हल्के और कामों में जाये। खाली ज़मीन पर न रहें। घर के लोग हैं एक लड़का यहाँ करे, एक वह करे, कुछ करे, इस तरह से। ये दो तरीके हैं ज़मीन पर बोझा कम हो और लोगों को काम मिले और रोज़गार मिले जिससे दौलत पैदा हो, जो काम करते हैं, पैदा करते

हैं, उनके लिए अच्छा है और मुल्क के लिए अच्छा है और ज़मीन के लिए अच्छा है। और दूसरे, ज़मीन पर हम ज़रा नये तरीक़े लगा सकें। ये दो तो मोटी बातें हैं।

अब इन मोटी बातों को करने के लिए दोनों के लिए, कोई अकेले छोटे-छोटे ज़मींदार, छोटे-छोटे किसान नहीं कर सकते, कोई बड़े कर लें, कर लें, कर नहीं सकते, उनमें इतनी ताक़त नहीं है करने की। लेकिन वो लोग मिल के करें, कोऑपरेटिव बनायें, तब उनकी ताक़त बढ़ सकती है मिल के करने की। अब्बल तो खेती में नयी बातें कर सकते हैं और दूसरे वो और धन्धे शुरू कर सकते हैं खेती के अलावा वहाँ, जो कि अकेला नहीं कर सकता, मिल के कर सकते हैं, उनकी भी आमदनी बढ़ेगी, कोऑपरेटिव की, लोगों को तो इसलिए कोऑपरेटिव करना ज़रूरी हो जाता है। ज़ाहिर है, मिल के करने से ज़्यादा ताक़त होती है।

अब किस ढंग का कोऑपरेटिव हो। पहले तो हमने कहा है आप जानते हैं हमने यह मिल के खेती, साँझी खेती का नहीं कहा। यानी हम चाहते हैं लोग देख लें, समझ लें, क्योंकि ऐसे मामले में ज़बरदस्ती करने से काम नहीं चलता, और उसूल के खिलाफ़ भी है। लेकिन इसलिए पहले जिसको हम सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव कहते हैं, कोऑपरेटिव बने और अपनी-अपनी ज़मीन पर अलग-अलग वो काम करें, जैसे करते हैं। लेकिन फिर भी एक मिल-जुल के हो। यानी कोऑपरेटिव के माने हमारे हैं, बहुत बड़ा कोऑपरेटिव नहीं, बल्कि एक तरह से एक बड़ा खानदान, गाँव का खानदान। और मैं बात कह दूँ, इसमें कोई सख़्त क़ायदे नहीं बनें। मुझे कोई एतराज़ न हो कि अगर ये ही आसानी हो, गाँव में दो कोऑपरेटिव हों, आपने कहा न कुछ हिस्से में हों, कुछ में नहीं हों, दो से हों। कोई फ़र्क़ थोड़े ही है। बड़ा गाँव हो, दो हों, तीन हों, कोई हर्ज नहीं, यानी हमें चलना है बग़ैर कोई सख़्त...मुश्किल क़ायदे-क़ानून बना के नहीं, ज़रा ढील रहे। मोटे-मोटे क़ायदे हों और उसमें फिर सलाह-मशवरे से काम हों। जैसे गाड़ी चले, उस तरह से चलायी जाये तो और यह भी कि कोई हमेशा के लिए हम किसी को बाँधा नहीं चाहते, यानी अगर कोई निकलना चाहे, तो कोई रास्ता होना चाहिए, उसमें दिक्क़त एक है कि कोई आदमी खोले और मज़ाक़ करे आ के साहब महीने, छै महीने तो मज़ाक़ हो जाता है। वह तो एक आदमी नुक़सान करे, उसमें शरायतें हों कि कुछ बरस बाद निकलना चाहे तो निकले, किस शर्त पे निकले, तो निकल भी सके। वो शर्तें पूरी करे, यह नहीं कि आ के ख़ामखा औरों को परेशान करे, अपने साथियों को इधर-से-उधर।

और, एक बात और। एक साहब ने कहा था, साहब, वो इमानदार हों तो काम चले। अब यह तो एक मोटी-सी बात है, ज़ाहिर है। और इसमें कोई शक़ नहीं है कि शिकायतें आयी हैं ऐसी। अब इसमें तो जो लोग आप पंच हैं या कोऑपरेटिव के चलाने वाले हैं, उनको चौकन्ना होना चाहिए और मैं कहाँ से आ के क्या इसका इलाज करूँ? अगर वो ज़रा होशियार हों, चौकन्ने हों, मिल-जुल के काम करें तो इसको रोक सकते हैं। इसीलिए हमारा खयाल था कि कोऑपरेटिव बहुत बड़ा नहीं हो। अगर बड़ा हो दस-बीस गाँव का हो, फ़र्ज़ करो तब उसमें लोग आ जाते हैं जिनको आप पहचानते भी नहीं हैं, जाने कौन हैं, क्या नहीं हैं। ग़लत लोग आ के ज़रा चालाक़ हैं तो जा के बैठ जाते हैं सभी की छाती के ऊपर। लेकिन अगर गाँव का

है तो एक-दूसरे को जानते हैं, कौन ईमानदार है, कौन बेईमान है। किसी क्रदर जानते हैं, और वैसे ही काम करते हैं। तो फिर आप याद रखिए कि ये सारी बातें; ये चले सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव और ये जॉयण्ट फ़ार्मिंग, साँझी-खेती जहाँ-जहाँ आप चाहें करें अब भी, हमारी ज़बरदस्ती तो ख़ैर, सवाल ही नहीं है ज़बरदस्ती का, कि ज़रा बाद में, साल भर बाद, दो साल बाद, जिसको आप चाहते हैं करना, की जाये, क्योंकि यह तो रज़ामन्दी से ठीक है, ठीक चल सकता है। अब हो गया वक्त्त भई, चलना चाहिए।

[Translation begins:

I cannot say very much in five minutes. I would like you to ask me questions which will give me an inkling of your thoughts. We must try to analyse why the rural areas have become backward in comparison to other countries, especially the advanced countries of the world. There is no doubt that India can progress only when eighty percent of her population, which lives in villages, progresses. Cities should also progress but that alone is not enough.

All kinds of new scientific techniques and agricultural implements and tools have been invented and with their help other countries have been able to make great progress. We must also adopt them. Secondly, our traditional craft and handiwork, etc., came to a standstill in the rural areas during the days of the British. Consequently, people became unemployed and began to depend upon land for their livelihood. Hence the pressure on land has mounted and is increasing all the time because the population is increasing.

What is the solution to this? There are two ways. One is that we should take advantage of the modern scientific knowledge about agriculture and adopt them to suit our conditions. I do not say that we should copy other countries, because each country has its own way of working. We must not copy from the United States or the Soviet Union or England but learn from them, I do not think we can have tractors all over the country. Not that I am opposed to tractors. They can be used wherever it is possible. But it is absurd to say that we must have tractors all over India as they do in the United States or England, For one thing, in those countries the man to land ratio is different, with more land available for less number of human beings. In India, it is just the opposite. So there is no sense in copying, I would say the first thing to be done is to use better ploughs. Now, I do not know about this place but I often see that in most places, the ploughs just scratch the surface and the cattle that are used, are also extremely emaciated. Perhaps you may have a better breed of cattle. So we must adopt modern techniques of agriculture which are not very complicated. There is no magic in it. Perhaps, any of you would know about them. It is only that there are no opportunities.

Secondly, the pressure on land must be relieved by opening up new avenues of employment in the villages. There should be small industries, village industries, and so on, with small machineries. This is slowly increasing in Punjab; people must not depend entirely on land. In one family, people must adopt various professions.

These are the two ways in which the pressure on land can be reduced, people can get useful employment and the wealth of the nation will increase. The country as well as the people will benefit from all this. Now, it is not possible for small farmers to do these things on their own, because they do not have the capacity. Therefore, they must form cooperative societies which will immediately increase their capacity to take on big tasks. They can adopt modern techniques of agriculture and set up small industries, which will open new avenues of employment. The cooperatives will earn more. It is obvious that when people work together, their strength increases.

Now, the question is, what kind of cooperatives should we have? As you know, we have not suggested joint cultivation to begin with. We want the people to understand this and learn gradually because force does not work and is against our principles too. Therefore, we want that, to begin with service cooperatives should be formed. We do not want very large cooperatives. Each one should be like one large family. I would also like to tell you that so far no hard and fast rules have been made. I have no objection to a village having even two cooperatives. It makes no difference. We must not get bogged down by rigid rules and regulations. We should work within a broad framework and the problems should be sorted out as we go along. We do not wish to bind anyone rigidly to a society either. It should be possible for someone to leave it if he wishes to, though there should be rules about that. Otherwise people will change their minds too often and the whole thing will become a farce. A member will be allowed to leave only after fulfilling the conditions of the cooperative society.

All right, there is one thing more. Somebody suggested that the people should be honest. This is pretty obvious and there is no doubt that several complaints have been received. It is up to the panch and the people in charge of the cooperative societies to be vigilant and prevent any malpractices. I cannot do it for you. This is why we feel that the cooperatives should not be too large. If they are too large, consisting of fifteen or twenty villages, the members will be strangers to one another and the wrong kind of people can get a hold over the societies. If there is a small cooperative for each village, people will know one another and recognise the good and the bad elements and so the working of the society is smoother.

So, please remember all these important things about cooperatives. Joint-farming can be taken up wherever you like. There is no question of coercion. It

will work only if it is taken up willingly even if it takes some time. All right, it is now time to go.

Translation ends.]

## 16. Public Meeting: The Cooperative Approach to Problems<sup>73</sup>

प्यारे भाइयो और बहनो और बच्चो, पंचो और सरपंचो, यह मुकाम दिल्ली से दूर नहीं है, सोनीपत, लेकिन अजीब इत्फ़ाक़ हुआ कि मैं यहाँ बरसों के बाद आज आया हूँ। हालाँकि इस ज़माने में, हमने आपके पास भेजा, कुछ बड़े-बड़े मेहमान हमारे आये थे, और मुल्कों से यहाँ आये, रूस के वज़ीरे आज़म, तीन-चार-पाँच बरस हुए, उनको भेजा, वो आये।<sup>74</sup> दूसरे मुल्क के राष्ट्रपति मार्शल टीटो,<sup>75</sup> और मालूम नहीं कितने और लोग आये हैं बाहर के। क्योंकि हम चाहते थे कि वे आ कर देखें कि हमारे गाँवों में हमारे तगड़े लोग कैसे हैं, तगड़े मर्द-औरत कैसे काम करते हैं, और कैसे अपनी तरक्क़ी की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। कम्यूनिटी ब्लॉक वग़ैरह के ज़रिये से। तो इन सबों को तो हम भेज देते थे वहाँ से, लेकिन एक बहुत ज़माने से मेरी पहुँच नहीं हुई सोनीपत तक। तो आपने आज मुझे यहाँ एक मौक़ा दिया आने का, उससे मुझे खुशी हुई और आपका मैं बहुत आभारी हूँ। (तालियाँ)

दो-तीन बातें मुझसे कही गयीं, जो ख़ास तौर से मुझे यहाँ खींच लायीं, हालाँकि मेरे मन में तो बहुत दिन से यहाँ आने की ख्वाहिश थी। एक तो यह कि यहाँ एक पंजाब के पंचों और सरपंचों की एक सभा होगी, सम्मेलन होगा और वो मिल कर अपने सवालियों पर ग़ौर करेंगे, बहस करेंगे, एक सेमिनार-सा होगा। एक तो यह बात थी और मैंने सोचा कि मुझे भी मौक़ा मिले उनसे मिलने का, तो उनको जो कुछ फ़ायदा हो-न हो, मैं नहीं जानता, मुझे बहुत फ़ायदा होगा। दूसरे यह कि यह आपकी तजवीज़ यहाँ, एक पंचायत शिक्षा केन्द्र, जिसको आपने कमला नेहरू जी के नाम इसमें जोड़ दिया है, वह भी ख़याल मुझे ऐसे एक शिक्षा केन्द्र का पसन्द आया।<sup>76</sup> हालाँकि मुझे ठीक-ठीक समझ में नहीं आया कि यहाँ होगा क्या और अब भी

73. Speech after laying the foundation-stone of the Kamala Nehru Panchayat Training School, Sonapat, 28 June 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.
74. N.A. Bulganin, the Soviet Prime Minister, and N.S. Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union visited India 18-30 November and 7-14 December 1955. For details of their visit, see SWJN/SS/31/pp. 299-365.
75. Josip Broz Tito, the President of Yugoslavia, visited India 16 December 1954-3 January 1955 and 13-19 January 1959. For details of his visit in 1954-55, see SWJN/SS/27/pp. 43, 113, 285 and in 1959, see SWJN/SS/46/pp. 364, 624-625.
76. Nehru laid the foundation-stone of a multi-purpose institute and a stadium, named after Kamla Nehru and Partap Singh Kairon respectively.

जब मैं आया हूँ तब से पूछ रहा हूँ मैं, और कुछ थोड़ा-बहुत समझा हूँ, लेकिन खयाल अच्छा है, और हर तरह से अच्छा है।

एक तो उसमें खास खेती वगैरह के सिलसिले के सवाल जो हैं, उनकी निस्वत सिखाया जायेगा और [...] आपके छोटे-मोटे ग्रामीण उद्योग-धन्धे, दस्तकारी वगैरह के काम यहाँ जो हों, और यहाँ कुछ खेल-कूद, गेम्स, स्पोर्ट का भी चर्चा है, एक बड़ा स्टेडियम बनेगा। तो ये एक अच्छी बातें आपने जोड़ी हैं यहाँ और मैं नहीं जानता कि आप उसे कैसे करेंगे, किस तरह चलायेंगे? यह तो आप पर है, लेकिन यह खयाल अच्छा है, अच्छा है, असल में तो महज़ एक जगह करना काफ़ी नहीं है, ऐसी कोई जगह पंजाब में होवे, तब ठीक है। बहुत जगह हो, जितनी ज़्यादा, उतना अच्छा; क्योंकि आखिर में एक मुल्क या एक मुल्क के लोग कैसे उठते हैं, कैसे तरक्की होती है? कोई ऊपर से क्रानून बना देने से एक कमज़ोर आदमी तगड़ा नहीं हो जाता है। हाँ, मदद हो सकती है, हमें अगर हिन्दुस्तान को उठाना है, पंजाब को उठाना है, तो उसके माने यह हैं कि पंजाब के लोगों को उठाना है। पंजाब और पंजाब के लोग कोई अलग-अलग चीज़ थोड़े हैं, पंजाब के लोग पंजाब हैं। और क्या हैं? हिन्दुस्तान के लोग, हिन्दुस्तान हैं। तो पंजाब के लोगों को उठाना है।

उठाने के माने क्या? कि उनको...उनका जिस्म अच्छा हो, शरीर अच्छा हो, उनका दिमाग़ अच्छा हो, और उनमें काम करने की ताक़त हो, हिम्मत हो, काम करने की ताक़त हो। यानी हर तरह से जब क्रौम उठती है तब वह तगड़ी होती है। मोटी तौर से कहा जाय कि उनकी देख-भाल हो, तीन बातों में। एक तो जिस्म, शरीर, जिसके माने ये हैं कि उनको खाने-पीने को काफ़ी मिले; अलावा और बातों के, जो कुछ आप खेल-कूद करें, गेम्स, वगैरह। दूसरे, पढ़ाई का इन्तज़ाम हो उनकी, क्योंकि बगैर पढ़ाई के, आजकल की दुनिया में खास तौर से कोई बढ़ती नहीं। हमारे मुल्क में कोई ऐसा बड़ा या छोटा नहीं होना चाहिए जिसको पढ़ने का मौक़ा नहीं मिला है। और यह न समझिए पढ़ने के माने हैं कि आप एक बाबू बन के दफ़्तर में बैठें जा के; शहर में दौड़ जायें नौकरी ढूँढने। यह नहीं, मैं नहीं चाहता कि कोई पढ़ा-लिखा लड़का गाँव छोड़ के चला जाये शहर में, कोई चला आये इक्के-दुक्के, तो और बात है। (तालियाँ) मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह अपने गाँव को ऊँचा करके शहर के बराबर बनाने की कोशिश करें। तो इस तरह से सब गाँव उठें।

तीसरी बात, यह भी एक ज़रूरी बात है कि हर एक को काम मिले, रोज़गार मिले, जिससे वह कुछ पैदा करे, चाहे ज़मीन से, चाहे किसी उद्योग से, किसी और काम से, क्योंकि हर एक आदमी, किसी आदमी का बेकार रहना देश के लिए अच्छा नहीं है। बेकार आदमी भी कुछ-न-कुछ खाता ही है, कुछ खाता है, कुछ पहनता है, यानी किसी और के काम का फल कुछ उठाता है, लेता है। अगर कोई बेकार है, और उसके ऊपर कुछ खर्चा होता है, उसके खाने पर और उसके कपड़े पर, और उसके घर पर, तो कोई-न-कोई तो उसको देता है। हो सकता है, उसके खानदान वाले दें; हो सकता है, उसके परिवार वाले दें, कोई और दे, कोई-न-कोई देता है, और वह पैदा कुछ करता नहीं है। इसलिए हर एक को कुछ-न-कुछ पैदा करना चाहिए,



अपनी मेहनत से, चाहे दिमाग की मेहनत से, चाहे हाथ की मेहनत से। यह एक कर्ज़ा है हर एक पुरुष पर, स्त्री पर, कर्ज़ा है सोसाइटी के लिए, समाज के लिए। समाज ने उसका पालन-पोषण किया। समाज में उसका खानदान वगैरह, सब आ गये, किया। वह क्या उनको देता है? क्या पैदा करता है समाज के लिए अपनी मेहनत से? अगर नहीं करता तो एक तरह से कहा जाये वह, मैं सख्त लफ़्ज़ का इस्तेमाल करता हूँ आप माफ़ करें, वह दूसरे की कमाई की चोरी करता है, उसकी मेहनत में यह रहता है।

अब जिस मुल्क में...अब यों तो हमारे बच्चे हैं, कम उम्र के हैं बेचारे, वो थोड़े ही कुछ पैदा करते, उनका ज़माना तो बढ़ने का है, उनके ऊपर खर्चा करती है समाज; या बूढ़े हैं, उनको भी समाज को देखना चाहिए, लेकिन औरों को कुछ-न-कुछ अपनी मेहनत से पैदा करना है, वह कर्ज़ा अदा करना, जो समाज का है उनके ऊपर, सोसाइटी का है, देश का है, जो कुछ कहिए। और वह कर्ज़ा अदा करना ख़ाली यह नहीं कि जो उनके ऊपर खर्चा हुआ, बल्कि कुछ उससे ज़्यादा, ताकि देश आगे बढ़े; क्योंकि देश आगे बढ़ेगा उससे जितना कि ज़्यादा आप पैदा करें अपने खाने-पीने से। तो इसलिए, और उसी के साथ कोई काम करें जो ऐसा काम, जिससे जो पैदा करता है उसका जो फ़ायदा होता है, उसका रोज़गार होता है, और मुल्क का भी होता है, समाज का होता है। तो ये तीन बातें सामने हैं।

अब हमारे सामने हिन्दुस्तान में, जब से मुल्क आज़ाद हुआ, सवाल यही हुआ बड़ा भारी कि कैसे हम यहाँ की हैसियत लोगों की ऊँची करें? कैसे ग़रीबी दूर हो, निकाल दें मुल्क से? कैसे मुल्क में हर एक आदमी किसी क़दर खुशहाल हो सके? कम-से-कम ज़रूरी बातें उसको मिलें। कैसे ऊँच-नीच कम हो? ज़रूरी बातें क्या हैं? आप जानते हैं, सबमें ज़रूरी बात तो खाना है, कपड़ा है पहनने का, कोई घर रहने का हो, फिर पढ़ाई हो, कुछ इलाज का, स्वास्थ्य का, इन्तज़ाम हो — ये ज़रूरी बातें हैं और आखिर में काम मिले, ऐसा काम मिले जिससे कोई चीज़ पैदा हो सके। हर एक को मिलना चाहिए और वह अपने काम से...आखिर, ये सब बातें होती कैसे हैं? पैसा-वैसा जो खर्च हो आपके खाने पर, कपड़े पर, घर पर, होता है, वह कहाँ से आता है? मुल्क में कहाँ से आता है? आखिर, उसको आप ही लोग, यानी मुल्क के रहने वाले लोग, अपनी मेहनत से पैदा करते हैं। जो धन-दौलत देश में होती है, वह लोगों की मेहनत से पैदा होती है, चाहे आपकी मेहनत ज़मीन पे हो, या कारखाने में हो, या कारीगरी में, या दस्तकारी में, कहीं हो — मेहनत से पैदा होती है। हाँ, उसमें कुछ ऐसी चीज़ें भी हैं, जो प्रकृति हमें देती है। ज़मीन के नीचे धातु है, ये है, वो है, तरह-तरह की चीज़ें, वो भी, लेकिन आखिर में इन्सान की मेहनत से दुनिया की दौलत और धन पैदा होता है, चाहे ज़मीन पर मेहनत करें ज़मींदार, किसान, चाहे कारखाने में करें, चाहे कहीं और करें। तो जितनी ज़्यादा मेहनत करेगा, उतना ही ज़्यादा उसको धन मिलेगा। आप लोग दरख्वास्त दें जा के यहाँ सरकारी दफ़्तरों को कि हमें मदद की ज़रूरत है, हमें ये दीजिए, वो दीजिए। तो सरकार के पास कहाँ से पैसा आता है? वह कहीं आसमान से टपकता तो नहीं है, न कोई खज़ाना गड़ा हुआ [कि] निकाल लें, न कोई उनको कहीं बाहर के मुल्कों से आ जाता है। जो उनके पास पैसा आता है, वह आप ही लोग

देते हैं उन्हें, और कहाँ से आये उनके पास। आप [से], जनता [से], टैक्स से, इससे-उससे मिलता है, वही होता है। जितना ज्यादा आप देंगे, उतना ही ज्यादा आप पर खर्च होगा। जितना कम देंगे, उतना ही कम होगा। अमीर मुल्कों में आप देखिए, अमीर मुल्कों में वो अमीर क्यों हैं? इसलिए नहीं कि उन्हें हारून का खजाना मिल गया है, कहीं सोना-चाँदी गड़ा हुआ। इसलिए मुल्क अमीर हैं कि वहाँ के लोग अपनी मेहनत से बहुत कमाते हैं। किसान अपनी मेहनत से, ज़मींदार कमाता है यहाँ से ज्यादा, मज़दूर कमाता है, कारखाने में जो लोग काम करते हैं वो कमाते हैं। गरज़ कि वो धन-दौलत ज्यादा पैदा करते हैं, वहाँ के लोग, चाहे कारखाने में, चाहे ज़मीन से, और जितनी ज्यादा वो पैदा करते हैं, उतनी ही ज्यादा मुल्क में लोगों के खाने-पीने, खर्चने को हो जाता है। यह आप समझ लीजिए। दौलत, किसी मुल्क की, दौलत कोई पुरानी जमा की हुई दौलत नहीं होती है, यह तो फुटकर होती है, कहीं थोड़ी-सी। वह होती है, जो हर साल लोग अपनी मेहनत से पैदा करते हैं, चाहे ज़मीन पर, चाहे कारखाने से, चाहे किसी और तरह से।

तो हमें...क्या बात है कि और मुल्कों में लोग ज़मीन से या कारखाने से ज्यादा पैदा करते हैं, हमारे यहाँ क्यों कम करते हैं, यह सवाल होता है। खैर, हम कह सकते हैं कि कारखाने हमारे यहाँ कम हैं, और कारखाने बनने चाहिएँ। बड़े-छोटे सब ढंग के, ठीक हैं, बनें। तो ज़मीन तो है, ज़मीन पर तो काम करते हैं, ज़मीन पर हम क्यों कम पैदा करते हैं? गौर करने की बात है न, क्यों हम करते हैं? क्यों और देशों में हमारा दुगना-तिगुना एक एकड़ ज़मीन से पैदा करेंगे लोग। हम भी कर सकते हैं, कोई शक नहीं, जहाँ कोशिश हुई कर सकते हैं। जहाँ कमी है, उसको पूरा करना है। जिस बात की कमी है, चाहे पानी की कमी हो, चाहे अच्छे बीज हों, खाद हो, फ़र्टिलाइज़र है, जो कुछ भी हो, कोई जादू तो नहीं, यह तो मेहनत है, अच्छे हल हों, जो कुछ हो, औज़ार हों, इस तरह होता है। ज्यादा क्यों न हम करें, उसे। तो इस तरह हमारे सामने सवाल आते हैं कि हम अपनी ज़मीन से ज्यादा पैदा करें, बहुत ज्यादा उससे दुगना-तिगुना जो अब होता है और उसी के साथ हम कारखाने यहाँ बहुत सारे बनायें, हर तरह से छोटे-बड़े, बीच के, घर के, गाँव के, सब तरह के जिससे कई बातें हों, एक तो उनसे दौलत पैदा होगी। दौलत सोना-चाँदी नहीं होता है, वह सामान होता है, वह होगी पैदा। दूसरे लोगों को रोज़गार मिलेगा, दोनों बातें होंगी। तो ये सवाल हमारे सामने आ जाते हैं, मोटी तौर से और इसके करने के लिए। फिर तीसरा सवाल आता है कि हम चाहे कारखाने में, चाहे ज़मीन पर, अगर तरक्की चाहते हैं, तो हमें अपने लोगों को पढ़ाना है, सिखाना है, बाबू बनने के लिए नहीं, अपना काम करने के लिए सिखाना है। तब यह हो। क्योंकि खाली मैं आपको आ के यहाँ एक तक़रीर कर दूँ, मेरा व्याख्यान हो जाय, वह ठीक काफ़ी नहीं है, बात सीखना है, कोई भी काम आप करते हैं, खेती करो, तो आप सीखते हैं। आप में से कोई बड़ई है, तो सीखता है बड़ईगिरी, अपने आप से थोड़ा ही आ जाती है, गुल-शोर मचाने से?

अब और योरप की दुनिया में और देशों में पिछले सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस से उन्होंने तरक्की की, इसलिए कि उन्होंने नये-नये ढंग सीखे, काम करने के, नये-नये उनके पास औज़ार आये, लड़ाई

में नये-नये हथियार आये। उनकी ताकत बढ़ गयी, नयी ताकत उनके पास आयी, नयी शक्ति आयी, जिससे बड़े-बड़े हथियार चलें, जिससे बड़े-बड़े कारखाने चलें, जिसे खेती में भी ले जायें, इससे उनकी ताकत बढ़ गयी, इससे उन्होंने अपनी पैदावार बढ़ायी। तो अब हमें देखना है कि हम उसमें से क्या कर सकते हैं। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि हम उन लोगों की नक़ल करें अपने मुल्क में। कहीं मुनासिब समझें तो हम उस बात को करेंगे, नहीं तो नहीं, लेकिन सीखना है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि उनसे हम बहुत बातें सीख सकते हैं। [वो] आगे बढ़ गये हैं। चाहे वह एक तरफ़ रूस हो, चाहे दूसरी तरफ़ अमरीका हो, [...] दो ढंग के मुल्क हैं, लेकिन दोनों ने बड़ी तरक्की की है, खेतों में, कारखानों में, हम उनसे सीखेंगे, सीख के अपने ढंग से चलायेंगे। तब यह बात ज़रा लम्बी हो जाती है। वक़्त लगता है सीखने में। हमारी ख़्वाहिश तो यह है जल्दी हमारा मुल्क तरक्की करे और करना चाहिए और कुछ कर भी रहा है। लेकिन फिर भी इतना बड़ा मुल्क, चालीस करोड़ आदमियों का...वैसे एकदम से कोई जादू तो है नहीं, कोई मन्त्र पढ़ने से तो बढ़ता नहीं, मेहनत से, काम करने से मुल्क बढ़ते हैं। तो आप जानते हैं तो ये सवाल हैं, इसलिए यह सब आप सुनते हैं फ़ाइव इयर्स प्लान और पंचवर्षीय योजना पहली और दूसरी और तीसरी का चर्चा है, और यह विकास योजना, कम्यूनिटी ब्लॉक और यह सब बातें, चर्चा जो होता है, घूम-फिर के इसलिए है कि हम अपने मुल्क को ख़ुशहाल करें, अपने मुल्क को उठायें, यानी हर शख्स का रहन-सहन, पहले से अच्छा हो, ग़रीबी को निकाल दें, हर एक की पढ़ाई, हमारी खेती तरक्की करे, हमारे यहाँ कारखाने छोटे-बड़े बनें, हर एक को रोज़गार मिले, ये सब बातें हों।

अब आप सोचें, मैंने आपसे रोज़गार का कहा; कारखानों का कहा। कारखाने आजकल कैसे चलते हैं? किसी ताक़त से चलते हैं, आदमी की ताक़त से नहीं, बाहर की। किस ताक़त से? कहीं बिजली की ताक़त से चलते हैं, कहीं और ऐसी, इसलिए हमें इस ताक़त को पैदा करना है। बिजली की या जो कुछ हो। इसलिए चाहे वहाँ भाखड़ा से, नांगल से, बिजली की शक्ति आती है तारों से जो कारखाने चलाये और जो आपके गाँव में रोशनी करे, रोशनी तो छोटी बात है, कारखाने चलें और काम, खेती के काम भी उसमें हो सकते हैं, उसको पैदा करना है। इसलिए कि हम कारखाने बनायें, तो हमें लोहे की ज़रूरत है, और बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारखाने बन रहे हैं, स्टील के, वहाँ चार नये बन रहे हैं। इसलिए अगर हम कारखाने बनायें, तो हमें मशीन बनाना है, उसका हो रहा है। तो सारे देश में ये सब बातें अलग-अलग हो रही हैं और एक बुनयाद डाली जा रही है बढ़ने की। यह आप नक़शा सामने रखो। तो यह तो बात हुई, लेकिन आपकी तो ख़ास तौर से दिलचस्पी है यह गाँव में और हिन्दुस्तान में हर सौ आदमी में अस्सी आदमी गाँव में रहते हैं। तो हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की कैसे हो, जब तक कि गाँव की तरक्की न हो, उन अस्सी आदमियों की, आदमी-औरत, क्योंकि ज़्यादातर तो वही हिन्दुस्तान है। इसलिए ज़रूरी हो गया कि हमारा ध्यान गाँव की तरफ़ जाये।

यह माना कि शहर की तरक्की भी हो, लेकिन शहर वाले तो देख लेते हैं, अपनी देख-भाल कर लेते हैं और बढ़ते जाते हैं और बड़े-बड़े जहाँ कारखाने बन रहे हैं, नये-नये शहर भी बस

रहे हैं। लेकिन असल तरक्की हिन्दुस्तान की तभी हो, जब गाँव की हो, और एक और साल में उसकी सूरत देखिए। असल हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की जब हो जब खेती से अधिक पैदा हो, खेती से अधिक गल्ला वगैरह पैदा हो, अधिक सामान, अधिक दौलत पैदा हो, तब उसी धन और दौलत से हम कारखाने बना सकते हैं, नहीं तो हम बना नहीं सकते। इसलिए घूम-फिर कर हम उस गाँव में आ जाते हैं, खेती पर आ जाते हैं, और उसके ऊपर, यानी गाँव के काम करने वाले, किसान-ज़मींदार, आपके ऊपर बोझा पड़ता है हिन्दुस्तान को बढ़ाने का और अपने को बढ़ाने का। फिर कैसे किया जाये यह? खेती कैसे, खेती में तरक्की कैसे हो? कैसे ज़्यादा हम पैदा करें जिससे आप का फ़ायदा हो, पंजाब का हो, हिन्दुस्तान का हो? यह सवाल आ गया न घूम के।

अब हमारी खेती में, ज़मीन में, दो मोटी खराबियाँ हो गयी हैं। पहली बात तो यह कि जब यहाँ अंग्रेज़ आये थे, डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए, उस वक़्त हमारे मुल्क में हाथ की दस्तकारी के काम, उद्योग-धन्धे बहुत होते रहे गाँव में, देहातों में। खेती होती थी ज़मीन पर और बहुत सारे लोग और कुछ असली काम करते थे। यानी सब लोग गाँव के रहने वाले भी खेती में नहीं लगे थे, और काम भी करते थे। उसके बाद जब अंग्रेज़ आये, तो ऐसी बातें हुई, और उन्होंने कीं, कि हमारी [...] दस्तकारी के काम, हमारे उद्योग-धन्धे, ग्राम-उद्योग बन्द हो गये, टूट गये। इससे लोग जिनका रोज़गार था वैसा काम करने का, उनका रोज़गार छिन गया, छिन के उनके पास कुछ और रोज़गार नहीं रहा, तो वो गाँव में पड़े, वो गाँव में ही, तो ज़मीन में आ लगे, इससे ज़मीन पर बोझ बढ़ गया, काम करने वालों का, जितनी ज़मीन को ज़रूरत नहीं थी।

उधर आबादी भी बढ़ती गयी; तो ज़मीन का बोझा बढ़ना, एक हमारे देश की ग़रीबी की निशानी है। ज़मीन का बोझा बढ़ने के माने आप समझ लीजिए। ये माने कि लोग कुछ और काम...उनके पेशे कम होते गये, सब खेती में लग गये, नहीं तो आम तौर से और पेशे होते ही हैं, थे ही। यह खराबी हो गयी। दूसरी यह कि और दुनिया में नये-नये, तरह-तरह से तरक्की हुई। विज्ञान, साइन्स, तरह-तरह के औज़ार, हथियार, क्या-क्या निकले। ताकतें, जिससे यूरोप के लोगों ने, अमरीका के लोगों ने, बड़ी तरक्की की — अपनी खेती में, अपने कारखानों में। हम पिछड़े गये उसमें। तो दो बातों में हम पिछड़े। तो इन दोनों बातों को हमें हटाना है। हमें भी तरक्की करनी है अपनी खेती में, अपने कारखाने बनाने में और तरक्की करनी के माने हैं, उसकी बुनियाद यह है कि हमें हर गाँव में पढ़ना-लिखना फैलाना है, खाली पढ़ना-लिखना नहीं, बल्कि उससे कुछ ज़्यादा भी, क्योंकि हर एक आदमी, हर एक किसान, हर एक बच्चा, हर एक ज़मींदार का लड़का-लड़की, अच्छा पढ़ने का मौक़ा उसे मिले, तब हम बढ़ेंगे, क्योंकि खाली यह कल चलाना सीख लेना और पढ़े-लिखे न हुआ, तो उससे काम नहीं चलता।

मैं फिर आप से कहूँगा कि पढ़ने-लिखने के माने यह नहीं हैं कि लोग थोड़ा-सा पढ़ के फिर जा के बाबूगिरी करने जायें शहर में। यह बिलकुल मुझे यह माने नहीं पसन्द और फिर कहें हमें नौकरी नहीं मिलती। जो आदमी पढ़-लिख कर के शरमाता है ज़मीन खोदने से, वह निकम्मा

आदमी है, उसका [उसको] पढ़ने-लिखने के बजाय सिखाने के उसको मूर्ख बना दिया। पहली बात यह हमारी पढ़ाई में सिखानी चाहिए उसकी इज़्जत करना जो हाथ का काम करता है, जो मेहनत करता है। मैं नहीं कहता कि जो दिमाग का काम करते हैं...उसकी भी इज़्जत होनी चाहिए। लेकिन अगर किसी समाज में उन लोगों की इज़्जत नहीं होती जो कि हाथ-पैर से काम करते हैं, वह समाज गिरती है। क्योंकि असल में उसी से तो समाज बनती है। इसलिए, जब मैं कहता हूँ पढ़ाई-लिखाई हो ख़ूब, होनी चाहिए, हर जगह, हर शब्द के लिए मौक़ा होना चाहिए, बल्कि ज़बरदस्ती पढ़ना चाहिए बच्चों को स्कूल में जाना चाहिए। तो मेरा यह मतलब नहीं है कि जहाँ थोड़ा-बहुत पढ़े, वह सरकारी नौकरी ढूँढे, या कहीं और ढूँढे, और नहीं मिले तो हाथ-पर-हाथ रख के बैठे या समझे हमारे बाप-दादा तो हाथ का काम करते थे, हम बड़े अक्लमन्द हो गये। यह तो मूर्खता की निशानी है, महज़ बेवकूफी की। और ऐसे लोग कोई तरक्की नहीं करेंगे। बल्कि पढ़ें-लिखें और फिर उनको अपने गाँव में रह के गाँव की सेवा करनी, चाहे खेती से करे, चाहे छोटे-मोटे कारखाने चलाये, घर के धन्धे चलाये, जो कुछ हो, क्योंकि हमारी कोशिश यह होनी चाहिए कि गाँव को उठायें, गाँव में तरह-तरह की नयी बातें आयेँ, आराम आये, जो शहर का है। गाँव में आप ठीक-ठाक काम कर सकें, सड़कें अच्छी हों, मकान अच्छे हों, बिजली हो, रोशनी हो, छोटे-मोटे कारखाने हों, खेल-कूद की जगहें हों, स्कूल हों, अस्पताल हों, जो कुछ है जो शहर में होता है, छोटे पैमाने पर गाँव में हो। ख़ैर, यह करना। अब इन बातों को आप सामने रखें। इस तरह से हम किया चाहते हैं, करना चाहते हैं और बहुत कुछ हो भी रहा है। तो अब इसको सामने रख के, यह सवाल हमारे सामने आया, कि गाँव का क्या संगठन हो, लोगों का वहाँ, क्या इन्तज़ाम हो गाँव का?

तो पहली बात जो सूझी वह पंचायत, या यों कहिए पहली बात जो सूझी कि कोई लोग अगर किसी मुल्क भर के लो आप, तो किसी मुल्क के लोग उठते नहीं, बग़ैर अपनी खुद ताक़त के, शक्ति के और हिम्मत के। अगर हिन्दुस्तान के लोग यह समझते रहते कि हमारी आज़ादी हमें चाहिए और आज़ादी के लिए और मुल्क आ के हमें आज़ाद कर दें, तब कभी आज़ाद नहीं होते। गाँधी जी ने हमें पहली बात यह सिखायी थी, अपने पैरों पर, टाँगों पर खड़ा होना, औरों से रिश्ता अच्छा रखना, लेकिन औरों के भरोसे हम आज़ादी के लिए ठहरते तो फिर कौन देता इस तरह की मदद? हमदर्दी दे दें ज़्यादा-से-ज़्यादा। इसी तरह से आप गाँव को लें। मैंने माना कि आपको अधिकार है, आपको हक़ है माँगने का शहर वालों से, या सरकार से, औरों से मदद माँगने का आपको हक़ है, क्योंकि बरसों से शहर वाले आप से छीनते गये कुछ-न-कुछ, माना मैंने, लेकिन फिर भी गाँव वाले उसी वक़्त उठेंगे, अपने पैरों पर खड़े होंगे और महज़ इसलिए इन्तज़ार नहीं करेंगे कि बस, बाहर से कोई हमारी मदद कर दे, चाहे वह कलेक्टर हो, मजिस्ट्रेट हो, वज़ीर हो, जो भी कुछ हो। बस वह मदद कर दे और आप दरखास्त पेश करें। हाथ फैलाने वाले की मदद नहीं होती है आख़िर में। जो खुद बड़ा होता है, तगड़ा होता है, वह बढ़ता है आगे। तो इसके माने हुए कि हम जो हमारे आजकल का इन्तज़ाम है, उसमें भी कुछ फ़र्क़ करें। यानी हम गाँव वालों के ऊपर भरोसा करें, और गाँव वालों के हाथ में इन्तज़ाम दें अपने गाँव

का, जहाँ तक हो सकता है। (तालियाँ)। क्योंकि एक काम को करने से आदमी सीखता है। अगर यह हम कहें जैसे लोग कहा करते हैं—अरे, गाँव वाले तो साहब आपस में बड़ा लड़ा करते हैं, एक-दूसरे से ईमानदारी से काम नहीं करते, बेईमानी करते हैं। पंजाब में तो बहुत लड़ाकू लोग रहते हैं। यह कहें तो साहब, हम हमेशा के लिए बैठे हुए हैं कि जब सब लोग फ़रिश्ते हो जायें तब हम पढ़ेंगे। यह तो नहीं होता। काम करने से आदमी सीखता है। फ़र्ज़ करो आप पानी में तैरना सीखना चाहें तो आप बाहर मैदान में उछल-कूद के नहीं तैरना सीखेंगे। कोई नहीं सिखायेगा आपको। कोई कहे कि पानी में घुस के सीखेंगे, ज़मीन पर नहीं सीखेंगे, कुछ उस खतरे को बर्दाश्त करके पानी में घुसेंगे आप तब सीखेंगे।

तो हमें आगे बढ़ना है तो उस काम को करके बढ़ना है, गाँव को बढ़ना है, गाँव वालों को, फिर अपने ऊपर ज़िम्मेदारी लेनी है और उनकी ज़िम्मेदारी देनी है। और हो सकता है कि ज़िम्मेदारी ले के उसका बुरा वो इस्तेमाल करें, हो सकता है कि लड़ाई-झगड़ा करें, हो सकता है कि ग़लत बातें करें, लेकिन उसी तरह से वे सीखेंगे, उसी तरह से गाँव वाले सीखेंगे कि जो ग़लत बात करता है, उसको रोकना, उसको पकड़ना उसको सज़ा देना। गरज़ कि यह उसूल कि गाँव वाले को अपने को ज़िम्मेदारी होनी चाहिए, जहाँ तक हो सकता है। इसके माने यह हुए न कि पंचायत को देनी चाहिए, गाँव वालों की चुनी हुई जो सभा है, उसको यह ज़िम्मेदारी देनी चाहिए। और कौन है? और असल आज़ादी, स्वराज्य, वगैरह गाँव से शुरू होना चाहिए, खाली ऊपर नहीं।

आप सुनते हैं कि वहाँ चण्डीगढ़ में एक सभा है, क़ानून वगैरह पंजाब के लिए बनाती है और इधर दिल्ली में है। वह क्या है? आखिर में दिल्ली में जो है, वह कहा जा सकता है कि वह सारे हिन्दुस्तान की बड़ी पंचायत है और हम पंच हैं उसमें। [जो] चण्डीगढ़ में है, वह आपके सूबे पंजाब की पंचायत है, बात तो वही है न। उसी तरह से यह अच्छा नहीं होता, मेरी राय में कि ऊपर से बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर या बड़े-बड़े पंच दिल्ली में या चण्डीगढ़ में बैठ के सब फ़ैसले करें, ठीक नहीं है। हाँ, उसूल का फ़ैसला करें, माना। लेकिन हुकूमत ठीक तौर से तभी हो मेरी राय में, जब ज़्यादा-से-ज़्यादा लोग शरीक हों, फ़ैसले करने में, काम करने में और इन्तज़ाम करने में अपने मुल्क का। यह नहीं कि दस-पचास, हज़ार-दो हज़ार बड़े अफ़सर सारे मुल्क का इन्तज़ाम करें, चाहे वो कितने ही लायक हों, वह तरीक़ा अच्छा नहीं है। हर एक आदमी को कुछ-न-कुछ मुल्क के इन्तज़ाम करने में मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए। इससे मुल्क का फ़ायदा होता है। और वह आदमी बढ़ता है। चाहे वह अपने गाँव में हिस्सा ले, चाहे कहीं ले।

इसलिए जिस तरह से आप इस सवाल को देखें, यह मुनासिब होता है कि गाँव के लोग अपनी पंचायत को चुनें, सब लोग वहाँ के, और पंचायत को अधिकार हों, अख़्तियार हों तरह-तरह के, उस गाँव के हिस्से का इन्तज़ाम करने का। ग़लत करें तो गाँव वाले उसको अलग करेंगे दूसरी दफ़े। एक तो पहले तो हम उस नतीजे पर पहुँचे कि पंचायत के हक़ बढ़ें, पंचायत के पास आमदनी हो, वह बढ़े, उसको मौक़ा मिले और पैसा जमा करने का या टैक्स लगाने का। क्योंकि उसमें यह ख़ूबी है। आपसे दिल्ली वाले टैक्स कोई लें या चण्डीगढ़ वाले भी तो

एक दूर की चीज़ आपसे टैक्स ले जाती है। उसको ज़रूरी है ले जाना, क्योंकि सारा काम पंजाब का करना है, लेकिन आपको उस टैक्स से और जो गाँव में एक काम होता है, रिश्ता नहीं मालूम होता और अगर आपको पंचायत कोई टैक्स बनायेगी तो आपको मालूम होगा [कि] पैसा जाता कहाँ है। वह आखिर आपके गाँव में खर्च होगा, और तो कहीं नहीं, चाहे वह स्कूल में खर्च हो, चाहे अस्पताल में खर्च हो, चाहे सड़क में खर्च हो, चाहे कोई छोटे-मोटे कारखाने बनें, उसमें खर्च हो, जो हो आपके आँखों के सामने खर्च होगा, आप देखेंगे। तो इसलिए पहली बात तो हुई न पंचायत को मज़बूत करना।

अच्छा, दूसरी बात, बहुत ज़बरदस्त बात, यह कि हमारी खेती की तरक्की कैसे हो? कैसे नये-नये खयाल आयें कैसे? तो उसमें जो और मुल्कों में होता है, वह भी कर सकें। अब जो हमारे मामूली किसान होते हैं, या छोटे ज़मींदार, बहुत छोटे होते हैं। आपके यहाँ तो कुछ बड़े भी होते हैं बामुक्राबले और सूबों के। और सूबों में आम तौर से एक एकड़, दो एकड़ ज़मीन है आदमी के पास मुश्किल से, इससे ज़्यादा नहीं। अब एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़ ज़मीन वाला आदमी कोई हाथ-पैर नहीं बहुत फैला सकता है। उसकी ताक़त नहीं है; और नतीजा यह होता है पहले, अब तो घटता जाता है, पहले वह बेचारा एक उम्र भर छोटा ज़मींदार या किसान बड़ा, एक गुलाम था साहूकार का, जिससे वह क़र्ज़ लेता था। कभी निकलता ही नहीं था उसके फन्दे से। तो उसे रुपये की ज़रूरत, लेना पड़ता था, कोई भी सूद हो। तो इसलिए कुछ दिन हुए आपके सूबों में, और जगह भी, कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज़ बनीं। उनका काम उस ज़माने में, और अब तक ख़ाली पैसा देने का था। वो कुछ चलीं और कुछ नहीं चलीं। और इस ढंग से बनी थीं कि बड़े अफ़सर उनको चलायें और एक मामूली आदमी की पहुँच भी ठीक-ठीक न हो और क़ायदे-क़ानून भी बहुत सख्त थे। ख़ैर, फिर भी उनसे कुछ फ़ायदा हुआ। जितना हम चाहते थे उतना फ़ायदा नहीं हुआ तो ख़ामख़्वाह के लिए, हमारा ध्यान जाता है इस कोऑपरेटिव की तरफ़ किसानों की तरक्की करने के लिए। लेकिन पुराने ढंग का कोऑपरेटिव नहीं, नये ढंग का। एक तो ख़ाली पैसा बढ़ाने का न हो, क़र्ज़ देने को, और भी काम कोऑपरेटिव मिल के कर सकें। बहुत सारे काम हैं, सब आपस में मिल के ख़रीद-फ़रोख़्त करें तो आपको जो आपको ख़रीदना पड़े सामान आसानी से आप ख़रीद सकें कम दाम पर, और जो आपको बेचना पड़े अपनी पैदावार, उसको अच्छे दाम पर बेच सकें। यह नहीं कि आपको हर वक़्त... एक आदमी की ताक़त है नहीं, दबाव पड़े, मुसीबत में आ के आप बेच दें कम दाम पर। तब भारी दाम पर ख़रीदना पड़े, लेकिन अगर आपकी वहाँ कोऑपरेटिव गाँव की है तो उसकी ताक़त है। उसको पैसा ज़्यादा मिल सकता है सरकार से; क़र्ज़ के तौर पर वह आपको दे सकती है। वह अच्छे बाज़ार में बेच सकती है। गरज़ कि बहुत काम कर सकती है किसान के, और उससे और जो कुछ उसका फ़ायदा होगा कोऑपरेटिव को वह भी घूम-घाम के आप ही के पास आ जायेगा; क्योंकि आप ही की है वह। यह नहीं कि साहूकार और बनिये की जेब में चला जाये फ़ायदा उसका। तो ज़ाहिर है इस तरह से काम करना जिसको सहकारी संघ कहते हैं, कोऑपरेटिव, यह अच्छा है और इससे किसान या ज़मींदार की हालत अच्छी होती है।

एक और बात, कि वह कोऑपरेटिव, अलावा खेती करने के, मिल के फिर आप लोग और काम भी करते हैं। ग्रामोद्योग कर सकते हैं कोऑपरेटिव, और धन्धे शुरू कर सकते हैं छोटे-मोटे।

अच्छा, अब तक तो मैंने आपसे कहा ऐसी कोऑपरेटिव जिसमें आपको अलग-अलग आप अपनी-अपनी ज़मीन पर खेती करें, ज़मीन मिलायी न जाये, अलग-अलग ज़मीन पर खेती करें, लेकिन सब सलाह-मशविरा करें, ख़रीद-फ़रोख़्त करें और हम चाहते हैं कि हर गाँव में यह हो जाये और गाँव में क्यों, आप कहें कि दस-बीस गाँव में एक कोऑपरेटिव क्यों न हो? इसको हम बहुत पसन्द नहीं करते हैं। इसलिए कि जहाँ दस-बीस गाँव में हुई, वह बहुत बड़ी हो जायेगी और जहाँ बड़ा कोऑपरेटिव होगा, उसमें लोग आयेंगे जिनको आप जानते नहीं, और वह आपको धोखा दे सकते हैं। चालाक लोग आ जायेंगे, कोई शहर के, कोई इधर के और आपको बेवकूफ़ बनाने की कोशिश करेंगे। लेकिन अगर आपकी गाँव की हुई तब आप गाँव वालों को जानते हैं। वह तो एक बड़ा-सा आपका ख़ानदान-सा है। परिवार है, उसमें आप जानते हैं किस पर भरोसा हो, किस पर न हो, तो ख़ानदान की तरह से मिल-जुल कर काम हो सकता है। यानी गाँव की कोऑपरेटिव के माने ही यह हैं कि एक आपका ख़ानदान बढ़ के गाँव को ले लिया आपने। एक दिन हम जानते हैं कि हमारे ख़ानदान बढ़ के इतना बड़ा हो जाये कि सारा हिन्दुस्तान का एक ख़ानदान-सा हो जाये, काम-काज में। ख़ैर, इसलिए हम छोटे कोऑपरेटिव चाहते हैं और मैंने आपसे अभी तक वही कहा, वही कोऑपरेटिव जिसमें ज़मीन पर अलग-अलग काम करें।

हमारी राय में एक और क्रम उठाना चाहिए जिससे आपको और औरों को फ़ायदा होगा, मुल्क को, यानी वह कोऑपरेटिव मिल-जुल के खेती भी करे। लेकिन मैं आपसे साफ़ कह देना चाहता हूँ कि यह ऐसी बात है कि हम वहीं किया चाहते हैं, जहाँ के लोग इसको पसन्द करें, जहाँ के लोग रज़ामन्दी से इसको लें, खुशी से, क्योंकि एक तो उसूलन हम नहीं किसी को दबाना चाहते, ज़बरदस्ती करना चाहते; दूसरे, अगर ज़बरदस्ती करें तो काम कैसे होगा? क्योंकि ज़बरदस्ती से कोई इस तरह से काम होगा, वह तो बुरा काम होगा, लेकिन इसलिए यह बात ऐसी है कि जब आप इस पर विचार करके, सोच-समझ के पसन्द करें, तब इसको आप कर सकते हैं। जब आप चाहें, कोई ज़बरदस्ती नहीं। अब इसमें बहुत सारे सवाल उठते हैं। हाँ, उसमें भी याद रखिए कि एक-एक आदमी की जो मिलकियत है, वह नहीं जाती है। मिलकियत ज़मीन की तो रहती है, उसकी ज़मीन। उससे कोई ज़मीन की मिलकियत तो नहीं छीनी जाती है। वह तो रहेगी और जितनी कोई ज़मीन का मालिक है, वह पैदावार, उतना ही हिस्सा मिलेगा और अपने मेहनत करेगा। दो बातें, एक आदमी फ़र्ज़ करो उसकी ज़मीन है, जो भी कुछ हो, फ़र्ज़ करो उसकी पाँच एकड़ ज़मीन है, और...और जो साँझी खेती है, उसमें सौ एकड़ की है। तो जो पैदा हो तो उसको दो तरह से मिलेगा। एक तो उसकी पाँच एकड़ ज़मीन का जो हिस्सा है उसका मिलेगा, दूसरा जितने उसने अपने हाथ-पैर चला के मेहनत की, उसका मिलेगा। तो दो तरह से, जो ज़्यादा मेहनत करेगा, उसको ज़्यादा मिलेगा, जो कम करेगा, उसको अपना ख़ाली हिस्सा मिलेगा। तो दो बातें याद रखिए, यह साँझी-खेती का मैं कह रहा हूँ। एक तो यह,



कि इसको हम आपकी रज़ामन्दी से लाना चाहते हैं, जहाँ आप पसन्द करें, हम ज़बरदस्ती नहीं किया चाहते। दूसरे यह कि उसमें आपकी मिलकियत ज़मीन की आप ही की रहती है, नहीं जाती है। हाँ, यह बात है कि खेती करने में, वह जो आप दो ज़मीनों में क्रतार हो, वह मिट जाती है, माना, क्योंकि थोड़े-थोड़े हिस्सों में दो-तीन एकड़ में अलग-अलग खेती हल चलाने में वक़्त ज़ाया होता है। ज़मीन भी कुछ ज़ाया होती है बीच की, और आजकल के जो औज़ार हैं, सामान हैं, वह तेज़ी से कर सकते हैं, अच्छा कर सकते हैं, अगर ज़रा बड़ा हिस्सा हो। तो आपकी पैदावार बढ़ जायेगी, और जल्दी होगी उससे, और हिस्सा उसमें बड़ा हिस्सा हो जायेगा। उसमें आप ही को फ़ायदा होगा, किसी और का तो नहीं, और आपकी ताक़त हो जायेगी, नये-नये तरीक़े से वहाँ करने की, जो एक छोटे ज़मींदार की नहीं होती, इसलिए हम इसको अच्छा समझते हैं।

और इसलिए भी कि यों मिल कर करने से, फिर आप और मिल के काम करेंगे, वहीं गाँव में छोटे धन्धे शुरू करेंगे, ग्रामोद्योग, धन्धे, वग़ैरह। इस क्रिस्म की चीज़ें शुरू होंगी। और उससे और आपकी आमदनी होगी, और इस तरह वह दूसरी बात होगी जो मैंने आपसे कहा कि लोगों को और काम मिलेंगे अलावा खेती के। आबादी बढ़ती है, और आपके लड़के होंगे, दो-तीन लड़के हों, कोई खेती करे, कोई कुछ और काम करे, कोई फ़ौज में जाता है, इस तरह से तरह-तरह की बातें हों। तो इसलिए हमारा खयाल यह है कि यह कोऑपरेटिव फ़ार्मिंग, मिल-जुल कर खेती यह अच्छी चीज़ है। इससे सबों को फ़ायदा होगा। लेकिन फ़ायदा तभी होगा जब एक तो आप खुशी से, रज़ामन्दी से करें, दूसरे आप लोग कुछ सिखाये जायें। हम सब लोग, आप-हम सीखें, क्योंकि यह बात नहीं है ख़ाली जोश में आ के, वग़ैर समझे, कह देना कि हम भी करेंगे; और कोई नहीं जाने, तो नहीं होगा, वह गड़बड़ हो जायेगा। यानी मेरा मतलब खेती का नहीं है। खेती जानने का, लेकिन उसका इन्तज़ाम करना, उसका प्रबन्ध करना, उसका हिसाब करना, उसका यह वह जानना चाहिए न लोगों को, नहीं तो झगड़े होंगे यहाँ, इसलिए यह ज़रूरी हो गया है कि इस आम तौर से कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटीज़ के सिलसिले में पहली बात तो यह है कि पुराने क़ायदे-क़ानून हमें बदलने हैं और बदले जा रहे हैं। नये ढंग के हों, सख़्त न हों कि आपकी कमर कस दी जाय, आप हिल ही नहीं सकें।

दूसरे यह कि हम उसमें बड़े अफ़सरों का दख़ल कम चाहते हैं करना। हाँ, निगरानी होगी, निगरानी होगी, देख-भाल होगी, सलाह होगी, लेकिन बोझा आप ही लोगों पर पड़ेगा कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी वालों पर, और जैसे मैंने कहा कि उसमें कोई ऐसे क़ायदे सख़्त न हों कि बजाय मदद करने के दिक्कतें पेश आयें। आसान हम करना चाहते हैं और हम अपने तजुर्बे से उनको बदलना भी चाहते हैं, जहाँ आपका तजुर्बा हुआ कि यह क़ायदा अच्छा नहीं है, हम आपसे मशविरा करेंगे, उसे बदलेंगे। क्योंकि हमें काम करना है, क़ायदे थोड़े बनाने हैं, हल उसका लेना है और याद रखिए, चाहे पंचायत हो, चाहे यह कोऑपरेटिव हो, हम बोझा आप पर डाला चाहते हैं, अफ़सरों पर नहीं कि अफ़सर आ के कोऑपरेटिव के प्रेज़िडेंट बन जायें, या पंचायत में बैठे हैं, और आप हाँ-में-हाँ मिलायें। इससे किसी को फ़ायदा नहीं है। अफ़सर हों और अफ़सरों की

ज़रूरत है, क्योंकि वो सीखे हुए आदमी हैं, हम उनको खास सिखाने वाले हैं कोऑपरेटिव वगैरह में। वो आपको सलाह दे सकते हैं, यह और बात है, लेकिन जिम्मेदारी आपकी, दखल उनका कम-से-कम।

अब हम इस कोऑपरेटिव के मामले में, लाखों आदमियों को सिखाया चाहते हैं, क्योंकि इसकी कामयाबी सीखने पर है। कैसे? अब सिखायेंगे हर दर्जे को सिखायेंगे। एक तो सबमें ऊँचा दर्जा सोचो, उसमें थोड़े-से आदमी उसमें होंगे, मैं नहीं जानता, दस-बीस-पचास हों, आपके पंजाब में, जो कि बिलकुल बड़े पण्डित हो जायें, इसमें, कोऑपरेशन में, खूब सीखें, अच्छी तरह से, हर ढंग में, कई साल सीखें, सीख कर आयें, कुछ हमारे अफ़सर हों, कुछ अफ़सर नहीं हों, जो कि ऊपर के लोग हों, जो कि औरों को सिखा सकें, औरों को सलाह दे सकें। उसके बाद एक दर्जा होना चाहिए लोगों का हर ज़िले में और काफ़ी हो जो कि इतने महान पण्डित न हों कोऑपरेशन में, लेकिन फिर भी कुछ पंडिताई कर सकें, कुछ जानें अच्छी तरह से, एक साल भर का उनका कुछ सीखा हुआ हो, चाहे ऐग्रिकल्चरल कॉलेज में या कहीं और। तीसरे दर्जे के लोग हों जिनको हम, एक समझें मैं नहीं जानता, समझें, महीने भर का एक कोर्स हो जाये, महीने भर कुछ सीख लें; जिसमें पंच, सरपंच, वगैरह सब जायें। महीना भर हो, बीस रोज़ हो, कुछ ऐसा कि उनकी छोटी-मोटी बातें उनको आ जायें। उनमें खास लोग और कोर्स लें। इसको हम चाहते हैं कि लाखों आदमी लें, वह पन्द्रह-बीस रोज़ का कोर्स करीब सब। तो उसमें एकदम से फ़िज़ा बदल जायेगी। सीखे हुए आदमी आयेंगे जो जानते हैं कैसे मिल के काम करते हैं और बातें। और फ़िज़ा बदल जायेगी। यह बात हुई तो यकीन है मुझे कि आपका यह कोऑपरेटिव का सिलसिला बड़े ज़ोरों से बढ़ेगा। लेकिन अगर ज़रा भी ढील हुई सिखाने में और जल्दी-जल्दी सोसाइटी खड़ी कर दी दिखाने के लिए कि हम यह करते हैं, तो कमज़ोर उस की बुनियादी होगी, इसलिए यह हैं।

अब कुछ सवाल अभी मुझसे हुए थे, वहाँ पंच, सरपंच थे, और बहुत माकूल सवाल थे। खैर, एक तो यह हुआ था कि साहब, अगर ईमानदारी से काम नहीं होगा तो नहीं होगा। ज़ाहिर-सी बात है कि अगर बेईमानी, लूट-मार हो तो काम कैसे होगा? यह फिर आपका काम है, पंचायत का काम है, सोसाइटी का काम है कि वो देखें कि यह नहीं होता है, और इसमें उनको झिझकना नहीं चाहिए। ऐसी कोई बेईमानी है, उसको पकड़ें।

दूसरे मैं आपसे कह ही चुका हूँ कि लोग उसमें उनकी रज़ामन्दी से आयें। फ़र्ज़ करो, मैं नहीं पसन्द करता बड़े सख्त क़ायदे हों। मेरी राय में एक गाँव में एक कोऑपरेटिव होना चाहिए, बड़ी कोऑपरेटिव मैंने कहा, मैं नहीं पसन्द करता, लेकिन अगर छोटे-छोटे गाँव हैं तो भई, दो में हो जाये, तो कोई हर्ज नहीं, लेकिन बहुत बड़े नहीं हों। एक शख्स ने पंच से पूछा कि साहब, हम एक गाँव में दो कोऑपरेटिव करें, तीन करें तब क्या? तो मुझे तो उसमें कोई एतराज़ नहीं है। गाँव पर है, काम पर है। यानी हमें हर चीज़ को कोई एक पत्थर की लकीर की तरह नहीं देखना है। किस तरह से इत्ते लोग मिल कर अच्छा काम करेंगे। अब ज़ाहिर है कि गाँव में अगर आप इस तरह से मिलें, काम करें तो उसमें एक आदमी की ज़मीन उत्तर में

हो, एक दक्षिण में हो, मिल कर काम करें, अलग-अलग यह तो मुश्किल हो। यह और बात है, यह देखना है कि ज़मीन मिलती-जुलती हो, लेकिन और अगर गाँव में दो कोऑपरेटिव हों, तो मुझे कोई हर्ज नहीं है, बड़ा गाँव हो तो तीन हों उसमें। और याद रखिए एक और क्रिस्म के कोऑपरेटिव होंगे। यह तो आम हुए। और ऐसे जैसे बुनने वालों का कोऑपरेटिव, वह अलग है, वह अलग रखें, वह तो होगा ही।

अच्छा, एक और शख्स ने मुझसे पूछा कि हम उस कोऑपरेटिव में जा कर उससे निकल सकेंगे कि नहीं? इसमें भी क्रायदे बनेंगे, अलग-अलग क्रायदे हों। कोई रुकावट निकलने में नहीं होनी चाहिए। मौक़ा होना चाहिए, लेकिन निकलने के लिए भी तो क्रायदे होंगे न। नहीं तो लोग खिलवाड़ बना देंगे उसे, मज़ाक़ कर देंगे। आप गये इधर-उधर, उलट-पलट कर दिया। तो उसमें क्रायदे-क्रानून होने चाहिएँ निकलने के, कितने दिन बाद निकल सकते हैं, दो बरस बाद, तीन बरस बाद, किस शर्त पर निकलें। तो क्रायदे-क्रानून बनें। तो आप देखें, इसमें कम-से-कम मजबूरी है, कम-से-कम ज़बरदस्ती है, ज़्यादा-से-ज़्यादा इस बात का खयाल है कि लोग, गाँव के लोग, अपने हाथ में अपनी क्रिस्मत को लें, बागडोर को लें, और अपने को चलायें और गाँव बढ़ायें और सँभालें अपने को और हम मदद उनको करें। ऊपर से मदद करें, पैसे से, सलाह दे कर, सिखा कर, ट्रेन करके मदद करें, लेकिन बागडोर उनके हाथ में हो। तो इससे असल तेज़ी से तरक्की होती है।

असल बात तो यह है कि आखिर में तरक्की उतनी होती है जितनी जैसे कि इन्सान हों, जैसे लोग हों। लोग मेहनत, काम करने वाले हैं, अक्लमन्द हैं तो तरक्की होगी, नहीं हैं तो आपके हज़ारों क्रायदे-क्रानून हों तो निकम्मे हैं। और मैं आपको बताता हूँ यहाँ, यह दस-बारह बरस हुए जब यह पंजाब के दो टुकड़े हुए और बेशुमार लोग आये-गये, उधर से आये-गये, क्या क्यों। बहुत सारे शरणार्थी इधर फैले हैं और जगह भी हिन्दुस्तान में। उत्तर प्रदेश में भी हैं। अभी कुछ रोज़ हुए मैं वहाँ गया गाज़ियाबाद, दिल्ली के पास एक शहर।<sup>77</sup> वहाँ काफ़ी लोग पंजाब से आये, यानी जो पाकिस्तान पंजाब से आये थे, वहाँ गये, बसे हैं, और छोटे-छोटे कारखाने उन्होंने शुरू किये, छोटे, बड़े भी किसी क्रदर, बहुत बड़े नहीं, लेकिन बीच के और छोटे। उन लोगों ने इस दस बरस में, मैं तो हैरान हुआ देख कर कि गाज़ियाबाद की शकल बदल दी। काम काजी आदमी थे, मेहनती आदमी थे, एक हिम्मत रखते थे, और गाज़ियाबाद भरा हुआ है आजकल छोटे और बड़े कारखानों से।

यह लोगों ने आ के वहाँ अपनी हिम्मत से किया, हालाँकि मुसीबत में आये थे, लेकिन हिम्मत थी। तो बात यह है जहाँ हिम्मत होती है, काम करने की ताक़त होती है, और इसी तरह से हमारे यहाँ ज़मींदारी भी है इधर मेरठ के और ज़िलों में वो पंजाब के गये हुए हैं, वहीं पाकिस्तान पंजाब के उन्होंने जहाँ-जहाँ काम किया है, अच्छा काम किया है, बहुत अच्छा और इधर-उधर के जो लोग ज़मींदार हैं, उनसे ज़्यादा अच्छा करके दिखलाया है। इसलिए तो मैंने

77. On 15 May, to address the concluding session of a three-day conference of Congress workers. See item 5, pp. 38-40.

आपसे कहा कि यह लोगों पर है कैसा करें। खैर, पंजाबी में तो दम है करने का, आपको तो बहुत बढ़ना चाहिए। तो गरज़ कि मैंने आपसे यह कहा कि कोऑपरेटिव वगैरह, यह तो आपके हाथ की बात है, उसको पसन्द करके जितना आप चाहें बढ़ा सकते हैं और कोई शक नहीं है कि अगर आप सच्चे दिल से सीख कर अगर आप पढ़ें तो बड़ी तरक्की करेंगे, और तरक्की करेंगे महज़ खेती में नहीं, खेती में तो करेंगे ही आप, लेकिन आपके गाँव में धन्धे फैलेंगे, रहेंगे, पचासों छोटे कारखाने हो जायेंगे, उससे वहाँ की हैसियत बदल जायेगी, गाँव आपके छोटे होंगे लेकिन छोटे शहर हो जायेंगे, होते जायेंगे, गाँव का भी उसमें आराम होगा और शहर का भी। ये सब बातें होंगी। लेकिन होंगी तभी जब आप अपनी मेहनत से अधिक पैदा करें, क्योंकि उसी से होती हैं चीज़ें, यह सामान पैदा करने के।

सरदार प्रताप सिंह<sup>78</sup> थोड़े ही रुपया आपको फेंकते हैं, लायेंगे ऊपर से कहीं से। इनके पास कहाँ से आयेगा? तो यह माने हैं। और ज़ाहिर है, उसके पीछे गाँव में पढ़ाई का इन्तज़ाम होना चाहिए। स्कूल हर गाँव में एक स्कूल हो, ज़्यादा हो अब तो हैं, हो भी गये हैं बहुत, लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि कोई बच्चा न हो, लड़का-लड़की, जिसकी अच्छी पढ़ाई का इन्तज़ाम न हो। हमारे होनहार बच्चे हैं, मुझे रंज होता है जब मैं देखता हूँ कभी बच्चे हमारे सुन्दर होनहार बच्चे, छोटे लड़के-लड़कियाँ गाँव में जिनकी देख-भाल नहीं होती, क्योंकि वो बच्चे खाली माँ-बाप के नहीं हैं, वो आपके गाँव के हैं, आपके मुल्क की दौलत हैं, और यह फ़र्ज़ है हमारा कि हर एक बच्चे की देख-भाल ठीक हो, उसको पढ़ने का मौक़ा मिले, खाना मिले, कपड़ा मिले, उसके सेहत का इन्तज़ाम हो, क्योंकि जो कल हिन्दुस्तान होने वाला है वह बच्चा है आज का। तो स्कूल बहुत ज़रूरी हैं और स्कूल खाली कुछ थोड़ा-सा पढ़ाने को नहीं, बल्कि उनको अच्छी आदतें सिखायी जायें, जो उनको अपने देश का हाल बताया जाये, जो दुनिया का हाल बताया, जो काम करना सिखाये, जो ये सब बातें हों, खाली किताब पढ़ लेना, रट लेना काफ़ी नहीं है। तो इस ढंग से हमें हिन्दुस्तान को बढ़ाना है, और इस ढंग से, इस ढंग से हम चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में काम खाली खेती का नहीं, बल्कि कारखानों का भी काम ज़्यादा-से-ज़्यादा कोऑपरेटिव ढंग से हो, मिल-जुल कर।

आप शायद जानते न हों, बरसों हुए, कोई पन्द्रह-बीस बरस की बात है, कांग्रेस इस देश की एक बड़ी जमात है। कांग्रेस ने अपने क्रायदे-क़ानूनों में लिखा कि हम कैसे हिन्दुस्तान को बनाना चाहते हैं। अपना ऑबजेक्टिव, आइडियल, ध्येय क्या है, लक्ष्य। तो उसमें लिखा कि हिन्दुस्तान कोऑपरेटिव कॉमनवेल्थ होना है। इन लफ़्ज़ों को देखिए, कोऑपरेटिव कॉमनवेल्थ। बाद में अभी चार-पाँच बरस हुए, इसमें एक शब्द और बढ़ा दिया, बहुत ज़रूरी नहीं था, लेकिन बढ़ाया<sup>79</sup> कि कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी बनायें हम उस उसूल को बढ़ा के, जहाँ तक हो सकता है मुल्क के और कामों में भी लाया चाहते हैं। यहाँ तक कि सारा मुल्क एक माने में आप समझिए,

78. Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab.

79. At the 60th session of the Indian National Congress at Satyamurthinagar. Avadi. Madras, from 21 to 23 January 1955. For details. see SWJN/SS/27/pp. 255 & 279-283.

एक बड़ी कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी है चालीस करोड़ आदमियों की, चले, जिसमें बराबर के हिस्सेदार हों, ऊँच-नीच बहुत कम हो जाये, हर एक को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले, हर एक मेहनत करे। तो यह खयाल तो बहुत दूर का है, वो बात तो मैंने कही सारे मुल्क में कि वह तो नहीं होता एकदम, मालूम नहीं कब हो। लेकिन उसकी जड़ और बुनियाद तो गाँव में पड़े और उससे बढ़ते-बढ़ते कारखाने वगैरह और जगह हम ले जाया चाहते हैं। खैर।

बहरसूरत, इस वक़्त तो हमारे सामने बहुत काम हैं। बड़े-बड़े काम हैं। लेकिन सबमें बड़ा बुनियादी काम है कि हम अपनी ज़मीन से ज़्यादा पैदा करें। काफ़ी ज़्यादा पैदा करें। एक हमें चुनौती दी गयी है, हमारा इम्तहान है, दुनिया देखती है, पहले करना है, और उसके करने के लिए हम समझते हैं कि कोऑपरेटिव बनाना, उससे बहुत मदद मिलेगी।

बाज़ लोगों ने इसका विरोध किया है, मुखालफ़त की है, कोऑपरेटिव की, और करते जाते हैं। ज़ाहिर है, जो मुखालफ़त करना चाहे, उसको अधिकार है, अख़्तियार है। आज़ाद मुल्क है जो राय चाहें दें, जो चाहे करें, लेकिन मेरे अब तक समझ में नहीं आया कि उनकी मुखालफ़त की जड़-बुनियाद क्या है? क्योंकि जो बातें वह कहते हैं, वह बात ग़लत है। जैसे वह कहते हैं ज़बरदस्ती कर रहे हो, हरेक का गला दबा के, रस्ती बाँध के घसीट रहे हो, ये है, वो है। ग़लत बात है। वो कहते हैं, तुम यह कोऑपरेटिव फ़ार्मिंग कहते हो, लेकिन असल में यह पहुँच जायेगी कोई और चीज़ है कलेक्टिव। सरीहन [ग़लत] बात है, हम नहीं चाहते, अब ज़बरदस्ती वो कहते जायें, तुम यह करोगे और इसका कौन जवाब दे? अब हम कहें, हम इस रास्ते पर जाते हैं, वो कहते हैं कि नहीं, तुम दूसरे रास्ते पर जा रहे हो। साहब, हम जिसको कलेक्टिव फ़ार्मिंग कहते हैं, उसको बिलकुल पसन्द नहीं करते, हम बिलकुल नहीं चाहते उस रास्ते पर जाना, यह साफ़ बात है। यों भी हम नहीं पसन्द करते और खासकर हिन्दुस्तान की हालत में उसको बिलकुल ग़लत रास्ता समझते हैं। तो फिर यह कहने से क्या फ़ायदा कि हम कहते हैं कि एक बात को हम नहीं पसन्द करते, नहीं करेंगे, वो कहते आते हैं—नहीं, तुम करोगे। कुछ अजीब बहस हो गयी।

दूसरे यह कि तुम्हारी ज़मीन छीन ली जायेगी। साहब, ज़मीन कोई नहीं छीनता है। वह आपकी मिलकियत है। यह भी एक ग़लत बात है। मैंने आपको यहाँ तक कहा है कि जो इसमें से निकलना चाहेंगे, वह क़ायदे-क़ानून जो बनें, उसके बामूज़िब निकल सकते हैं, अलग हो सकते हैं। तो इस पे मुझे इसमें एतराज़ नहीं, इसमें खुशी है कि मुल्क में बहस हो रही है, इन सवालियों पर, हो, क्योंकि मैं नहीं चाहता कि आप कोई बात मंज़ूर कर लें, कि जवाहरलाल ने कही, चलो मंज़ूर कर ली। यह बात ठीक नहीं है। हमें एक मज़बूत चीज़ बनानी है मुल्क में। आपको उसे समझना है, इतना समझना है कि औरों को समझा सकें। आपको, मुझे, समझना है, क्योंकि मैं बड़े उसूल की बातें आपसे कहूँ, लेकिन सच बात तो यह है कि मैं न ज़मींदार, न किसान, मेरा कोई ज़मीन से सम्बन्ध नहीं। हाँ, देखा, बहुत ज़मींदारों से मिला, बहुत किसानों से मिला, उनका काम देखा, उनसे बातें कीं, उनसे सीखा, किताबों में पढ़ा, यूरोप में भी, यहाँ भी, यह और बात है। लेकिन मैं एक पेशे से या खानदान से तो नहीं हूँ। तो बहुत बातों पर

आप कहीं ज़्यादा जानते हैं मुझसे, मैं आपसे सीखने को तैयार हूँ, लेकिन मेरा खयाल है कि बहुत बातों में आपको सिखा भी सकता हूँ, तजुर्बा रख के; एक-दूसरे को धमकी दे के और घुड़क कर और चाकू मार कर तो नहीं; ऐसे काम नहीं होते हैं मुल्क में। हमें मिल के करना है, साहब ख़ाली कोऑपरेशन में क्या है? सोचिए आप, कोऑपरेशन के माने हैं सहयोग, सहकार, सहकारी संघ हिन्दी में कहते हैं। यानी खुशी से मिल कर किसी बात को करना। जहाँ उसमें रस्सी बाँधी और यह हुआ और ज़बरदस्ती की तो कोऑपरेशन का तो उसमें से खयाल ही निकल गया, कोई और चीज़ आ गयी, वह बात तो नहीं पसन्द करते।

तो मैंने...सिर्फ चन्द मिनट मैं रहा आपके पंचों के पास, लेकिन जो कुछ बातें उनकी सुनीं, जो उनके खयाल ज़ाहिर हुए, उससे मैं खुश हूँ। ज़ाहिर है कि इस काम के उठाने में, सारे हिन्दुस्तान में, सारे पंजाब में, आपको हज़ार दिक्कतें होंगी।...यह कौन कहता है कि आसान है, चटपट, चलो भाई, हो गया। कोई बड़े काम इस तरह से थोड़े ही होते हैं। वो बड़े काम आसानी से हो जायें तो बड़े काम नहीं हैं, वो छोटे काम हो गये।...तो आपको दिक्कतें होंगी, तो दिक्कतें जो-जो होंगी, रफ़ा करेंगे, सोच-समझ के, मशविरा करके। कोई क़ायदा-क़ानून ग़लत बना है, उसको बदलेंगे तजुर्बे से, लेकिन मोटे तौर से एक रास्ता हम चुन लें किस रास्ते पर जाना है, उस रास्ते पर चलेंगे, और एक आप टकराव से रुक जायें तो फिर वह तो कोई निशानी हमारी हिम्मत की नहीं है। और यह रास्ता हम चुन रहे हैं और अच्छा है कि आप अपने आप करें, मिलें-जुलें बात करें और उसमें हमें बतायें, और हम सब मिल कर आगे बढ़ें।

आपकी तरफ़ से वह मानपत्र मुझे मिला, बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया। एक जगह कुछ लड़कियों ने बहुत एक सुन्दर गाना सुनाया था, उनका भी शुक्रिया, धन्यवाद। और अब मैं दिल्ली वापस जाता हूँ।

जयहिन्द! मेरे साथ आप भी तो कहिए जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द, जयहिन्द!

नहीं, मेरे साथ कहो जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द! फिर से जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द! फिर जयहिन्द!  
जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins :

Brothers, Sisters and Children, Pancho aur Sarpancho,  
Sonepat is not far from Delhi but by a strange chance, I have come here after years though we have been sending some of our honoured guests from abroad to Sonepat. The Prime Minister of the Soviet Union came here about four to five years ago.<sup>80</sup> So did President Tito<sup>81</sup> and many other foreign visitors. We

80. See fn 74 in this section.

81. See fn 75 in this section.

sent them on, because we wanted them to see how strong the people of our villages are and how we are trying to progress through the community blocks, etc. We have sent all these people, but I have not been able to come here for a long time. So, I am happy and grateful that you have given me this opportunity to come here (Applause).

I had heard a few things which had specially drawn me here apart from the fact that I wanted to come here since long. One thing was that you were going to have a conference of all the panches and sarpanches of Punjab to consider the problems of the State. I had heard that it was going to be a kind of seminar. So, I thought it would be a good opportunity for meeting all of them which may or may not benefit them but could certainly benefit me. Secondly, I liked this idea of opening this panchayat training institute<sup>82</sup> which you have set up in Kamala Nehruji's name, although I have not understood what its function is going to be. I have been asking this question ever since I arrived here and have understood a little, but anyhow, the idea is a good one in every way. For one thing, there is going to be special training regarding farming and in small industries, carpentry, etc. Then there is talk of organizing sports and games for which a big stadium is going to be built. So it is a very good combination, though I do not know how you are going to run it. It is up to you, but the idea is a good one and it will be a good thing for other places to follow this example, because it is not enough for it to be done in one place. The more places that it happens in, the better it will be. Ultimately, how does a nation or a people progress? A weak individual cannot be made strong merely by making some laws from the top. Laws can certainly help but the people will have to help themselves in order to progress, whether it is Punjab or the whole of India. After all, Punjab is a part of India.

What does it mean when we talk of betterment of the people? It means that they should be physically and mentally strong and have the ability and daring to work hard. It is only when a nation progresses on all fronts that it can become strong. Broadly speaking people need to develop in three ways. The first is physically, which means that they should get enough to eat and apart from that, play games, and take part in other activities. Secondly, there should be provision for their education because without that no nation can progress especially in today's world. There should be nobody in the country, adult or child, who does not get an opportunity to be educated. Please do not think that education is meant to enable you to get a clerk's job in the city somewhere. I do not want the educated boys and girls to desert their village. It is a different matter if one or two go (Applause). I want that they should try to improve their village and

82. See fn 76 in this section.

bring it up to the standard of the cities. This is how villages will grow.

The third thing which is essential is that everybody should get employment so that they can produce something from land and industries and in other ways. It is not a good thing for a nation to have its people sitting idle. Even the idle and the unemployed consume something which has to be provided by other members of their family. But they are totally unproductive. Therefore, everyone should earn or produce something by his labour or intellectual effort. This is a debt that each man and woman owes to society. It is society which looks after an individual and his family. What does he give in return to society through his own effort? If he does not produce anything, I would say—forgive me for using a very strong word—that he is stealing the fruit of another's labour. Except for children and the old and infirm that the society has to look after, every single adult must produce something through his own effort and repay his debt to society and the country. The debt should be repaid not only to the extent that the society spends on an individual, but a little more so that the country may progress. A country can progress only if the production is more than what it consumes. At the same time, if a man does something productive, he benefits and so do the society and the country.

Now, ever since India became free, the question that we have been confronting is how to make the people better off, remove poverty so that every individual in the country may become reasonably prosperous and be able to get the essential things of life, and thus the disparity between the rich and the poor may be reduced. What are the essential things in life? As you know, the most essential items are food, clothes, houses to live in, education, health care facilities and a job, a productive job. These things must be available to every individual in the country. But where are they to come from? Ultimately, they have to come out of the effort of the people. It is the people who produce whatever wealth a country has, whether it is by working on land or industries or something else. It is true that there are certain things which are nature's gifts to us like metals and minerals, etc. But ultimately, it is by the effort of man that wealth is produced in the world and the harder he works, the greater will be the wealth produced.

People often give applications to government offices for help. Where does the government get money from? It does not come from heaven or from some hidden treasure or from some other country. It has to come out of the people's pockets in the form of taxes, etc. The more you give, the more the government will be able to spend on you. Why are the countries of the West so rich? It is not because they have found some hidden treasure from somewhere. They are rich because the people work very hard and earn a great deal, the farmer, the labourer and everyone else. So they produce more from land and industries and the more they produce, the greater is the spending power of the country. You must



understand this. Wealth is not something accumulated over the centuries. That forms only a small part of the wealth of any country. It consists of what the people produce every year from their land and industries and in other ways.

Why is it that the people in other countries produce much more from land and industries than us? Well, we can say that we must set up more industries, big, medium and small, which is all right. But why do we produce so little from land? That is something to be considered, isn't it? How do the other countries produce twice or thrice as much as we do from one acre of land? There is no doubt that we can also do it for wherever an effort has been made, it has been done. We must try to cover the shortages whether it is of water for irrigation or good seeds or fertilizers. There is no magic in all this. It requires a great deal of hard work and the use of modern techniques of agriculture, better ploughs, and other things.

So, if we produce more from land and at the same time set up industries, big, medium and small, we will be able to increase the wealth of the nation enormously. It is not gold and silver, but what is produced in the country, which constitutes the wealth of a nation. Secondly, people will get employment. So, these are, broadly speaking, the problems before us. Then if we wish to do all this, we will need people who are educated and trained in various fields. It is not enough if I come here and give you a speech. People have to be trained to do their work properly, whether it is on land or at carpentry or some other profession.

The countries of the West have progressed a great deal during the last hundred or hundred and fifty years because they have adopted new techniques and acquired new machines and weapons of war, etc., and so they are militarily powerful and wealthy. They are industrialised nations where even agriculture is mechanised and, consequently, their production has increased enormously. Now we will have to see what we can do in India. It does not mean that we should copy others. We must adopt only those things that suit us. But there is no doubt that we can learn a great deal from the other countries, from the Soviet Union and the United States, because though they follow different ideologies, they have advanced a great deal. We must learn from them and adopt their techniques to suit our needs. So, it is a lengthy process and takes time. It is our desire that India should progress as fast as possible. But it cannot be done by magic or by chanting a mantra, especially, when India is a large country with forty crore people. We can progress only by hard work. For this purpose the Five Year Plans have been drawn up, as well as the community development projects and national extension service, and so on, which you hear about. All these things are being done to make the country well off and raise the standard of living of every individual, remove poverty and to improve

agriculture, provide education to everyone and set up industries which will mean employment for everyone.

I talked about industries. How are industries run? They need power, not manpower but electricity or something else. Therefore, we must produce power in the country. Light is only one small use for electricity. Electricity is extremely important for industries. Therefore we are trying to produce it through our river valley projects at Bhakra Nangal and elsewhere. Then we need steel to set up industries. We are putting up four huge steel plants in the country. We need machines for industries and so we are setting up machine making industries, too. In this way, we are laying the foundations of progress by taking up these various tasks all over the country. You must keep this picture in mind.

However, special attention has to be paid to the uplift of the rural areas because eighty percent of the India's population lives in villages. How is India to progress if the villages do not progress? Therefore, it has become essential to pay special attention to the villages, though I agree that the cities should also progress. But the cities can look after themselves and will progress in any case, especially in areas where big industries are being set up. The real progress of India can take place only when her villages prosper and in a sense, when her agricultural production increases because that will mean an increase in the country's wealth which can be used for industrialising the country. So, we come round once more to the question of improving the villages and agriculture and the burden of making the country well off will have to be borne by the farmers. How is it to be done? How are we to increase production so that all of us in Punjab and the rest of India benefit? So, we come round to this again and again.

There have been two great defects in our land tenure system. Firstly, when the British came to India about 150 years ago, a number of handicrafts and village industries were flourishing in the rural areas apart from agriculture. So everyone was not wholly dependent on agriculture. Then the British came and under them gradually all these industries and handicrafts became stagnant and died away. As a result, people lost their source of employment and began to add to the pressure on land. The population also increased steadily and the pressure on land became a symbol of India's poverty. The alternative sources of employment were no longer available to the people. Secondly, we could not keep pace with the rest of the world when it advanced in science and technology and when all kinds of new machines and weapons were being invented in the West. So we became backward in both agriculture and industry. We must rectify the situation and advance industrially as well as improve agriculture. The basis for that is the spread of education to all the villages in India so that every single boy and girl in the country may get an opportunity to go to school and college

and be trained in some profession or the other. It is only in this way that we can progress.

I will repeat once again that education must not be given with a view to making clerks out of people. I do not like this at all. The educated man who is ashamed of ploughing a field is useless and education, instead of sharpening his intellect, will have made him stupid. The first thing that education should teach is to respect those who do manual labour. I do not say that those who do mental or intellectual work should not be respected. But a society, where manual labour is looked down upon, cannot progress at all because manual labour is the very foundation upon which a society is built. Therefore, I say that there should be a spread of education which should be made compulsory for every boy and girl in the country. I do not mean that they should all go in search of government jobs, thereafter, or sit idle and like their ancestors consider themselves above manual labour. That is mere foolishness and nobody can hope to progress in this manner. In fact, the educated boys and girls must serve their own village; improve agriculture, set up small industries or something else. The effort should be to improve the standard of living in the rural areas and introduce modern amenities like good roads and houses, electricity, parks, schools and hospitals, and others, just as you have in the cities, though perhaps on a smaller scale. We want to keep this picture before us and try to reorganize the structure of village society.

So the first thing that struck us was that there should be a panchayat for it is undeniable that no country can progress except by their own strength and daring. If we had waited for some other country to come and help us become free, we could have never won freedom. The first thing that Gandhiji taught us was to stand on our own feet. We must have friendly relations with others, but during our freedom struggle we could not have expected anything except sympathy from them. Similarly, I agree that you have the right to make demands from the urban areas or the government and also that the urban areas have continued to exploit the rural areas for years. But the villages can prosper and advance only when they stand on their own feet and do not wait for others to come and help them. Whether it is the collector, magistrate or someone else, all you need to do is to present your applications. Ultimately, there is no help for those who beg and it is only those who are strong and self reliant who will progress.

So this means that we must make some alterations in the social structure which exists today in the villages. We must have confidence in the villagers and give them powers for self-government as far as possible. (Applause) It is only by doing something that a man learns. If we say, as people often do, that the villagers are dishonest or that they fight with one another, they will never

learn to be self-reliant. There may be many quarrelsome people in Punjab but if we wait till they have all become angels, we will never get anywhere. Suppose, for instance, you wish to learn to swim, you cannot learn to swim by thrashing about on land. You can learn only by braving the danger and jumping into the water.

So, we can progress only by giving responsibility to the villagers. It is possible that they may not always discharge them properly or they may fight among themselves, or do something dishonest. But they will learn only by taking on responsibilities and apprehending and punishing the wrong doers. So we want to follow the principle of giving responsibility to the villagers as far as possible which means in effect having a strong panchayat. Real freedom has to begin at the village level, not from the top.

You must have heard that there is one assembly in Chandigarh which makes laws, and conducts other business, for Punjab and then, there is one in Delhi. Ultimately, you can say that the one in Delhi is the biggest panchayat in the country and the one in Chandigarh is the panchayat of Punjab. Therefore, in my opinion, it is not a good thing that officers should take all the decisions sitting in Delhi or Chandigarh. I agree that they can formulate policies. But administration can function well only when more people participate in making decisions and implementing them. It is not a good method to rely on a couple of thousand officers to do everything, no matter how able they are. Every individual must be given an opportunity of participating in the administration. This benefits the nation as well as the individual whether it is in the village or elsewhere.

Therefore, whichever way you look at it, it is proper that the villagers must elect a panchayat and give them rights to run the village administration smoothly. If they do not function well, the villagers need not elect them the next time. We have come to the conclusion that the panchayats should be given more rights and their resources should be augmented. The panchayats should have the right to levy local taxes, because the taxes levied by the State and Central Governments are utilised for the entire state or the country and they do not seem to have a direct bearing on the tasks that need to be done in the village. If the panchayat levies the taxes, you will know how the money is being spent, whether it is on a school, hospital, roads or small industries that are built with it. You will see the money being utilised in front of your eyes. So the first thing is to strengthen the panchayat.

All right, the second thing which is also extremely important is how to improve agricultural production by adopting new techniques, etc. The ordinary farmers have very small land holdings, though in your state they are larger than in other states where on an average, an individual does not own more than an

acre or two. Now, an individual cannot go very far with an acre or two of land. He does not have the strength or the capacity to do so, with the result that at least in the past, a small farmer was indebted for life to money lenders and could never escape from their clutches. So, cooperative societies were recently established in Punjab as well in other states. Their role so far has been more that of a bank to give loans, etc., and they were run mainly by officers and had extremely strict rules and regulations. Anyhow, they have done some good, but not as much as we would have liked. Our intention is that the cooperatives should be instrumental in the progress of the farmers. But the old system of cooperatives is no good. They should undertake other tasks as well, like helping the farmers by purchasing whatever they need at reasonable prices and also in selling their produce at a good profit. A single individual does not have the capacity and generally yields to unfair pressures. But a village cooperative increases the farmers' capacity to buy and sell and do a number of other things which will improve his condition and the profits will remain in his pocket instead of going to the money lender or the middleman. So it is obvious that cooperatives are a good thing. You can form cooperative societies not only of farmers but for other purposes like village industries, etc.

Well, so far I have talked about cooperatives in which the land is farmed by each farmer separately and the cooperatives are used mainly for buying and selling. We want that each village should have a cooperative society because large cooperatives of ten or so villages each are too large and the members will be strangers to one another and can easily be cheated by cunning city folk and others. Small cooperatives in each village will be like one large family in which the members will know one another and have mutual confidence and trust and can work in cooperation. A cooperative should be an extension of the family and I hope a time will come when it will extend to the whole country as far as work is concerned.

Anyhow, we favour small cooperatives. As I said so far the members of the cooperatives are doing farming separately. We feel that we must go a step further and take up cooperative farming which will benefit the farmers as well as the nation. But I would like to make it clear that it should be done only with the full consent of the people. We do not want to force it down anybody's throat, because anything done under compulsion will not work for very long. Therefore, this is a matter which I would like you to think about seriously and take up if you are convinced. You must remember that the individual's title to the land remains intact. It cannot be taken away by anyone. Each member will be entitled to a share of the profits in proportion to the amount of land that he owns. So in effect, he will profit in two ways. Suppose a farmer owns five acres of land and the entire amount under a cooperative is hundred acres, the individual will get

the profits from the produce from five acres as well from the amount of hard work that he puts in.

I am talking about cooperative farming. Please remember that we want you to take it up willingly and not under any compulsion. Secondly, your title to the land remains intact. Also, the land which lies fallow in boundaries will come under cultivation. A great deal of time is lost in ploughing small tracts of land. Moreover, it will be possible to use better ploughs and other improved techniques which will increase production. The share of each individual farmer will also increase proportionately. So it is the farmer who stands to gain in the long run for his capacity to adopt all kinds of new techniques of agriculture will increase which a farmer cannot do on his own. Therefore, we want this to happen. Moreover, cooperatives can start small industries in the villages which will augment the income of the farmers. This will open new avenues of employment so that the pressure on land is eased and people of one family can follow different occupations. So, we feel that cooperative farming will be a good thing and benefit everyone. But it is possible only if the farmers take it up willingly and secondly, get themselves trained. There is no point in taking it up in a fit of enthusiasm without understanding the full implications or without being properly trained. I do not mean training in farming, but in cooperative farming, in order to make arrangements for it, etc. Otherwise there will be all kinds of disputes. Therefore, it has become essential, first of all, to change the old rules and regulations regarding cooperative societies. It is being done and the effort is not to make them so rigid that the members cannot move hand or foot.

Secondly, we want that the interference of officials should become less. They can play a supervisory role of guiding and advising people. But the burden will fall on the members of the cooperative societies, and as I said, we do not want rigid rules and regulations which create problems instead of helping. We want to simplify them in consultation with the cooperative societies which have gained some experience. We want results, not stultifying rules and regulations. Please remember that we want the people themselves to shoulder the responsibilities, whether it is in cooperatives or panchayats. The government officials must not play a prominent role or become office bearers in these organisations with the people merely nodding their agreement. Nobody will benefit in the process. Officials are necessary because they are trained individuals and we want to give them special training so that they can guide and advise the people. But the responsibility should be yours and official interference should be reduced to the minimum.

We want to train millions of human beings in cooperative matters by educating them in various ways. There must be some people, say ten, twenty or

fifty of them in Punjab, who should become complete pundits in cooperation and be trained for years. Then there should be a second range of people in every district who may not be pundits in cooperation, but should be given training in agricultural colleges or somewhere else. The third category of people could be given training for a month or so about the general principles of cooperation. We want millions of people to undergo this course. This will change the atmosphere immediately and trained people will be available to ensure the efficient functioning of the cooperatives. If this were to happen, I am quite convinced that cooperation will spread rapidly. But if there is the slightest slackness in training and we put up societies as showpieces, their foundation will remain weak.

Just now I was asked some very pertinent questions by the panch and sarpanch. One was about the honesty of the workers. It is pretty obvious that if there is dishonesty and corruption, the societies cannot function. Therefore, it is the duty of the panchayats and the cooperative societies to see that such things do not happen and there should be no hesitation in catching and punishing the culprit.

Secondly, as I have already told you this is something that should be taken up voluntarily. I do not want that there should be rigid rules and regulations. In my opinion, there should be a cooperative in each village or if they are very small, one for every two villages. But they should not be very big. One of the panches asked me why there should not be two or three cooperatives. I have no objection at all. It depends on the village and the work that is being done. We do not wish to draw a rigid line anywhere. The main thing is that more and more people should work together in mutual cooperation. It is obvious that people owning land in different parts of the village cannot come together in one cooperative. So it must be ensured that the land should be side by side. I have no objection to more than one cooperative in a village.

Now this is about cooperatives in general. Further, different cooperatives for weavers and other professions can be formed. One gentleman asked me if it will be possible to get out of it once they join a cooperative. There will be separate rules for this, but there should be no problem about getting out. However, it should not become a joke to be forever getting in and out, otherwise it will cause chaos. So, there should be rules about the period after which members can get out. You will see that the element of compulsion is very small and greatest care is being taken to ensure that people should take the reins of fate in their own hands and work to improve their standard of living and the condition of their village. We can give them some help in terms of money, training, advice and guidance. But the reins should be in their hands for that is the only way to make real progress.

The basic fact is that ultimately progress depends on the kind of people there are in a country. If they are intelligent and hard working, progress will be rapid. Otherwise, even if you frame thousands of rules and regulations, they will be of no use. I would like to tell you that only ten or twelve years have passed since Punjab was divided into two and millions of refugees crossed over from one side to another. Many of them have settled down in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh and elsewhere in India. Recently, I had gone to Ghaziabad,<sup>83</sup> a refugee settlement near Delhi, where the refugees from the West Punjab have settled. They have started innumerable small and medium industries and I was amazed to see that they have completely changed the face of Ghaziabad. They were men of great daring and were hardworking and so, today, Ghaziabad is a thriving industrial town. The refugees bore tremendous hardship with great endurance and courage.

So, the fact is that anything is possible if there is courage and the ability to work in the people. Similarly, there are refugees who have taken up farming in Meerut and other districts and made a remarkable job of it. So, as I said, everything depends on the kind of people you have in the country. Punjabis are extremely hard-working. So you should go very far.

In short, as I have told you, it is in your hands whether you wish to form cooperative societies, and so on, and if you take it up willingly and make an honest effort, there is no doubt that you can go very far and progress rapidly in the field of agriculture and other village industries will flourish. The villages will be completely transformed and acquire the status of small towns and become more prosperous. But all these things are possible only when you work hard and increase production; for everything depends on producing more and more goods. Sardar Partap Singh<sup>84</sup> cannot do it by throwing some money from top. Where is he to get the money from?

It is obvious that education is extremely important. There should be a school in every village. There are schools in many places but we want that there should not be a single boy or girl who does not get education. I feel very sad when I see that our young boys and girls in the villages are not being looked after very well. Children belong not only to their parents but to the village. They are a nation's wealth and it is our duty to look after every single child properly, provide proper facilities for education, enough food, clothes to wear and healthcare facilities. Children are the future of India. Education is extremely important not only to teach children to read and write, but to teach them good

83. See fn 77 in this section.

84. See fn 78 in this section.



habits, form their minds, mould their character and to train them to do something useful. It is not enough to learn a few lessons by rote.

So this is how we must work for India's progress and adopt the cooperative method not only for farming but in other spheres as well. I do not know whether you are aware of it but over fifteen or twenty years ago, the Congress, which is a big national party, had incorporated in its constitution the objectives and ideals for building a new India. One of the things that were incorporated was to establish a cooperative commonwealth in India. Four or five years ago another word was added on – not that it was really necessary – and it now reads as a cooperative socialistic commonwealth.<sup>85</sup> The principle of cooperatives that I was talking to you about has been extended to the entire nation. It envisages a huge cooperative society of forty crore people, with an equal share in everything, equality of opportunity, etc. This is still a long way away and nobody knows when it will become a reality. But its foundation has to be laid in the villages and must be gradually extended to cover the industries, etc.

Anyhow, there are big tasks before us. But the most fundamental task is to increase production from land. It is a challenge before us and the eyes of the world are upon us to see how we meet it. I feel that cooperatives will help a great deal in this. Some people are opposed to the idea of cooperatives. It is obvious that people have a right to oppose something that they do not approve. It is a free country and people are free to hold their own opinions. But I have not been able to understand what is at the basis of their opposition, because what they are saying is wrong. They say that force is being used or cooperatives are being forced down people's throats and what not, which is wrong. They feel that gradually it will become collective farming instead of cooperative farming. We certainly do not want that. But what is to be done if someone insists on saying such things. Let me tell you that we do not like the idea of collective farming at all. That is absolutely certain. We do not approve of it anyhow and particularly not in the conditions which prevail in India today. But it is futile to argue when the people are not prepared to listen. So it is a strange debate.

Secondly, some people feel that their land will be snatched away. I assure you that your title will remain intact. I have even said that members will be allowed to opt out of the cooperative societies according to certain rules and regulations. I have no objection to the debate that is taking place in the country. I do not want you to accept anything merely because I say so. That is not right. We must build something enduring in the country by explaining things to the

85. See fn 79 in this section.

people. I may talk about big principles and policies. But the fact is that I am neither a zamindar nor a farmer and have had nothing to do with land. I have only met innumerable farmers, seen their work and talked to them, read a little about farming in Europe and here in India. But this is not my profession. You know much more than I do. I am prepared to learn from you. But I feel that I can also teach you a few things from my own experience. So, we can go on in this way, learning from one another and not by pushing people or by using threats or force. We need cooperation for such tasks, something that is done willingly by the people. The moment force is used cooperation goes by the board which is not a good thing.

I have spent only a few minutes with the panch. But I was very happy to hear their ideas. It is obvious that we will face thousands of difficulties in the task of building a new India. I do not say that it will be easy. Big tasks cannot be done in a hurry. But we must try to find a solution to the problems that arise by discussions and debates. If there are any wrong rules or laws, they can be changed with time and experience. But we must choose a broad path and follow it. If we are deterred by small obstacles, it will not be a sign of courage. We must work in mutual harmony and cooperation and march forward together.

I thank you for the manpatra that you have given me. I also thank the girls who sang a very beautiful song. Now I shall go back to Delhi. Please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

### (c) The Press

#### 17. At Delhi: Press Conference—<sup>86</sup>

Question: Any developments about Tibet since you last spoke in Lok Sabha.<sup>87</sup>

Prime Minister: Well, what about Tibet? The one thing I can tell you more or less definitely is the number of refugees that have come or are on the way, that have entered either the territory of India or Bhutan or Sikkim. Our present

86. 14 May 1959. From PIB files. Also available in JN Collection.

87. See item 293, pp. 556-568.

figures are 12,200. Of these, most of them have come through the NEFA Agency at Kameng and Subansiri. About 10,000 have come there. About 1,600 via Bhutan and about 300 via Sikkim. At present, we have organised two camps, one in Assam for about 5,000 persons, and one in North Bengal in Buxa for about a thousand or a little more. This Bengal camp is in the foothills, not right down the plains, it's a little higher up. Now, for the present, the immediate issue before us has been to provide some kind of accommodation for these people who are coming, and well, medical help, etc., whatever may be needed because I am told a number of them require medical attention. But it is not our intention to keep large camps permanently.

I cannot say at present what other arrangements we might have to make, but for the able-bodied, the young persons, after a while we should like them to give them opportunities of doing some work and earning their living. I cannot indicate how exactly. Possibly, in those hill areas, we might use them for road-making if they so agree. It is not very easy to bring these people down in the plains because the summer in the plains will be very difficult for them to bear.

Question: Social strata of these people who have come from there ...

Prime Minister: We have not stratified them in that way but it is obvious that if 12,000 persons come, a large number of them must belong to, well, must represent the common man in Tibet. No doubt there will be others there belonging to more or less what you might call upper strata. How many I cannot say.

Question: Any indication about children and women?

Prime Minister: No, I could not tell you, I believe there may be some but I could not tell you how many.

Question: Are there many Lamas?

Prime Minister: There must be again some Lamas because a very large proportion of the population of Tibet is Lamas. Practically every family contributes one or more members to the monasteries. So I take it there must be a good number of Lamas. There are a few persons who are called incarnate Lamas. How many I do not know.

Question: Have there been any diplomatic exchanges between India and China on Tibet about Dalai Lama going back or the Chinese

Ambassador<sup>88</sup> seeing him?

Prime Minister: No. There have been no formal diplomatic exchanges. We told them when the Dalai Lama had sought refuge in India and just after his entering Indian territory, we had informed the Chinese Government officially of this – that he sought asylum and we had given it him and his party. After that there have been no formal exchanges.

*The Road to Progress*



*The Tibetan rebellion is officially said to have been put down.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 17 MAY 1959)

Question: You said in Parliament that India is concerned over the use of cold war language by China without regard to truth or propriety. Was it conveyed to them through the Chinese Ambassador here? Has any reply been received to that?

Prime Minister: Yes. You are right. We did convey a message sometime back then, and soon after we received not a reply to it but an independent message complaining of something that has been said and done in India. So there are the

88. Pan Tzu-li.

two independent messages crossing each other but there has been, so far as I can remember no exchange and then again we sent answer to their message. That is all as far as I can remember.

Question: Has it come to your notice that in China today, in their official publications, they have mentioned the Asian Relations Conference and the presence of the Tibetan Delegation there and they have mentioned it in connection with the movement of independence for Tibet and they say that the Asian Relations Conference was organised by Britain? Could you throw some more light on the genesis of the Asian Relations Conference and why and how the Tibetan Delegation was there and what they did?<sup>89</sup>

Prime Minister: The Asian Relations Conference was held in the beginning of 1947. If anyone has made a statement that it was organised by Britain he is totally ignorant of the facts. Nothing to do with Britain or any outsider or any foreigner. It was organised by the, I forget the name.....

A Correspondent: Indian Council of World Affairs.

Prime Minister: The one that preceded it, I think, out of which came the Indian Council of World Affairs – anyhow more or less the same body. And it was organised before we came into Government – we came into Government for the first time in 1946, August. We discussed this matter and a Committee was formed. Later, before that actual Conference took place, we had become members of the Government, but it remained a non-governmental conference, convened not under Government's auspices, but non-official auspices. Government had nothing to do with it except sympathy and all that. In that Conference all kinds of people were invited. Normally, we wanted to invite non-official organisations to it. But we found this difficulty that in a number of countries in Asia we could not get hold of a non-official organisation to invite. So the Governments of those countries sent some representatives – usually educationists and the like. So it was a kind of a mixed conference, essentially, non-official, but with an official element in it, from outside and from here in the same sense that we had become a Government then.

I remember in the course of this (Conference) the people from Tibet had been invited. I do not quite remember how they were invited – I mean to say what organisation was addressed to send their representatives but they did come.

89. See SWJN/SS/2/pp. 501-523.

And I remember one incident on these days. There was a big roughly drawn map of Asia, drawn in chalk or something and there were some dotted lines as between Tibet and China. Now, none of us had noticed it. It was some effort of some artist who had put it up there. Nobody knew about it, but the representatives from China, that is to say the Kuomintang representatives – at that time Marshal Chiang-Kai-shek was the President of China – took objection to these dotted lines. He said: “You are showing Tibet as a separate country from China and they should not have separate representation.” That incident arose. I am not quite sure, but I think the dots were removed then by someone. But the Tibetans who had come remained there. We told them it was not an official Conference; it was more a cultural affair.

Question: I happened to see the Chinese paper yesterday, *Linli Pao*, and the headlines there were very very uncomplimentary to India on the lines that we had heard in the speeches made in the People’s Congress of China viz. “Chinese will never allow foul hogs to poke their snouts in our beautiful garden.” Such kinds of headlines you will see in the *People’s Daily*.

Prime Minister: What you have quoted presumably is something from somebody’s speech.

Correspondent: It is headlines, Sir.

Prime Minister: Whatever it may be, I am saying that it was not contained in the message that we got.

Question: When the complaint about what was being said in India, there is said something against us also.

Prime Minister: What do you expect me to say, except that this is a kind of language which we do not use or like being used by others, that I call ‘Cold War’ language.

Question: Well I want to know how do you react to the Communist Party’s latest resolution on the subject<sup>90</sup> which seems to be more or less a *précis* on

90. The Executive Committee of the CPI on 12 May 1959 attacked some parties in India for their campaign “to provoke India against China” and maintained that “Tibet was an integral part of China” and therefore whatever happened there was its “internal affair.”

what has already been written in the *People's Daily* of China on May the 6<sup>th</sup>?

Prime Minister: I have not compared the two but broadly speaking, I suppose, it is a *précis* with an attempt slightly to tone it down for Indian purposes.

Question: What is left of the Tibetan problem now?

Prime Minister: To begin with, Tibet is left. And there are so many aspects of it. Problems like this do not disappear. They are in the habit of carrying on in spite of what happens. If you look at them in perspective, you see these ups and downs repeatedly. So far as we are concerned, at present, because our main concern is those large number of refugees who have come here.

Question: About the policy of neutrality there has been a lot of criticism by Mr. Khrushchev and China of Col. Nasser and Marshal Tito and you particularly, about this policy of neutrality. Do you think it represents some change of policy on their part or some sort of disbelief in the policy of neutrality or just it is a temporary passing phase?

Prime Minister: I have not seen myself any criticism other than that appeared in China. Even there I do not know if any reference to neutrality has been made, reference to Panch Sheel has been made any to the Bandung principles and all that. But I do not remember even and Chinese criticism about our policy of neutrality. It may have been there but certainly I have not seen anything in Russia about it.

Question: Col. Nasser had been attacked so many times and Marshal Tito also.

Prime Minister: That is important as it is. But these are relatively local arguments.

Question: No Sir, Col. Nasser has interpreted it as an attack on the policy of neutrality. So has Marshal Tito. I think more or less you might not like to say it but it is actually an attack on the policy of neutrality, after all, what is Panch Sheela.

Prime Minister: The first thing is that nothing has been said about India, about these issues, at all; except in China in recent weeks or months, nobody else has referred to India in this connection, but there has been, as you say, a lot of hard

words and bitter things said in Cairo and in Moscow about each other. It is so. I do not see how that comes in and can be considered as – apart from China – considered as an attack on the policy of neutrality or Panch Sheel. I do not see it at all.

Question: Do you think you will be making any approaches to China about helping the Dalai Lama to return on honourable terms? From your answers, it seems there was a kind of deadlock in communications between India and China.

Prime Minister: There is no deadlock. We always send messages to each other but recently we have not sent any official formal communications. Informally to some extent we always deal with each other. I mean to say that our Ambassador in China<sup>91</sup> meets some high dignitary there. That is a different matter. I cannot say when we may decide to send some communication and the content of it. That I cannot say now. It depends on circumstances.

Question: You have asked the Dalai Lama not to engage in political activity, haven't you? He has rather preferred to leave the case to be taken up by India.

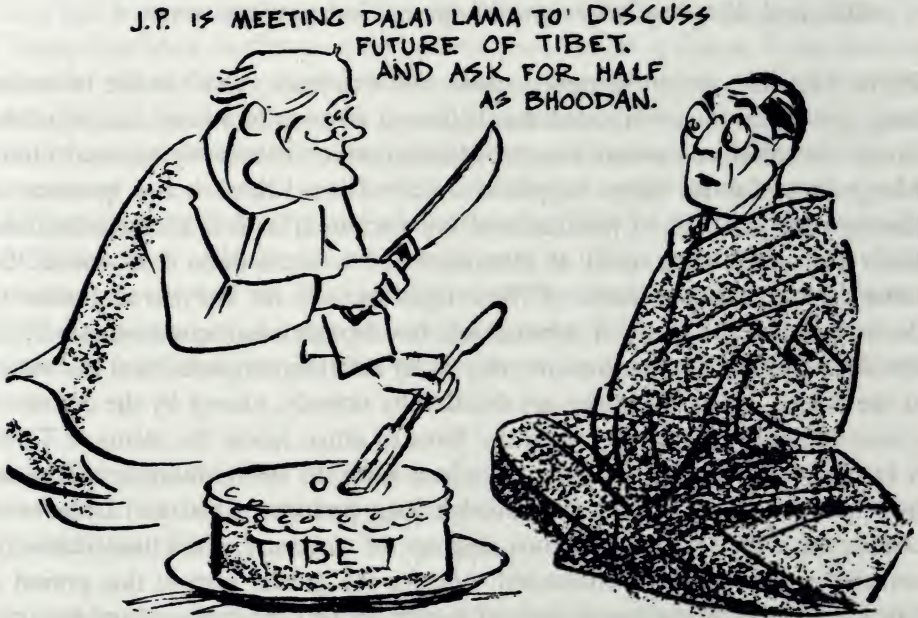
Prime Minister: I have told the Dalai Lama that he is perfectly free to say or do what he likes, to go back to Tibet, to remain here or to go anywhere else. But having said that, I have pointed out that he will no doubt consider the circumstances, events leading up to his coming here and the present position and function wisely and with some restraint. It is a broad advice I have given him, no specific thing – I have told him to do or not to do. He is free to do that. In fact I have been advising him, in a small way, even while he is at Mussoorie, to come out of his house and wander about and go about and to meet people. Of course now he meets a fairly large number of people who come for what might be called “Darshan”, for his blessings. Large numbers of people go there now. He has given interviews too, chiefly to Buddhist representatives who have come sometimes from other countries. I say this because I have seen some comments, not here but in the foreign press, about his being kept under strict detention and all that. That is not true essentially. I think that as usual, the police have a way of throwing their weight about wherever they are concerned and we have told them to be careful about the Dalai Lama's security and so their idea of looking after a person is to be very evident themselves all over the

91. G. Parthasarathi.



place. We have again made it clear to them not to interfere at all and that naturally we are anxious about the Dalai Lama's security. So far as other members of his party are concerned, they can just go and do what they like in Mussoorie or go away from Mussoorie. Nobody is keeping them there.

Question: You told us at Mussoorie that the Dalai Lama was anxious to go back to Tibet if it could be arranged. How is this result to be achieved?



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 21 JUNE 1959)

Prime Minister: What I said at Mussoorie I don't remember my words but it is a natural thing.<sup>92</sup> Nobody wants to come away or to be pushed out of one's country, one wants to go back. But the reasons which prompted him to come away, so long as those reasons persist; presumably there are some barriers to his going there.

Question: The Mongols ruled over China for a few centuries.<sup>93</sup> The Mongols made the whole country of China a province. Just like that the Manchus

92. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 478-498.

93. The Yuan dynasty (1271-1368).

made Manchuria a part of China. But Tibet was never in that sense a part of China. Today Mongolia is an independent State. There is the Mongolian representative here<sup>94</sup>. Even Siberia was a part of China once, hundred years ago it was. Would it not be wise and generous on the part of Chinese to give the same status to Tibet as they have given to Outer Mongolia?

Prime Minister: I don't think they have given any status to Outer Mongolia.

Question: But they have agreed to give it independent status.

Prime Minister: Outer Mongolia came into existence; well, in the twenties, long ago. After the commotion that followed all over Northern Asia after the Soviet Revolution, various things happened which ultimately reached Outer Mongolia and other things happened. As for Tibet, I think it is a question of history or if you like, of international law such as it is. It is all mixed up and there is no such thing really as international law when there is a conflict. So what the international status of Tibet might be, it is for lawyers and other to determine; but ultimately in international law though minor questions are often decided either by negotiations or, may be by the International Court of Justice at the Hague, major questions are decided by nobody, except by the countries concerned either peacefully or by the force of arms. About the status of Tibet, it is obviously a distinct entity, a place with an individuality, a Tibetan individuality. But it is true that through long periods of history, it has been connected with China in various degrees of intimacy, sometimes closely, sometimes remotely, but connected. And for the greater part of that period it has acknowledged various degrees of suzerainty of China; sometimes not, but for the greater part it has. For the present a jurist may give his opinion which will have no very great value except historically, and the question is really decided by the strength of the nation.

Question: My question is this. China has accepted Outer Mongolia as an independent State,<sup>95</sup> although it was an integral part of China till about a few years ago. So would it not be generous and magnanimous on the part of China to give Tibet the same status?

Prime Minister: How can I answer this question about generosity and magnanimity?

94. Mangalyn Dugersuren.

95. Effectively from 1911, and recognised officially by the PRC subsequently.

Question: Does it mean that China's claim which has been given in the Peking *People's Daily*, perhaps in reply to the statement in Parliament that China has full sovereignty over Tibet. Is that accepted now?

Prime Minister: The Chinese claim has been the same "suzerainty" and "sovereignty", in the English language I know. But what it is in the Chinese language I do not know. I do not know their exact connotation. But the claim has been identical, more or less, through all the later historical periods, whether there has been an emperor in China or there have been war-lords in China or Chiang-Kai-Shek, in China or the present government in China. It has been an identical claim always. As for the measure of sovereignty etc., I have said that both practically and otherwise, there could not have been in the past any real intimate control of Tibet. It was physically not possible because of its remoteness, because of no communication and all that. Occasionally Chinese armies came to Tibet. Once or twice Tibetan armies went to China in the past. Occasionally a Chinese high official called "Amban", sits in Lhasa, rather in a controlling position, almost like the Resident, old-style British Resident in Indian States. So these varieties of control had been there, and sometimes no control. You can draw any inference you like. But the fact is you have to view the situation as it is today.

Question: Is it your impression that so long as the Dalai Lama stays in India, there is bound to be some kind of strain in the relations between India and China?

Prime Minister: Well, it is rather difficult to look into the future and what might happen but possibly you are right that the presence of the Dalai Lama does involve a certain strain of that type.

### **Geneva Conference<sup>96</sup>**

Prime Minister: Now shall we go to the next question on the list. The next question on my list is the Geneva Conference. I cannot say much on the Geneva Conference except to wish it success. Meeting there, and if I may say so with all respect, going through the usual rituals. Always there is such a meeting, certain rituals have to be gone through one after the other, proposals made by either parties objected to and stresses and strains some minor agreements arrived

96. Of the foreign ministers of USA, USSR, UK and France; going on since 11 May 1959; suspended on 29 June 1959; resumed 13 July 1959.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

at, and they carry on to the next point. I suppose this would go on for some time but one would not expect this Conference to end very soon. I suppose that it will lead to what is called the Summit Conference. If one expects anything to happen, it will be really from the Summit Conference, not so much from this. All that I can say is this might lay the foundation for some Summit Conference.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 24 MAY 1959)

### Talks with Mr. Black

Prime Minister: Should we go to Mr. Black now. There again, Mr. Black came here and I met him for a while yesterday afternoon. I am going to meet him today, going to meet him tomorrow and we are in the middle of these talks<sup>97</sup>. I cannot say anything about these talks while we are actually having these discussions.

Question: Do you also share the optimism about these talks which Mr. Black has expressed in the light of the talks yesterday?

Prime Minister: Well as I may say we share Mr. Black's optimism. Well I always try to be optimistic and we approach every question in that spirit. But there are a number of rather stiff hurdles in the way. It may be that we shall be able to surmount them. Anyhow, I know that the World Bank people have worked hard at this and tried to help in every way.

Question: Is the political or financial aspect the bigger hurdle?

Prime Minister: Essentially the question has been, to begin with, an engineering problem; secondly, a financial problem, and to some extent, later a political problem. We are interested in a settlement of course which enables us to have the full supply of these waters for Rajasthan and other areas which are simply thirsting and panting for water. We have built partly canals for Rajasthan and the new big Rajasthan canal is being built at an enormous expense, naturally in the expectation of getting water from the Bhakra system. And we cannot possibly look forward to all this being done and an adequate quantity of water not coming through the canal we have built. The whole of Rajasthan is waiting for it, just counting the days.

In order to get all this we had long ago agreed, ten or eleven years ago, to give Pakistan time to build up its own inner system of link canals, etc., and for us to go on giving it the water till they had done so. That was 11 years ago, almost exactly to a day, May 1948<sup>98</sup>. Our opinion was that there was enough water in the Indus System to supply both Pakistan and India provided link

97. A delegation from the World Bank, under its President, Eugene R. Black, visited Delhi from 12 to 15 May 1959 and Karachi from 16 to 18 May 1959. (For his earlier visit in September 1958, see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 379-380, 559-563.)

98. For details of Agreement, see SWJN/SS/6/pp. 61-78.

canals and the rest were made to join up. We had little opportunity to do that. We were limited in our system here. There was some room for play but not so much while in Pakistan, there was plenty of room, rivers, link canals etc., from the huge river Indus to the other rivers. That was the first thing. Secondly, later, and the World Bank was dealing with it and they made certain proposals. We agreed to the principle of making a contribution to Pakistan with a view to enable it to build those link canals, etc. That is, in a sense, we were prepared to pay to help them to make other arrangements for the waters that were going to be progressively reduced from India. That is the basic thing. In effect we are interested in two things. One is the period, phased out period, when we can gradually stop the supply of these waters, giving time to Pakistan to build its own system. Secondly, the amount of money we should pay. These are the two major issues involved.

Question: Has Mr. Black prima facie been satisfied by those two preoccupations you mentioned, money and time?

Prime Minister: It is difficult for me to discuss this matter when we are having talks with him; but broadly speaking, the proposals he has made are financially very big and rather overwhelming in our thinking and the period is rather long.

Question: Overwhelming for India sir, or overwhelming...

Prime Minister: No. We are only concerned with what we would be called upon to pay. In that sense.....

Question: The Mangla Dam in "Azad Kashmir", has it also come into this picture?

Prime Minister: Not directly in the sense that we are concerned with as I said the payment we have to make and the period. The other matters are considered to be broadly internal to India or to Pakistan whatever they might be. But the Mangla Dam has been mentioned and the Mangla Dam or rather the place where the Mangal Dam might be constructed would involve the use of the territory of India, partly I think a small part, territory of Pakistan and the major part in India. That is in regard to the area covered by the big reservoir that would be built as a result of the Dam. You may remember that when this talk of the Mangla Dam, first came up, not before the Bank, generally in the newspapers, we protested last year to the Security Council pointing out that this was the territory of India even though it was at present occupied by Pakistan. So we

registered our protest in the Security Council.<sup>99</sup> Naturally, we cannot accept anything which takes away that right of India.

Question: Did you agree only to these canal links or to the reservoir to be built in Pakistan?

Prime Minister: The whole scheme was that there should be link canals in Pakistan. It was not up to us to say where the link canals should be made. It was their lookout. The whole scheme originally was for link canals. It was found by engineers that the link canals by themselves may not be quite adequate for one lean part of the year and therefore, there should be a reservoir. Thus, the question of the reservoir came up. As I said, it was not a question of our agreeing or not. This is internal to Pakistan, except that it may raise the financial aspect of the amount involved in it. There was one proposal which we had made at one time, you may remember, about our constructing a reservoir in India to supply them with water through a tunnel called the Marhu Tunnel, through a mountain.<sup>100</sup> This we thought would be a cheaper way of doing it but the Pakistan Government did not agree to it.

Question: Since you have mentioned the Marhu Tunnel may I raise a point in that connection? The Marhu Tunnel is entirely in India. It would enable India, if constructed, to continue to supply Pakistan what she calls her traditional supplies of water indefinitely. Secondly, I voice this purely as a hypothesis, in an article I read the other day, that if all the other attempts at an agreed settlement fail, India could still construct the Marhu Tunnel on her own initiative and continue to supply Pakistan with the waters that Pakistan claims. It may not be very satisfactory for Pakistan from the point of view of national self sufficiency but it would remove a grievance.

Prime Minister: I think you are right. After all this question has arisen because Pakistan wants her habitual supplies to be continued. The only thing really that Pakistan can say is, "Give us this quantum of water. Do not reduce it". If we make any arrangement within our own territory to give Pakistan that much of water, then there is nothing left for Pakistan really to object to except, probably as you have said, friction like "How much was supplied", "How much was not supplied", – this type of thing. The Bank's views now are that as far as possible

99. On the Mangla Dam, see SWJN/SS/39/pp.634-635 and 639.

100. See also SWJN/SS/42/p.596 and/43/pp.529-530.

future friction should be avoided so that each can shift for itself and not constantly have to say, "You have not supplied enough."

Question: In 1954, you said the principle of contributing towards the cost of construction of link canals was mentioned. Was any figure also mentioned, as to how much India will contribute because the figures of Rs.66 crores or something like that is often mentioned?<sup>101</sup>

Prime Minister: Not only was there no acceptance of any figure but there was no official figure mentioned at that level, but the figure you have mentioned was talked about by our engineers. That was their estimate.

### **Communist Party Resolution**

Should we go on to the next? We have dealt with the Communist Party Resolution.

Question: In the latest resolution, they have announced that you have been made to say certain things about Tibet under pressure from reactionaries within the Congress and outside.

Prime Minister: I do not know what you expect me to say. The Communist Party, or most members of the Communist Party, have studied in a school different from mine. I am not talking about the actual school, but the general way of thinking and language, and I have always a feeling that a number of phrases, slogans which appear with unflinching regularity in Communist Party resolutions have really lost any real meaning. They are meant to take the place of thinking. Where there is a lack of thought, out comes a slogan and a phrase. How am I to answer all that?

Question: In Mr. Dange's speech in the Lok Sabha and in the Communist Party's resolution under reference, they tried to convey to the public of this country that your policy is not fully a Cabinet policy.<sup>102</sup>

Prime Minister: Not fully a Cabinet policy? I do not understand.

101. See SWJN/SS/25/pp.344-346.

102. See item. 293, pp. 556-567. On Dange's speech in the Lok Sabha on 8 May 1959 and the CPI's resolution of 12 May 1959. Dange absolved Nehru of expansionism but accused other political parties of exploiting the Tibet episode.



Question: Colleagues in the Cabinet do not subscribe to your policy.

Prime Minister: That is quite wrong. That is completely wrong. There is no question of that. There has been no difference at all even in a small degree in the Cabinet about the policy we are pursuing. It is true that, as I have said indeed in public, some statements made in the Lok Sabha – not by the Government – chiefly by the opposition people are such that I do not agree with them. That is a different matter entirely.

Question: In regard to this question, some of the Congress journals have themselves attacked you as one who is carrying out the programme of the Communist Party in the name of the Congress.

Prime Minister: Which journal do you mention as the Congress journal? I am not aware of any such journals.

Question: I will give you weekly journal in Madras called the '*Kalki*', to which Rajaji contributes a number of articles. He has written two weeks ago, particularly about the land policy, accusing you of implementing the programme of the Communist Party of India in the name of the Congress. I can supply you a copy.

Prime Minister: Well, "*Kalki*" is a very reputable journal, which I respect, but it is hardly representative of Congress thinking, and Mr. Rajagopalachari, whom we revere greatly and love, also can hardly be said to represent the Congress view point.

Question: Have you agreed to some truce? (Laughter)

Prime Minister: There can be no question of a truce, because truce can take place only between two warring factions – not one-sided attacks and arguments. There is going to be no fighting on our side. Now, you are raising the question of land, etc. As a matter of fact, it has always been a surprise to me why some people have grown rather excited over our land policy. If they go back to the twenties and thirties they will find Gandhiji talking in those terms. If they look and see what Vinobaji says, they will find him talking much more than we have done. That has been the background of the Congress long before the Communist Party was really heard of in India.

## Nehru-Noon Agreement

Prime Minister: Then we go on to the next item. Somebody said about repudiation of this Nehru-Noon Agreement.<sup>103</sup>

Question: There is a report in one of the Delhi papers that Pakistan after having got over the territories under the Nehru-Noon agreement is now suggesting that because of lack of ratification the agreement is no longer valid, and is trying to go back upon it.

Prime Minister: I do not know anything about it. I saw that report. I do not know anything about it. An exchange has taken place already in part fulfillment of that agreement. The exchange is rather on a relatively small scale, and the exchange, although it was Pakistan giving us something, and we handing something to Pakistan, it was somewhat in favour of Pakistan – in regard to territory I mean, although not much territory – is involved. But the other issues remained, and if Pakistan takes up a particular attitude, we shall have to consider that.

Question: That report says that the Pakistan Government has taken exception to our referring the question of the Berubari union to the opinion of the Supreme Court – it is that which vitiates our understanding of that subject.

Prime Minister: May be, the present Pakistan Government does not understand the intricacies of Constitutional law. We have to function within the limits of our Constitution and our laws. What we have referred to the Supreme Court is not that agreement at all, but how should we give effect to it so that it might not be challenged in a court of law later. That is what we have referred. Otherwise it might have been challenged, and it is better to dispose of it. There are various ways of doing it. One is the executive way. That is, the Government takes action. The second is the legislative way. That is, Parliament passes an Act, normal Act. The third is the way involving a change in the Constitution which is also of course a legislative way but a much more complicated legislative way because you change the Constitution. So, because of doubts cast as to what the right course should be we thought that instead of waiting for the matter to be argued in the Supreme Court later we might as well ask them for their advice to begin with.

103. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 547-558.

Question: General Ayub Khan has again repeated his offer of an understanding with India. Subsequent to your statement in Parliament.<sup>104</sup>

Prime Minister: It is always good to hear that (laughter). But at the moment we have not quite got over the Canberra incident apart from other things.<sup>105</sup>

Question: Apart from these reports, has any proposal of meeting with you or negotiations with India been conveyed by the President of Pakistan?

Prime Minister: No. There has been no formal or informal suggestion to that effect.

Question: In Parliament it was said sometime back that you made representations to Pakistan about Takergram but no reply has been received. Has any reply been received now?

Prime Minister: I don't think so as far as I can remember. Then somebody asked me about the Vietnam Commission. I gather that a report has just been issued by the Commission. I have not seen that report, although I know the general situation. It is that the Commission has not made much progress towards the objective laid down for it in the Geneva Conference. It has done one very useful thing and a very important thing. It has prevented conflict between North and South Vietnam. And I believe they say in their report that if the Commission ceases to exist, gradually the situation might drift into one of conflict—actual conflict. In other words, the Commission has to carry on.

## South Africa

Then your next question was about the South African Minister's speech. I have not got the speech before me, but broadly it seemed to say that we should have diplomatic relations and accept directly or indirectly the present position in

104. Ayub Khan's words, to newsmen in Hyderabad (Sind) on 17 April 1959, were: "realism should dictate India to have better relations with Pakistan for better relations between India and Pakistan would help their development and prosperity"

105. On 10 April 1959 Pakistan Army shot down an Indian Air Force Canberra, near Gujarkhan, 30 miles from Rawalpindi, which was on a routine flight.

South Africa in regard to Indians, in regard to apartheid and the rest.<sup>106</sup> One thing is quite clear that we cannot accept any policy of apartheid. We cannot directly do anything to it, but we think that it is such a basically wrong thing, a violation of all civilised governments and canons as well as of the United Nations Charter that we cannot accept it, and our policy therefore has to be framed on a non-acceptance of that.

Question: Diplomatic relations apart, has there been any proposal at all about the resumption of trade with South Africa?

Prime Minister: There have been no talks with the Government of the Union of South Africa on that subject. I do not think there were any talks – and there is no prospect of that either. What happens is – and often enough – that people go round these restrictions by sending goods through some intermediate port of call.

### Domestic Politics

Next, somebody asked me about the proposed Orissa coalition. So far as I know, the proposal for a coalition is a proposal for the Ganatantra Party to accept wholly the Congress policy, programme and objectives, our election programme and in particular the Nagpur Resolutions and also our foreign policy. So there is no coalition on the basis of any different programme, but on the basis of the Congress programme itself and the desire to work that programme jointly and fully.<sup>107</sup>

Question: Was that finally approved by the Congress High Command?

Prime Minister: I could not say. I am not a member of the Parliamentary Board to which it has been referred. But I gather that they were broadly favourable to it.

106. On 5 May 1959, Eric Louw, the South African External Affairs Minister, had proposed that India should take the initiative.

107. After the State Congress government was defeated in the Legislative Assembly on 23 February 1959, the Congress-Ganatantra Parishad coalition ministry, headed by H . K. Mahtab, was sworn in on 22 May 1959.

Question: In respect of Kerala, the Congress intended, along with the PSP and the Muslim league to oust the Communist party there.

Prime Minister: No, I do not think there is any coalition at any time there. There is a strong feeling among the opposition parties in Kerala against the present Government. That feeling is derived from certain common events and certain separate happenings. But there is a strong feeling certainly, and because they happen to be in the opposition well, to some extent, sometimes it appears that they are functioning more or less on the same lines. But the reasoning is somewhat different. In particular matters, they may cooperate.

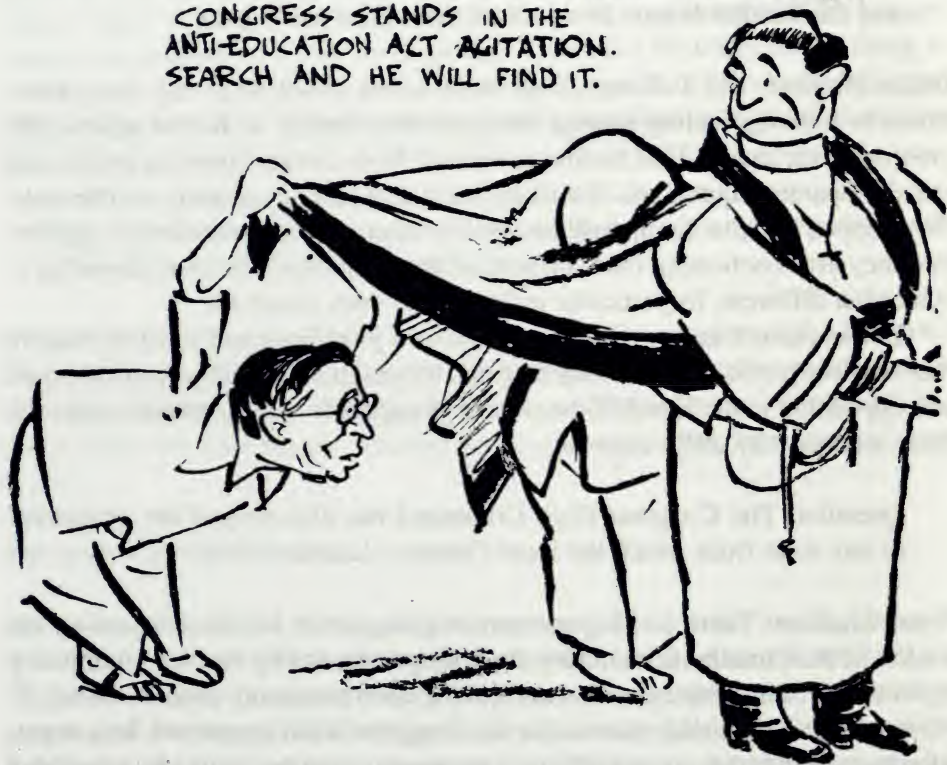
But as far as I know, there is no kind of a joint front and in some matters they may cooperate, in others they may not, the major issue being one of criticism and opposition to the Kerala Government in regard to various matters although those matters may differ *inter se*.

Question: The Congress High Command has discouraged the promotion of any joint front which the local Congress leaders desire.

Prime Minister: There is a big movement going on in Kerala now led by the leaders of the Christian community, the bishops, etc. and by the Nair community against parts of this Education Act and calling upon people not to open schools.<sup>108</sup> Now, with this particular movement the Congress is not connected. In a sense, what happened is this, an individual Congressman may be, let us say, a manager of a school. He may act in his individual capacity but the Congress is not taking any part so far as I know in this campaign that the schools should not be opened, but it does not come in the way of an individual Congressman involved in it from acting as he thinks best. The Congress is more concerned with political and economic issues and issues in regard to civil liberties and the like. And I imagine is that what they want is to carry on a peaceful public agitation, drawing the attention of the public to what they consider are the failings of the Kerala Government. So they move in different lines although in some places they may converge, may meet, it does not matter.

108. Under this Act, the Government on 16 April 1959 prohibited students and teachers from participation in any agitation against the State; ordered that moral instruction in schools should in no way wound the moral or religious susceptibilities of the pupils; disallowed use of public funds for religious instruction; and gave power for selection of all teachers by the public service commission.

E.M.S. WANTS TO KNOW WHERE THE KERALA CONGRESS STANDS IN THE ANTI-EDUCATION ACT AGITATION. SEARCH AND HE WILL FIND IT.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 24 MAY 1959)

Question: Regarding the Ganatantra Parishad coalition, when we find that even older Congress leaders like Prof. Ranga<sup>109</sup> and others do not wholeheartedly agree with the Nagpur Resolution<sup>110</sup>, do you feel that these rulers, who have been all along opposed to the socialist policy, will wholeheartedly implement the Nagpur resolution and the Congress policy?

Prime Minister: The Ganatantra Parishad is something more than the rulers. It is an organisation in the territory of these old rulers whose territory consists

109. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

110. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 11-12 and 148.

chiefly of Adivasis, a very backward area where there had been, till Independence, no political life of any kind. Nobody was admitted there. It is a very special type of area and therefore one must not look upon it as a land with merely some old rulers, ex-rulers, but rather with certain people who do at the present moment represent the adivasis – an important section, very important. Secondly the Ganatantra Parishad – what it has in its mind and heart – I cannot say; but for the last several years, not only the last general elections but the one before that too, I think it has talked in terms of socialism. In fact, it has sometimes criticised the Congress for not going far enough towards socialism. That is what they have said. It is true that when they said that in the past I criticised them for saying something which they did not mean, which I did not expect them to mean. Therefore, prima facie there is no conflict in what they have said, and I take their word for it and I respect their word when they say they believe a thing and act up to it.

Question: Is it not a fact that in Orissa where the States People's movement was so strong that one of the States, Nilgiris, had to abandon its administration, and it was after the integration of States in Orissa an agitation was started. There are still States People's who are there in the Congress who are opposed to this coalition with the old Rulers.

Prime Minister: I do not think the States People's movement was ever strong in Orissa. What happened once or twice was big upheavals, once particularly a big upheaval and they surrounded the Ruler's palace, and there was shooting and all kinds of thing happened. The British Resident came down. It was not an organised movement. What has influenced us considerably in the matter of coalition is the fact that the Congress legislature or party there has decided in favour of it unanimously without a single member dissenting. At the meeting of the organisation, the Pradesh Congress Committee, ninety seven people attending, five I think or may be six persons opposed it and over 90 supported it, including every representative, Congress representative from the districts, from these Adivasi areas, so that there was such a tremendous body of support from those areas, of Congressmen too that it would have been, unless high principles were involved, it would mean an interference from the top coming in their way when they want to function in a way. It is true that a few old Congressmen had not approved of this but as far as I know there are very few. The great majority has agreed.

*"Lead, Kindly Logic!"*



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 17 MAY 1959)



**Miscellaneous**

Question: Whether Mr. Chester Bowles<sup>111</sup> has somewhere suggested that a meeting between General Ayub Khan and you might be useful at this time?

Prime Minister: Chester Bowles has suggested that a meeting with Mr. Ayub Khan and me might be useful. I rather doubt it, at the present moment. Meetings themselves do not yield results unless the situations, circumstances and everything has been brought to a certain pitch from which results flow.

Well, one or two more subjects. One is the Durgapur Steel Works, what about that?

Question: What about the rumors that a part of the foundations had collapsed. Have you tried to find out anything on facts about it from Dr. B.C. Roy?<sup>112</sup>

Prime Minister: I have had some information on it, not very accurate. Well, foundations had not actually been laid yet but it is true some piles were put in on which the foundations would be laid and so the piles were found not to go deep down enough, not strong enough and so they have to dig them out and make them push them down further and put something underneath them. Very unfortunate and not something to be praised by those who did it, not a very commendable work at all.

Question: There are supposed to be some consultants also to whom we are paying some fabulous sums. What are they supposed to be doing?

Prime Minister: As I said it is not something very creditable to those who have done the work. I do not know who has done it, who exactly has done it, all kinds of contractors, sub-contractors, what not. Anyhow the people who did it have had to undertake to re-do it at their own cost.

Then the last question put to me was something about the possibility of a judicial enquiry into Mr. Mathai's case.<sup>113</sup>

111. Former US Ambassador to India and a member of the U.S. Congress at this time.

112. Chief Minister of West Bengal.

113. M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to Nehru, resigned on 12 January 1959 after charges of corruption appeared in the press, especially about the creation of the Chechamma Trust, named after his mother. See also SWJN/SS/46/pp. 374-391 and 663-668.

The question of a judicial enquiry into his case had at no time arisen. When this matter came up in Parliament and elsewhere, I said that I shall have the facts ascertained by a competent authority. I have had that done and I have had that vetted by the Finance Minister<sup>114</sup> and the Comptroller and Auditor-General,<sup>115</sup> and I have looked into it myself. And I have reported it to the Speaker and to the Chairman of the Houses of Parliament. And they have laid these papers before Parliament, and there the matter ends, all that had to be said about that particular series of events.<sup>116</sup>

Question: According to newspaper reports Mr. Mathai is going abroad and spending about four months there. Is the Government giving him enough foreign exchange?

Prime Minister: This is the first time I have heard of it. I have not even seen that newspaper report; I do not know anything about it. To my knowledge he had not asked for foreign exchange.

Question: About this Mathai affair I suggested it as an item to be inscribed on the agenda of this press conference. My question is about your refusal to order a judicial probe into this affair. Does it not betray some sense of weakness on the part of the Government to face the facts before a judicial commission? And do you not feel that departmental enquiry is no substitute for a judicial enquiry and that your reluctance will increase public suspicion all the more on this point?

Prime Minister: I do not understand all this business; it is a very simple affair.

Question: It is not so simple as you think that, Sir.

Prime Minister: I am very sorry if you are unable to see the light. If you prefer to live in darkness I cannot throw light into your mind. It is an exceedingly simple affair.

Question: But if you can go to the cafes and restaurants, public places you would have known yourself?

114. Morarji Desai.

115. Asok Kumar Chanda.

116. On 8 May 1959, Nehru told Parliament that a committee under Vishnu Sahay (Cabinet Secretary) had exonerated Mathai and that he accepted its conclusions.

Prime Minister: I know that just as the Government of India is not carried on in the cafes and restaurants of Delhi.

Question: The biggest movements start from there, sir?

Prime Minister: Many have collapsed having started. (laughter)

Question: I just turn back to the incident at the Durgapur Steel Works. It is a different thing that happened there. I just wanted to ask whether there was any danger of the completion of the works being delayed by this incident, whether it could be made good without damage to the final programme.

Prime Minister: Well, there is bound to be delay because you have to re-do something. Whether they can catch up on the delay or not, I cannot say. They may catch of course, but for the moment something has to be redone naturally.

Question: I take it that Mr. Mathai is a free man. Will there be a ban on his fulfilling his desire to face public glare? And secondly, is there any ban on an ex-Government servant taking the originals or copies of the correspondence they had dealt with while in service?

Prime Minister: Is there any ban? Well, I don't remember as to what the rules are, but surely no ex-Government servant has a right to use any confidential papers without permission from the Government. With permission of course; for instance Mr. V.P. Menon, he took our permission to use some papers when he wrote his book.<sup>117</sup> There is no ban on Mr. Mathai and he can do what he likes unless it concerns Government in any way or Government papers; then naturally he should take permission.

Now there is one thing you might be interested that I should tell you that is about oil exploration and all that. You know that an Oil Commission was appointed, I think, some two years ago, or may be more. It is now proposed – we have decided to have a statutory Commission because work has grown so much that it is difficult to deal with it under the normal restrictions which normally apply to Government work. Therefore we want to have a statutory Commission which will have far greater authority in dealing with this matter, appointments, etc. Of course that can only be done by reference to Parliament;

117. *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1956) and *The Transfer of Power in India* (London: Longman, Green, 1957).

that may be taken at the next session. Meanwhile, within the limits of the law we wish to give much greater authority to the present Commission to function.

Question: Sir, the Chairman of the Commission at the moment is the Minister of Oil. Do we take it when a statutory commission is formed, we will have the Minister or a different man as its Chairman?

Prime Minister: We do not approve of the Minister or a Secretary to be connected with such Commissions except temporarily to set it going. When Mr. Keshava Deva Malaviya became the Chairman, it was understood, that it was a temporary arrangement. In fact, we think further that where technical work is concerned, normally technical people should conduct it as Chairman, as members rather than pure administrators.

Question: Will the Ministry be subsequently abolished?

Prime Minister: Ministry? There is no question of abolishing any Ministry. The Ministry is doing, has done extraordinarily good work. I would say that the Ministry and the Commission and all those engaged in it have done more in the last two or three years in regard to oil exploration than many of the countries in the last decade or two. I am not talking about the big countries. I am talking of the smaller countries who have trained up hundreds of men and women sometimes and doing this work of exploration, exploitation etc. We have built up a good organisation. While we have been somewhat slow occasionally, it is the lack of equipment, lack of drills. We have got the men now. We hope to get these drills now and proceed much faster.

Question: Does it mean any change in policy, that is, the private companies who are making some attractive offers for prospecting oil. Do you think their offers will not be considered?

Prime Minister: No. Our broad policy is that we give naturally primary importance to the work being done under state auspices. But we do not rule out private prospecting, exploration etc. and we are prepared to consider such offers. It will depend on the terms of the offer, whether we consider these terms attractive enough because we should remember that India is a big country and there is a vast scope for exploration all over. Naturally, we as a Government will continue in the best fields that we think are the best fields, and to the utmost of our capacity we will work there, but we cannot cover the whole of India for a long, long time. Therefore, we are prepared to consider such offers, subject always

to the terms being acceptable.

There is another decision we have made, or rather the beginnings of a decision, i.e., to form a State organisation for distribution of oil in a small way. That is, we are not interfering in the major distributing works or agencies here. But we do wish to begin in a small way and see our way later. For the present, we really are going to form this distributing company and work out schemes etc. But the position is this. You will remember, that in the course of a year or two we shall be producing oil, a fair quantity of oil, that is through our own refineries. We are producing oil of course, in Assam and also there are refineries in Bombay and other places. But we shall be producing oil under State auspices and from our own refineries. And we shall be consuming oil, of course. So far that part, I am not talking about the others, we are the producers and we are the consumers. In fact, the Government is a big consumer of course. Now, there seems to be no particular reason why somebody else should push himself in between when both, the producer and the consumer, is the Government. But we have no present intention of doing this on any wide scale. We want to do it in a small way, chiefly providing for Governmental requirements or may be in certain specified areas come to an agreement with those at present dealing with this oil business. All this is not decided. All that we have done is to form a company and then deal with this matter in a way after full enquiries etc.

Question: Will you be importing kerosene oil of which there is a big shortage all over the country through this distributing agency?

Prime Minister: I do not know what we will do in the future. For the present we are concerned with the stuff that we will produce ourselves, in two years time.

Question: Would you consider it as a matter of top priority to divert resources to this distributing agency when the money is not available for more important schemes?

Prime Minister: I do not quite understand your question. As I said, we are looking into the future when we are going to produce and we are not for the present dealing with the imported articles or the stuff that is being produced now, let us say in Assam. When our State refinery is refining something that we produce, and the State itself is a very big consumer, it seems very odd that somebody else should come in between and profit between one agency of the State and another. And that is a matter of economics. Obviously, oil business is a profitable business. Obviously the distribution business is a profitable business, but at the same time, it requires experience, it may require investment and all

that. We have to go into that carefully to decide how far we will go, when we will go there. We do not propose to jump in a big way. We propose to start in a relatively small way and then feel our position.

Question: Would you give us the figures of governmental consumption of oil?

Prime Minister: Off-hand? Ten per cent. Strictly off-hand. (Laughter)

Question: I raised the question because do you think our this ten per cent participation in an industry, which is in monopolist hands of foreign agencies, you will be able to make any effect on that trade?

Prime Minister: Oh, yes. Ten per cent has the capacity to become 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 100 per cent. The mere fact that we are in it gives a certain feeling. We get to know it first of all, and then if any unfavorable terms are offered by someone, we would say "Thank you. We ourselves will do it", we are in a much better position to deal with the situation.

Question: Cannot the object be gained by exercising greater control over the existing machinery of distribution?

Prime Minister: We shall also do that; thank you.

## 18. At Delhi: Press Conference—II<sup>118</sup>

### KERALA

Question: You have said that a dangerous situation is developing in Kerala. Do you think will the centre intervene? It is like a civil war.

Prime Minister: It is hardly a question. It is a kind of manifesto that you asked. Only about three or four days ago, I issued a statement about Kerala and said a good deal in it.<sup>119</sup> There are, what might be called, the immediate causes of this tension there and there are the more distant causes. I mentioned the distant

118. 10 June 1959. From PIB Files. Also available in JN Collection.

119. On 6 June 1959 at Coimbatore, Nehru appealed for peace to all parties in Kerala and said he was prepared to go there. E. M. S. Namboodripad welcomed Nehru's appeal but doubted whether his visit would be useful. See item 44, pp. 262-265.

causes. I have nothing to add to it except to say that I am particularly disturbed at the communal element that has been brought into this, what might have been a political conflict. I should like to say quite clearly that I am entirely opposed to any kind of picketing of schoolboys, there or anywhere. Well, that is all I have to say about Kerala.

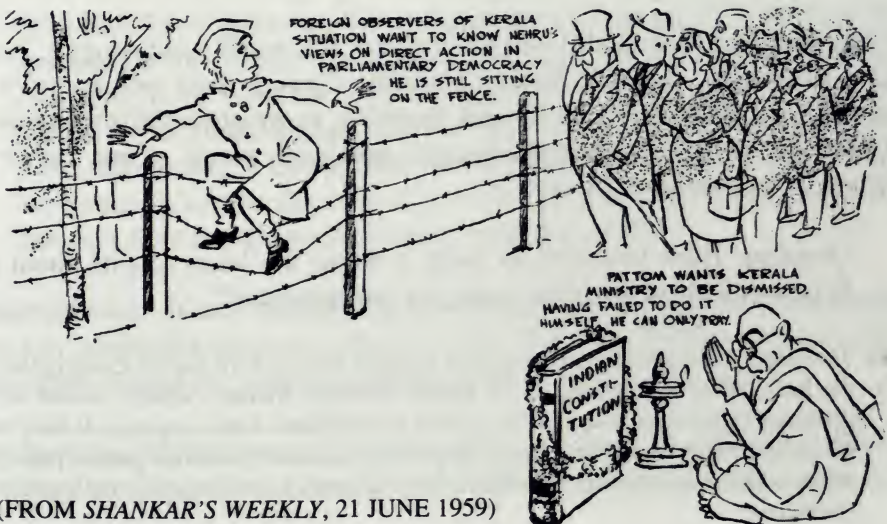
Question: As the Prime Minister and the leader of the Congress Party, how far do you think it is justified for a non-violent agitation to be started against a lawfully constituted Government not in regard to any particular act of its, but in regard to its continuance in office? And, how is it different from other movements led by Dr. Lohia & others, which the Congress government has condemned elsewhere.

Prime Minister: I do not know which movement you are referring to?

Correspondent: The Kerala Congress charge-sheet.

Prime Minister: It is always open to any party to make a list of their charges or the things they object to. In so far as that is concerned, I don't see, in theory, anything objectionable about it, except that such things may develop along right lines or wrong lines. There is always that risk. That is why, in my statement, I laid the greatest stress on that aspect.

Question: You can have a General Election to throw that party out of power. Now what is that the Congress envisages in Kerala? It envisages an agitation



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 21 JUNE 1959)

to pull down a Government outside the parliamentary constitution. Do you concede that or not?

Prime Minister: Well, the situation in Kerala has got mixed up because there are different parties with different objectives or positions. That, I believe, has been said by those people who are opposing the Kerala Government, not the Congress people, I mean the others and in so far as that is concerned, your criticism would be justified. I do not think that is the position of the Congress as such. The difficulty there is, as I pointed out, a certain feeling has grown in the last two or three years, of unfair dealing and, layer upon layer it has come up. I am not justifying it. That is my analysis of the situation; but that is the feeling –how far it is justifiable or not is another matter – but in a large section of the people there is a strong feeling that they don't get a square deal. I have laid great stress in my last statement, very much, on purely democratic processes to change the Government in the normal way, because I have said if this not done, there will be no democracy left. It is all very well to be nice and charming to a person who is nice and charming to you. It is easily done. It is all very well to be tolerant of persons who agree with you. The test comes when you are nice and charming to people who are not nice and charming to you, or when you are tolerant of things that you don't like. That is the test of tolerance, not just tolerating what you like. Everybody can tolerate what one likes.

Question: Do you agree that the struggle in Kerala is part of the world wide struggle that is going on between Communism and Roman Catholicism and the Congress is joining the Roman Catholics?

Prime Minister: First of all I was not aware of this world wide struggle. It is a fact, of course, that the Roman Catholic Church does not approve of communism. That is well known and, therefore, its weight is thrown against it. But to talk about a worldwide struggle going on, seems to me, rather an imaginary extension of the fact.

Question: Have you tried to study or know the latest reports about the Pope's bull about anybody voting for communism?<sup>120</sup>

120. The *Osservatore Romano* announced on 13 April 1959 that the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office had decreed on 25 March 1959 that Roman Catholics would not be permitted to give their votes to "any parties or candidates who co-operate de facto with the communists and support them by their actions, even if they do not profess principles which contrast with Roman Catholic doctrine or attribute to themselves the qualities of Christians."



Prime Minister: I saw some headlines the other day. Nevertheless I say it is slightly an exaggeration to talk about this. There are many conflicts on the ideological plane going on in the world. It is one of them, but to give it the status of a worldwide struggle is an exaggeration I think. As for Kerala, it is true – there is no doubt about it – that the Catholic organisations there or the Bishops there, have taken a strong part in this agitation against the present Government. There is no doubt about it. The Congress has certainly not lined up with them but I think what has happened is this that a number of Congressmen who happened to be Catholics also are pulled in two directions. To that extent may be so, as individuals, not as an organisation.

Question: There are two most disciplined organisations in the world – the Catholic Church and the Communist Party – and they are fighting all over the world.

Prime Minister: They have been differing, I would say.

Question: And both these organisations have vast resources at their beck and call. The Catholics can get whatever they like in the name of religion and education and the Communists, they can, but if they are found out they are called traitors. So I feel this not fair for the Congress to be in this game of the Catholics versus the Communists.

Prime Minister: Absolutely. I agree with you completely. (Laughter)

Question: The impression that one gathers from papers as a result of the speeches of the Kerala Congress leaders has been that what they are attempting to do is not merely presenting a charge sheet and educating the people for the forthcoming polls, but they are starting a movement to pull down from power, a Government which is existing with the support of the legislature. Whatever the view of the High Command, that is the impression one gets from the statement of the Congress leaders.

Prime Minister: It may be that in the excitement of the moment some people may have delivered speeches of that type. Our friends in Kerala, whatever party they might belong to, sometimes speak and act rather excitedly.

Question: Would you at this moment discourage any movement in Kerala the aim of which is to bring down the Ministry by unconstitutional means?

Prime Minister: I am opposed to unconstitutional means anyhow, at any time, because once you adopt them in one place they will be justified in other contexts. You cannot judge things by minus means. If we have a democratic apparatus, it should function democratically.<sup>121</sup>

Question: When you describe that there are forces of communal back-up, could you tell us who is backing the communal forces? There are clearly two parties – the Government or the Communists and the Congress. Who is backing which communal party?

Prime Minister: At the present moment the party or the group that is making a lot of noise, is the party which is, I suppose, the combination of Mr. Padmanabhan's Nair Service Society and the Catholic Organisations.

Question: But they are with the Congress.

Prime Minister: That is not at all correct. You may say, as I just said, that some Congressmen, because they are Catholics, are pulled in that direction or they may have a general sympathy for any movement against the Government because they are against the Government. That is a different matter. You must not confuse the issue, but they certainly are not in line or supporting the agitation of that group.

Question: Sir, in various other States you have called upon Congressmen to resign if they are with the Communal party. But in Kerala when the question came, why did you not ask the Congressmen to resign from the communal party?

Prime Minister: I do not know which communal party in Kerala you refer to from which they should resign.

Question: The Nair service society, the Catholic Church.

121. KPCC leaders announced plans to join other Opposition parties in an agitation against the Communist government of Kerala. After the State-wide hartal of 12 June 1959, the Opposition parties planned to continue the agitation until the Communist government fell.

Prime Minister: The Catholic Church is not a communal party. It is much more than that. It is a major religious group. I might as well ask people to resign from being Hindus or Muslims. That is rather a tall order. I have not asked people to resign, for instance, from the Arya Samaj, which has been functioning in a very communal way. We did not ask for it, because I thought they were just misguided and they might turn to right path.

Question: If the Congressman turns out and talks in the name of Hindu Mahasabha or Akali Dal or something else, it would be communal and you will have to ask him to resign. If a Congressman joins the Hindu Mahasabha and comes out in the name of the Hindu Mahasabha, or if a Congressman joins the Catholic Church.....

Prime Minister: There are some organisations which are acknowledged to be communal. In fact we put them down. In the old days, there was the Hindu Mahasabha, there was the Muslim league and there was the Akali Organisation – four or five organisations and they were admitted to be communal. No Congressman could be a member of them and at the same time remain in the Congress.

But there are a number of organisations which, though in effect communal, put on a garb of non-communalism and it becomes a little difficult, therefore, to go on making a list of every organization. So, all one can say is that one should keep away from communal politics. There are plenty of communal organisations in the North and as I said, the communalism of the north is somewhat different from that of the south as far as I can see.

Question: May I ask one question? You said if we have a democratic apparatus, it would function democratically. Do you think the Kerala Government is not functioning democratically or the Communist Party is inherently incapable of functioning democratically?

Prime Minister: Nobody is inherently incapable of being good. (laughter) But it is true that the Communist Party's normal tradition is not that of democracy. I do think that it is quite conceivable – and in fact it is happening – that, as circumstances change, these practices and ways also change. To think of these things in rigid patterns is not right.

As for the first thing you asked, I mean the question about Kerala specifically, that is what I stated in my statement, that is a feeling among a large section of people there, of unfair treatment, that is of different groups and parties, partiality shown and all that. That is so, of course. If there was a definite open

breach with democratic purposes – I mean to say about rules and regulations according to the Constitution – that would raise a constitutional issue, which can be dealt with as such, but you cannot deal with other matters which do not involve a breach of the Constitution.

Now, let us go on to some other subject, otherwise we will get trapped up in this. Next is Laos.

Question: What is your view about the Kerala Government's decision to raise a Special Police Force?

Prime Minister: It is very difficult to give any particular view because a Special Police Force may well be justified and is justified in special circumstances. It depends upon how you raise it, with what purpose. I cannot say that a Special Police Force should not be raised. It may be necessary anywhere. But if it is raised wrongly, and with a wrong motive, that is a different thing.

Question: This outside agitation which is a coalition of the Congress and the Muslim league and other parties, how would you think, they are going outside the Constitution to bring the Government down. What are your hopes? How are you going to bring them down?

The second part of the question is this. If you succeed in bringing this Government down or even if you succeed in injuring the Government, do not you anticipate repercussion on Congress Governments by Communists in other States such as West Bengal?

Prime Minister: That is too long and too old a question. It had been put to and answered many, many times. But so far as I am concerned, I do not propose, intend, look forward to or expect Governments to fall down except through normal democratic processes.

Question: Another question. The Kerala Industries Minister.....

Prime Minister: Let us go to another subject.

## LAOS

Prime Minister: Well, now about Laos. What do you want to know about Laos?

Question: I just want to know your views about the situation in Laos.

Prime Minister: It is unsatisfactory.<sup>122</sup>

Question: Since Britain has rejected the suggestion about reconvening the commission, what is your view about it?

Prime Minister: For ourselves, we, unfortunately, accepted certain responsibilities in Indo-China as Chairman of the Commission, and it is a difficult and an embarrassing task. But I would like to go back to the Geneva Conference which resulted in these agreements and which resulted in the stoppage of the Indo-Chinese war and in these agreements. What was the basis of those agreements? The basis was that in the Indo-China States there should, as far as possible, be no cold war, that is, these States should keep, as far as possible, out of the purview of cold war and of alliances with the major powers in the world and with major Blocs in the world. That was the basis – a practical basis, not a theoretical one – because the moment one major party started pulling in one direction, it was feared that the other would pull in the other, and immediately there would be a conflict there, because both were present – the major parties. Of course, any country can sympathise. That is a different matter. But the moment there is this cold war intrusion of the Great Powers there, the balance is upset, and the other party is likely to push in. Therefore, it was thought that this area of Indo-China should be kept out of this type of conflict. This was the basis of that agreement, and to a large extent, it was stated in the text of the agreements, though not wholly of course. But this does not mean that the people have no views. Of course, they have views. They should, by and large, keep unaligned with Blocs. That was the idea of the Indo-China agreements. Now, in so far as that was done, there was peace in Indo-China, and in so far as that balance was upset by something, trouble came. Even when trouble came, the fact of the existence of the International Commissions was a somewhat sobering factor, a somewhat balancing factor, a factor which prevented too much going in one direction and all that – what were they? They

122. Three international commissions, one each for Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, headed by India as Chairman, had been established in 1954 by the Geneva Agreements of 21 July 1954. In 1957, Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister of Laos, and Souphannou Vong, the leader of the communist Pathet Lao, agreed to integrate the Pathet Lao into the Laotian Army, other Pathet Lao officials into the civil service, that the Pathet Lao would be represented in the National Assembly with 21 seats, and to cease hostilities. However, conflict did not end, leading to disagreements between the British and Soviet governments on the enforcement of the Geneva Agreement, and the Commission on Laos could not function. See also SWJN/SS/40/pp. 627.

had no executive authority – the International Commissions. They were only an observer group who could request the Government for information etc. They did not come in the way, at all, of the independence of the Government.

Now what has been happening, unfortunately, in some of the Indo-China States is this: outside pulls become stronger and stronger on various sides, and therefore, these problems arise. It is a long story of many years. In Laos itself it took a long, long time for the agreement to be accepted, and there was an argument as to what came first – whether recognition by the Pathet Lao of the Royal Laotian Government and handing over two provinces to them or the absorption of their army – whether a political agreement came first or a military agreement, that was the argument. I will not go into that. It is too complicated. Ultimately with great difficulty and certainly with the help of the International Commission some way out was found and there were elections held<sup>123</sup> and things appeared to be moving in the right direction, though slowly. Then other difficulties have arisen. Parliament has stopped functioning or rather, I don't know what has happened to it, but it is not functioning. And although the Parliament is composed of two large groups – I forget the number – 55-45 or something like that – pretty large groups – and the opposition was about 45 or something like that. So we thought that in these circumstances the presence of the International Commission would exercise a soothing influence. They could do nothing else. Obviously that Commission could not meet without the permission of the Laotian Government. You cannot impose a Commission on a Government. It was never India's proposal that the Commission should meet in spite of the Laotian Government and against its will. Our proposal was that advice should be given to the Laotian Government to agree to have this Commission, which I have no doubt whatever, would have exercised a soothing influence on the situation. The situation may remain where it is in a state of tension, or the tension may go up and create more difficulties. One does not know, but it is never safe to live on a brink of this type. Therefore, we wanted to help in drawing away from the brink there. If one likes living on the brink, we are helpless in the matter.

Question: What are your views about the incidents there? Certain incidents are mentioned in the dispatches circulated by the Viet-Minh Government Embassy.<sup>124</sup>

123. On 4 May 1958, to fill the 21 seats in Laotian National Assembly.

124. On 30 May 1959 Hanoi Radio reported armed clashes between the Laotian Government troops and the Pathet Lao.

Prime Minister: I don't know which incidents you are referring to. There are minor incidents happening frequently there from time to time and there is some difficulty in the process of absorbing the Pathet Lao army into the Royal Laotian army. Part of it was taken in and part was not. A part escaped. All kinds of things happened. Then there was the Leader of the Pathet Laos.<sup>125</sup> First of all, as I said, the Parliament there was adjourned sine die – I don't know what the exact procedure was – although it has been elected and power was given to the present Government or group. The opposition leaders, some of them at least, were under house arrest. I don't know which incidents you are referring to.

Question: Are you disappointed that Britain has recommended to Russia that the commission should be withdrawn?

Prime Minister: Withdrawn from where?

Question: That it should not be reconvened.

Prime Minister: Well, if one's advice is not accepted, one does not shout with joy. It was our firm advice, it was our well-considered advice and it is still our advice, with all the knowledge that we have of the circumstances and we have a great deal of knowledge, having functioned as Chairman. That advice is based on this fundamental thing that the Indo-China region must be kept out of the cold war techniques and action. If it is brought in, well, things will be bad for everybody and every step taken from the cold war point of view, there, is a step away from peace.

### **Life Insurance Corporation**

Prime Minister: There is nothing much left for me or anyone to say after these repeated inquiries, not much, precious little room is left for anyone to express his own opinion or even for Government to express. We get more and more tied up by reports and inquiries and recommendations which are the only way to know them whether you like them or not. There the matter ends. If you want to ask me if I am enamoured of the decision of the Public Service Commission, I am not. But there is such a thing as a certain tradition, a certain practice and certain finality to things. We cannot go on for ever, referring backwards and

125. Souphanouvong.

forwards. So, in the balance we accepted that. There the matter ends. There is nothing else that can be done about it.<sup>126</sup>

Question: Then nobody is to be blamed?

Prime Minister: There may be somebody to blame or everybody to blame slightly or whatever it was. I think that looking at all these reports, one would say that while a number of people were to blame, in no case was that blame, if I may use the word, of a criminal type. The blame was really of acting in a hurry, acting without adequate thought or consultation. But I do not think that any party, any one there, was personally, in the sense of corruption, if you like to put it that way, to blame at all. But there were a series of incidents happening uncoordinated, unthought out carefully, and leading, therefore, to some loss. If those very things that happened and there had been no loss, the procedures will be exactly the same as it was with some loss, some loss in the sense of market-value of shares, no dead loss. But anyhow the matter has been gone through. I do not think it is correct to say that there are, as people have said, secret facts hidden from the public. Nothing after all these inquiries is really left to enquire about. You can judge for yourself, balance the facts. As for Government, it has been through this process of inquiry three times with varying results. It was very difficult for it not to accept, in so far as those two persons were concerned, the last opinion, that is the Public Service Commission, because it is very, very rare that Government goes against them in such matters.

Question: When nobody is to blame, will Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>127</sup> come back?

Prime Minister: There is no question of Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari coming back. He is a very able man. If the state requires his services and if he is willing, he will take up the job. There is no question as if he had been suspended from the Finance Ministry.

126. On 31 May 1959, the Government of India rejected the main findings of the Vivian Bose Board of Inquiry on the transaction which led the LIC to purchase for over Rs. 1.26 crores the shares of six concerns of Haridas Mundhra in June 1957. In a resolution released simultaneously with the Board and the UPSC reports, the Government while accepting the advice of the UPSC, decided to drop the charges against H. M. Patel, former Principal Finance Secretary, and to censure G. R. Kamat, the Former Chairman of the LIC. Both of them, along with L. S. Vaidyanathan, the Managing Director of the LIC, handled the transaction. The Case of Vaidyanathan was referred to the Corporation.

127. Former Union Finance Minister.



Question: But he was blamed?

Prime Minister: I know. I have all along said that he was wrongly blamed from the very first day. I still hold to that opinion, firmly and clearly.

Question: From the policy holders' point of view half the money which was invested in Mundhra's concerns has gone down the drain. Two of the companies have gone into liquidation. Some of the shares are still to be verified and registered. Who will take responsibility for it, the Government?

Prime Minister: Considering that the LIC is Government, the policy holders do not lose a rupee or a cent or anything. They get everything they had bargained for. Obviously, the Government is behind the LIC. If any damage is caused to the policy holders in regard their policies, the Government is responsible, but not in this business of some shares being taken, and shares going down and up. That does not affect the policyholders at all.

Question: After the LIC and Mathai affairs, people begin to think that if a small clerk makes a small mistake, he goes to jail. His whole family is ruined. Here in two big cases in which everybody has wronged and nobody is to be blamed.

Prime Minister: You think it will be safer to get hold of somebody by the scruff of the neck and bang him. If people get excited and are made to get excited beyond all measure and then they find that the excitement was not wholly justified, there is a slump in excitement, what am I to do about it?

Question: Judicial enquiry.....?

Prime Minister: We have had three of the highest types of inquiries in this Life Insurance Corporation affair<sup>128</sup>. If you are talking about the Mathai affair, I think a more bogus agitation, I have not been able to find than this agitation about the Mathai affair. I am really and honestly, amazed at the gullibility of persons.

Question: No gullibility Sir

128. See SWJN/SS/41/pp.119-122 and 343-420.

Prime Minister: It is gullibility. I go into it with a judicial enquiry....You had judicial enquiries into the LIC affair. Are you satisfied? You say you are not. What am I to do?

Same questioner: But we do not agree with judicial enquiries.

Question: When it is accepted that there can be no responsibility or any mistake on the part of officials where does the constitutional responsibility of a Minister come in? Are these not contradictory in terms? The Minister can be held responsible only when the officials go wrong.

Prime Minister: The Minister's constitutional responsibility came in at that moment. If he had been a Minister now it would not have come in.

Question: Apart from the losses suffered by the LIC in the Mundhra deal, may we know the future of the Rs. 4 to 5 crores advanced by the State Bank to Mundhra? What is the position of those Rs. 4 to 5 crores?

Prime Minister: I have no idea. In fact, I do not still know how much has been advanced, where it was advanced, when it was advanced. I am sorry I cannot keep trace of all these things. I have not enquired into this.

Question: The Congress took Rs. 2½ lakhs from Mundhra and people don't.....

Prime Minister: The Congress took more than Rs.2½ lakhs from many people.

Question: People don't give money for nothing. Before giving, they expect something in return.

Prime Minister: That the Congress is going to favour Mundhra for Rs. 2½ lakhs, a person who suggests this is lacking in intelligence. That is all I can say, and even if a High Court Judge suggests that I will say the same thing. They know neither much about the Congress nor about the public or works in India. It is an amazing, absurd and fantastic proposition. Till this enquiry happened I never heard about it – the money, nobody had ever heard of it, because it had come, subsequent enquiries show, from three or four companies, which certainly were controlled by Mundhra, but in the names of various companies, in bits, the whole thing, four or five or six, sums totalled up came to that sum and it came in the course of many months, not once. Totalled up it came to that. And

no doubt you may say that Mundhra has sent it but they were separate companies. So that none of us ever knew till this matter that Mundhra was anywhere behind it. Because some companies had given 50,000 or 40,000 or 70,000 or a lakh of rupees separately, whatever it was. In a matter of this kind, surely if one wants to be corrupt there are easier ways of making money than this type of thing. Really I am very surprised at the way this kind of loose charges are flung about, all kinds of things. The other day I read some paper in Delhi, some weekly or the other, I forget which, talking about the University of Aligarh.<sup>129</sup> It is quite a different thing, but making most amazing charges about that university. The Defence Minister had gone there and delivered a speech,<sup>130</sup> it had no relation to the speech. In that connection charges are made that it is going to pieces, this and that, which is completely unjustified I think.

Question: You referred to these charges, etc. as fantastic, about the Congress getting money from Mr. Mundhra. Now, in theory, is it inconceivable that a man like Mr. Mundhra expects some return for whatever benefit he has done to others? Is it totally inconceivable in theory?

Prime Minister: How can anything be inconceivable as to what Dr. Mundhra may expect?

Question: The charge was that possibly Mr. Mundhra was expecting some return.

Prime Minister: What he expected or not does not matter. I cannot enter into Mr. Mundhra's head as to what he did. The charge only becomes valid when something is done because of that – not what Mr. Mundhra expects. I really do not know – it may surprise you to learn that the Prime Minister should be such an ignorant person. But I never heard of Mr. Mundhra till about three or four months before this L.I.C. trouble, arose, and that was because a note was put up to me, when I was functioning as Finance Minister, about Mr. Mundhra, I said, "Who is this man?" And this was after the election. I never heard that such a man exists in India.

Question: It was very unfortunate for the country. Probably if you had heard about him, it would have been different.

129. The *Organiser* of 11 May accused the AMU of being both a Pakistani fifth column and a den of communists.

130. 18 April 1959.

Prime Minister: What has happened? Why all this shouting, I want to know.

Question: The LIC has lost some assets, sir. The Government has lost some reputation, rightly or wrongly, about that, the public is agitated.

Prime Minister: That you are right and I think in this matter Government as a whole may have erred in some judgment. I do not see where the Government comes into picture. I do not want to go on arguing about this, when all kinds of judges and people have gone into it.

Question: I would like you to try and get a loan of Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 500/- from your Government. They will turn the application upside down, they will examine it with a magnifying glass, they will put your whole assets under an X-ray. How is it – it is a mystery and this is what the people of India are asking – that this man, Mundhra, got away so coolly and with such expedition on the part of the Government, with a lot of (dead)? shares? That is what the people are asking.

## NEW PARTY

Prime Minister: The Capitalist system: (laughter)

Question: I would like you to treat that a little seriously, sir.

Prime Minister: No, we must go on to the next item – New Party, the Swatantra Party.<sup>131</sup> What am I to say about the new party except to wish it success, not wish it success in the final sense I mean, (laughter), but because I think its presence will introduce a new element in our politics, which will enliven our politics and that is something to be glad of.

Question: Do you expect any split in the Congress?

Prime Minister: No.

131. See items 6, 26, 27 and 28, pp. 40-43 and 242-245.

Question: Shri Jayaprakash Narayan said at a Press Conference<sup>132</sup> that he supports this party and he has also said that but for you the Congress would have been the conservative party today.

Prime Minister: That is a very, very high compliment which I do not deserve. I must say that this kind of saying that I push about the Congress, is really very unfair both to me and to the Congress. Naturally, I have some influence with the Congress. I have had it in the past; I have it now. But it is quite absurd to talk in terms of a great organisation that way. People still think that individuals, however important they may be, can make such a tremendous difference. This is all wrong.

Question: According to Government rules, pensioners are not allowed to indulge in political activities, and apart from the Governor General, Mr. V.P. Menon and some other pensioners are also there. Is your Government going to take notice of it at least?

Prime Minister: I do not think there is any rule preventing pensioners from indulging in political activities, unless these activities are of the type of, what are called subversive activities.

Question: Rajaji has been pleased to say that he abhors your socialist slogans. Are you prepared to make some compromise?

Prime Minister: We have compromised. He likes the Old Testament. I like the New Testament. (laughter)

Question: Do you really believe that the vast majority of Congressmen, although the Congress has adopted this resolution of socialistic pattern, really believe in socialism? Are they really socialists in the sense in which you are?

Prime Minister: When you talk about the vast majority, it may mean all the four anna members of the Congress or some traditional people or some other people. It is obvious that without claiming to be anything remarkable, I happen to belong intellectually to a class to which most people do not belong, in India I mean.

132. According to *The Times of India* of 7 June 1959, Jayaprakash Narayan told a press conference at Bangalore that "a proper balance between conservatism and radicalism, that is between stability and change, is essential for healthy politics."

Many of you belong to that class. You cannot put that question in that way and say intellectual acceptance and this or that. You go to a peasant and start asking him these questions. Well, he cannot answer. But I do think that I represent that basic urge not only of the vast majority of Congressmen but of the vast majority of the Indian people. Otherwise I would not be here. And It is completely and hundred percent wrong if anybody thinks otherwise. I have no doubt about it. What is it? What is there in me? My beauty of face or countenance, that I attract people and they come to me? It is because of my ideas that they come to me, it is because of my life, what I have stood for. If you read anything that I have written or said in the last thirty years of my existence, I would venture to say that you would find a continuous line of thought all the time. I have never gone back on what I have said, minor matters apart. I have stood by those things, and if people have come to me and believed in me, it is because they accepted what I said or perhaps because they thought I said something which they had in their minds. It is a patent and obvious thing. When they do not do that they will chuck me overboard. There the matter will end. You will all be happy then. (laughter)

Question: I take it from the speeches and articles written by Mr. Minoo Masani<sup>133</sup> and others that they are going to do a lot of campaigning against cooperative farming. Are you prepared to meet the attack?

Prime Minister: Of course this kind of thing from that point of view may well do harm. My own personal view is it is all to the good, in the sense that the chief difficulty in India is a certain apathy in thinking. People relax considering that it is too much of a mental effort to think too much. They accept things. They become complacent. It is a bad thing, complacency. Now if there is a certain attack on a thing, you wake up and you meet that attack with vigour. The complacency goes. Therefore, I rather welcome Mr. Masani, that is Mr. Masani's policy. Without meaning any disrespect, I do not think Mr. Masani's ideas are likely to go far anywhere in India. I am not worried about that. But it is true that there are many other ways of influencing the people. And it amazes me that all the talk is not really of cooperatives or anything but of compulsion, as if we are going to take the people by the scruff of their neck and say "now we are going to have cooperative farming." I do venture to say this is so wrong, that we cannot do it. Apart from our not wanting to do it, we cannot do it in the structure of government that we have got. Unless we upset the whole Constitution, the whole Government, everything, we just cannot do that.

133. See item 6, pp. 40-43.

Secondly, we do not want to do that because if we did that, that cooperative farming will not be a success. It will be a failure. We cannot do that kind of thing. It is only voluntarily that we do it by making people realise that this is a better and a more profitable way.

If that is so, even if Mr. Masani talks of taking the people by the scruff of their neck and says, "Don't do it." You see, when there is voluntariness, the whole argument of Mr. Masani falls to the ground. It is only there, because he goes on saying it is compulsion. It is not; it cannot be. I say, in the circumstances of our present constitutional apparatus it cannot be done. I will tell you what we have been doing and what we intend to do – at least, we hope we should do. As you know, first of all, we are concentrating on service cooperatives and everybody says it is so excellent. Well and good. Then we propose to select – I do not know how many; it may be five hundred or more or less, I do not care – places where people, villagers, are willing and able to start cooperative farming. Two tests are there – their capacity and their willingness and we should start it there. As a matter of fact, there are even now, some thousands of villages having it. People do not realise it. But we shall now start it under good auspices, help them with advice, but leave it to them; so that we can see – people can see – how that example works, because a peasant learns more by example than from hearing speeches.

Question: Have you considered then starting these cooperatives in some of the Bhoodan villages as an experimental measure?

Prime Minister: That is not for me to consider, it is for Acharya Vinoba Bhave certainly. But if I may say so, they are not the very best places. From one point of view, they are good because the land is available. Another point of view is that they may not be good from the competency point of view – good competent farmers who can do the job.

Question: As a preliminary essential step, have you directed all the State Governments to complete land reforms, that is, consolidation of holdings and all that, before you began talking of even service cooperatives?

Prime Minister: There is no question of before or after. We said, by the end of the year, service cooperatives should be there. Don't measure success by splitting up the period – say three year period – in the first year one-third being done – you might ask. That is not the correct test in regard to cooperatives, because the success of cooperatives depends primarily on people who have been trained to run them. I am not talking of officials. I am talking about peasantry themselves

and also officials. You cannot by a decree create cooperatives and nobody there knows what a cooperative is. Therefore we have got a programme of training, in all shades and degrees, tens of thousands of persons with a purpose – may be in the final analysis, hundreds of thousands. Therefore, where in the first year, the progress may be relatively slow, in the next year it will be much more with all the trained people coming up. In the third year, it will be very fast. It will go on in that way.

### OOTY SEMINAR

Now, the next subject was, somebody said about the Ooty Seminar.<sup>134</sup> The Ooty seminar was, I think, very helpful. A seminar is meant to enable people participating in it to discuss matters frankly and to profit by that discussion. Certainly we did, certainly I did. It was not meant to lay down a blue print for the future, but it certainly was meant to discuss matters and to indicate, the lines of our thinking and action.<sup>135</sup> Now, what they have done is, they referred this back to the Congress Planning Sub-Committee which will consider it, and then report back to the AICC.

I will give you an instance of how this kind of thing is helpful. People talk about the magnitude of the Third Plan – ten thousand crores and all that – and there is the foreign exchange element, the domestic resources. And, one is rather frightened at these figures. Where is it to come from? Obviously, they are formidable figures. But the more we discussed it, the more we considered it, we came to the practical conclusion that formidable as they were, they were realisable figures and there were ways of realising them. A number of ways were indicated. That was just by example. But the problem became clearer in our minds. It does not mean what was said there, will be adopted. Not at all. But the ways of approach etc. became a little clearer.

Then, problem of resources has also to be seen in the context of a growing economy, adding to our resource people think in terms of static economy of, let us say, our present resources to deal with the situation, five years or seven years hence. All our development plans are meant to add to our resources, obviously, otherwise they will have no meaning. If they do not add to our

134. 30 May to 5 June 1959. The AICC sponsored it, but many eminent non-Congress persons attended and made important contributions. See also item 164, pp. 413-422.

135. The press statement of 5 June after the Ooty (Ootacamund) seminar declared the Plan objective of a socialist society through a self-generating economy; a national income growth rate of 6 per cent annually; an annual savings rate of 14 percent; investment in the capital goods industry and agriculture; a minimum level of welfare; and parity in wages in public and private sectors, and reduction in income disparities.



resources some way or the other, they are no good. We do not calculate this addition to our resources. Now the whole essence of planning is, so that the additional resources, as they are coming in, should be utilised. So, the Ooty Seminar was helpful, we had to work very hard. There were seven or eight days and we sat in the morning three or four hours in the afternoon and sometimes at night, after dinner.

Question: The Seminar seems to have made a radical recommendation, viz. that the industrial policy should be modified to this effect that a certain specified industries are established in the private sector and the rest of it would be in the public sector, i.e. all the residuary industries would be in the public sector, I wonder whether it is the correct version.

Prime Minister: No, No. There were all kinds of papers for the Seminar, considered by groups and others. It may be somebody's opinion, but I do not think it is so. Remember when you talk about the public sector or the private sector what exactly do you mean? Land, whether it is cooperative or not, is a private sector, a very big private sector. All small industries – and in small industries I include large middling industries too, tens of thousands – are all in the private sector and nobody has discussed them. When the discussion about public sector and private sector comes up, it really is about large scale industry. Remember that, first of all, it does not apply to the small, middling, vast industries that we want to encourage. It is the large scale industry that this applies to. Now, in the nature of things, the large scale industry, the really basic industries, we have laid down that they must be in the public sector – strategic, basic, mother industries, call them what you like. And because they are so big most of them are beyond the scope of the private sector. There are some, however which the private sector, no doubt, may be capable of running. This argument is really related to some big scale industries only. Now, there are existing big scale industries in the private sector. We do not wish to touch them unless they misbehave, they break up or whatever it is. We do not wish to touch them for the obvious reason, apart from others, that whatever resources we have would better be used by us in starting a new plant than in paying compensation for the old plants which somebody is running. We want to add to our production, instead of merely having the pleasure of owning it and having the same production. Therefore, we do not normally touch existing plants.

The second point is some of these existing plants may and do collect, well, resources. Can they use them for expansion? Normally, yes. Then the third point arises about new ventures. All that we say is we shall consider each case on merits.

Question: About the Third Plan, the Planning Commission is sitting tight. Nothing is known.

Prime Minister: I do not quite know what you expect the Planning Commission to do. They have not formed any Plan at all. They cannot discuss any as such. I cannot discuss the Planning as such at the Press Conference all the time. There is more discussion and consideration of various aspects going on now, than at any time previously, any plan or pre Plan. Vast numbers of people, in the universities planning forums, are discussing it, industrialists, trade unions and other specialists' panels, the engineers, the scientists. The day before yesterday, a huge crowd of scientists was discussing the Plan from their point of view. All these specialists are discussing these matters from their point of view. The Planning Commission gets the benefit of their advice. But essentially, we have more information about our planning the broad approach than ever previously. You may, for the moment, leave out the specific items, what kind of factory, what kind of plants, where we will have it, that is very important but it is not the strategy. The question before us is what is to be the grand strategy of the Plan? That is the question. Not an odd factory, an odd plant and odd this here and there, where it is located. For most people planning is some odd thing in their state. They are justified in wanting something. But we are concerned with the strategy of the Plan, a strategy whereby India moves step by step, goes up, in its production, in increasing its resources which are applied immediately for further advance. And thus we lay down a strong foundation and build on that. And that strategy requires the primary thing, food, food production, agricultural production. The second thing is the development of certain basic plants and industries. Of course, iron and steel is there. Power is of the highest importance. Everything functions from that and one thing, which has not been talked about so much, the machine building industry, the big machine building – small machines we make of course, the machine building industry. These are the basic things. Of course, you have to add transport because you cannot function without transport, you have to add coal because you cannot function without it. But these are basic. How to advance with regard to these basic things and they are the costliest. Then, I have said we have to look at the picture, the important picture, the question of employment and unemployment, of vital importance. Now, we believe that the only final solution of the unemployment problem in India is through the widespread growth of industry, through industrialisation in the biggest way. There is no other way. Of course, you can have temporary arrangements and we should have temporary arrangements. That is a different matter. But those temporary arrangements will keep people at the lowest level of existence. What shall I say the basic change that has come over the world. I

am sorry I begin talking about subjects which take me far a field. In the old times, in the pre-industrial age I think – I am not sure about my figures – the average man's labour was about an equivalent to half, some unit whatever way you like to put it. That is, it was mainly dependent on human energy and animal energy, animals used, may be a little, from some odd things like cow dung, this thing and that. Now, vast differences come. What is industrialisation? It is the utilisation of nature's forces and energies which are fifty, a hundred, a thousand times more than the individuals. That is what industrialisation mean – utilising nature's forces and energy and not relying on the very limited human individual energy. That is the only ultimate thing and for that purpose all this business of basic industrial units out of which will grow tens and thousands of more and more industries and cottage industries that become essential. Suppose I have a steel plant. A steel plant is what is called capital intensive. That is the actual men employed there, I do not know 10,000, 5000 whatever it may be, is relatively a small number considering the amount of capital we put in. But out of this steel plant flows steel and pig iron, what not, out of which hundreds and thousands of industries start, in secondary and tertiary stage and it goes down to the villages and our agriculture improves and all kinds of things happen so that if a person says "What is the good of a steel plant, only employing 10,000 men? With that money you can employ 100,000." You see, he forgets the consequences flowing from that. Of course, we have to make arrangements for it is no good telling a man who is unemployed that in the time of your grand children we would have finished this job or your children's. The important social factor comes in that we must try to do something for him here and now or as soon as we can in the next few years. That has to be looked at from that point of view. May I, in this connection, tell you something that may please you and may surprise you. I just said about the food situation. About the food production to which we give the topmost priority in India. Before I come to that I might tell you that among the basic things that I said of course is oil. Oil is of the highest importance and we expect certainly much more from oil. These are basic things. Going back to food, recently a report appeared. The Ford Foundation Team came here and issued a report, a very able document but rather pessimistic and rather alarmist.<sup>136</sup> I do not share that pessimism nor am I an alarmist. I think that the rate of food production in India is showing a marked trend towards higher growth. A very considerable trend towards that. You know that the last two harvests had been good in India and people may say that this is due to good rains and they are perfectly right. But those harvests represent not

136. See item 2, p. 17.

only good rains but other efforts too, which have been made over a number of years which are coming to fruition now.

Now, this year's figure of production which we have just obtained, yesterday, is an all time high for India and not only all time high but very considerably higher than last high—it is about 73 million tons.

Now, you remember last year there was a setback of 6 million tons—a very big one, compared to the previous year.

Question: What was the figure last year?

Prime Minister: Which last year do you mean?

Question: You say this year it is 73 million tons. I think it was 70 million tons last year.

Prime Minister: No. Sixty-two million tons or thereabout. There was a drop of 6 million tons in 1957-58. The production in 1958-59 is about 11 million tons higher than the production in 1957-58. It is a very big jump from the previous year. The previous record was 68.7 million tons in 1956-57 and the production this year is estimated to be around 73 million tons which is an increase of 6.5 per cent; compared to 1955-56, which was the base year of the Second Plan, the increase is 11 per cent. The target of additional production for the third year of the Second Plan was 6.5 million tons against which the actual increase is 7.6 million tons, that is a million ton more than the target. Both rice and wheat had record production in 1958-59.

Now, it is evident from this that there is a general and powerful trend, for production to go up as a result of the various efforts that we are making. How you would be completely justified in asking me and I would have no straight answer to give as to why our prices are high when there is so much of foodgrains about. There is no doubt that taking India as a whole, there are more foodgrains about than almost at any time previously and yet it is a fact that prices are high and it is a fact that large quantities of foodgrains are spread out in farms etc., and not easily available.

Question: Still foodgrains are being imported.

Prime Minister: We are importing it because we want a large reserve stock; we want to take no risks, not here now, but in the future.

Question: Lord Boyd Orr<sup>137</sup>, the ex-Director General of the FAO said a 50 to 100 per cent increase had been obtained in China in the last three years and he says that the secret of this success is the utmost employment of human labour in China. Would you say that there is some lesson in it for our planners also?

Prime Minister: Yes; we have naturally, paid great attention to such statements. That is, more intensive ploughing, deeper ploughing and all that. We are trying all that. It is rather a difficult to do it exactly in the same way and conditions differ and other things differ. And I am not quite sure, nor are our experts sure, that these results are permanent in China. You may get certain results in a year but they may not be followed up next year. You may get it by too much use of fertilisers. I am not criticising. I am merely saying that we have to proceed learning from what has happened elsewhere but ultimately we have to rely on our own experience.

Question: Do you really believe this figure of 73 million tons, because allowing for seed production of 12 to 13 million tons, even if 60 million tons are allowed for consumption at the rate of one pound per individual including a child, it can feed 450 millions and without any import we ought to be able to manage.

Prime Minister: I entirely agree with you. These are the figures given to me last evening by the Food & Agriculture Ministry, and I have to trust my own Ministry, otherwise how can I run my government.(long laughter)

Question: The former Food Member of the Government of India, Sir J. P. Srivastava, said that he was once asked by Lord Linlithgow<sup>138</sup> facts about food production. He did not have any figures. He cooked up some and showed it to him and he complained in the Parliament one day that this Government was sticking to his figures.

137. John Boyd Orr, British expert of Food and Agriculture; first Director-General, United Nations, Food and Agriculture organization, 1945-48.

138. Viceroy of India, 1936-43.

Prime Minister: I do not say that our statistics about food are perfect, but the normal level of our statistics is very high, not in regard to food, I mean our Statistical Institute in Calcutta is one of the highest.

Question: Apart from other considerations, if there is an element of error in these statistics, what we are concerned with is a comparison with previous years. The same element of error must have crept into the previous statistics. So, we could be safe in assuming that comparatively.....

Prime Minister: Comparatively, yes. There may be some errors, of course, we cannot say. But progressively they may come nearer the marks, because apart from the normal patwari system which was an old system and very unreliable, we have what you call sample surveys now which help us to get figures.

Well, now the time is running out. There are 7 or 8 subjects yet. I cannot stay here for ever. I have really nothing to say about Geneva. I am sorry I cannot throw any light, and I do not want to add to the darkness. (Laughter)

## CANAL WATERS

About canal waters I find from the newspapers that my Ministry issued some statement the other day.<sup>139</sup>

Question: I hope you believe this one.

Prime Minister: Surely I believe what my Ministry says. That was a statement issued and there it is. We have said that before that the broad financial terms, without going into details, have been agreed to by us, accepted by us subject to some working out. And that is a big step forward certainly. But there are certain aspects of this matter which are still not wholly solved yet and which have to be dealt with at the next meeting. So that while a major step forward is being taken, one must not think that everything is all over, bar the shouting.

Question: Is our financial commitments secret information?

139. The GOI communiqué on the agreement with the World Bank (i) noted that Pakistan would construct works to replace waters from the three western rivers and India would contribute toward costs; (ii) India would not insist on 1962 as the deadline for completing these replacement works; (iii) after about ten years India would be entitled to the exclusive use of these waters; (iv) in return for these concessions, the World Bank would help India secure funding for the Beas Dam.

Prime Minister: I do not think it would be proper for me to mention financial figures in this connection.

Question: The construction of the storage dam which is suggested by the World Bank – will it be completed in time so that the Rajasthan Canal Project may not suffer due to shortage of water?

Prime Minister: The Rajasthan Canal would anyhow get a full supply of water during one season, i.e. throughout. In regard to the second season it may not be able to get the full supply for some time till the additional supplies come in from the other side. I cannot tell you the periods. But the broad position is that in one season they will get it throughout the year. In the second season there will be a limitation to it till further supplies are added on.

Question: Will it be linked up with Pakistan's debt.

Prime Minister: No; quite separately.

Question: Last time you were giving us an indication of Mr. Black's proposals and you disagreed because the period was too long. Now you seem to have agreed to the period, which is about 10 years. About the figures may we assume that the Bank has more or less appreciated India's point of view?

Prime Minister: I cannot go into those details. It will not be proper. But the period is likely to be 10 years. But before the period is over, in the course of that period, some other arrangements will be made, and we will be able to get some water towards the end of that period.

Prime Minister: Do you want anything? I have got to go, now, really.

Question: Tibet.

Prime Minister: What about Tibet?

Question: Has there been any response to what you said in Parliament on the question of Dalai Lama or it is just the same wall of silence between India and Peking over the Dalai Lama?

Prime Minister: There has been, broadly speaking, no further contacts of that type. If I may describe it, it is a wall of silence, with muffled whispers occasionally.

Question: Except to pay some tributes in the papers.

Prime Minister: It is not completely a wall of silence because we have sometimes given information, exchanged information or exchanged protests, as the case may be. This kind of thing has been going on, on a relatively informal level.

Question: Have you raised the question of MacMahon Line?

Prime Minister: No. It was mentioned previously many times. There is no question of raising it in connection with Tibet.

Question: What are the Dalai Lama's plans? Is he staying on in India?

Prime Minister: Well, I imagine that his stay in India is going to be prolonged.

Question: Can you say that the Chinese are beginning to accept our bona fides in this matter?

Prime Minister: I cannot say. How can I what the Chinese are ...

Question: Is the Dalai Lama's statement correct that the situation in Tibet is still causing concern?

Prime Minister: I have no doubt that it is causing him concern and causing others concern. To some extent it is causing us concern.

Question: I want to put a question about Durgapur Steel Works.

Prime Minister: About Durgapur Steel Works? As far as I know, certain piles were put in, which have not gone deep enough. Now the contractors who have made them are going to replace them at their own cost.<sup>140</sup>

140. D. J. Bell, General Manager of the Durgapur Steel Project, expressed in London on 12 June 1959 the consortium's "deep concern and regret" at the "inadequate piling under smelting furnaces Nos. 7, 8 and 9 which had come to light recently." He added: "Remedial re-inforcement has now been completed making the foundation stronger than had been originally planned."



Question: Have you received the report of the damage?

Prime Minister: I have not seen it myself and I don't know.

Thank you.

#### (d) Interview

### 19. To Serge Groussard: In *Rose Al Youssef*<sup>141</sup>

١٦- روز اليوسف - العدد ١٦١٢

خارج الحدود

حديث خطير لنهرو:

لسنا صانعو معجزات!!

كارل ماركس انتهى وقته..

سيرج جروسار الكاتب الصحفي الفرنسي قابل أخيراً جواهرلال نهرو رئيس وزراء الهند. اعتاد جروسار أن يقابل شخصيات العالم السياسية الهامة، فقد قابل من قبل ايزنهاور وخروشوف وديجول وسالازاروماوتسي تونج. واعتاد أن يكون حديثه الصحفي صورة "شبه كاملة" للشخصية التي تدلي إليه بحديثها .. صورة لآرائه و معتقداته و تجاربه منذ مولده حتى توليه منصبه الكبير..

تحدث نهرو عن عشرات المشاكل الخطيرة التي تواجه الهند وآسيا والعالم. و نقتطف من الحديث بعض نقاطه الهامة.

141. Chief Reporter, *Le Figaro*. Abridged Arabic translation of interview, *Rose Al Youssef*. For original version in French and its translation, see SWJN/SS/48/pp. 233-278.

## لنكل شعب طريقه الخاص وإلا فقد روحه ..

قال الصحفى إنه قابل نهرو في مكتبه، و كان يضع وردته المعتادة في عروة ثوبه الوطني، و نهرو سيصل إلى السبعين في نوفمبر القادم، وتقاطع وجهه تنطق بكبر السن، ولكنها لا تدل على الشيخوخة..  
سأله الصحفى:

• أنتم تعتقدون أن الاستعمار الذي يعتمد على القوة، و الذى عرفه العالم قبل الحرب الثانية، قد مات. و لكن هناك شكل جديد من أشكال الاستعمار. استعمار يتخذ صفة شرعية، وهو الاستعمار الاقتصادى، وله أشكال عديدة، فما هو رأيكم؟  
- طبعاً، استنكره أيضاً.

إن الاستغلال الاقتصادى الأجنبى لبلد من البلاد أو لمرفق وطنى هام يمثل استعماراً لا سند له، تماماً مثل الاستعمار القديم.  
إن المال لا يعنى شيئاً عندنا، و لا يبرر كل شئ.  
فالأمة الضعيفة اقتصادياً تحتاج الى معونات عديدة، والدول الكبرى وحدها هى التي تستطيع تقديم هذه المعونات، فإذا حاولت هذه الدول الكبرى استعباد أرواح هؤلاء الذين تقدم لهم المساعدة، و تحويل قادة الدولة التي تقبل المساعدة إلى لعب و دمي، فرأى أن هذه المحاولة تزيغ البصر و تنشط الطمع، و لكنها جد خطيرة ..

وحتى حين يقتصر التدخل الأجنبى في البلد الذي يقبل المساعدة على مجرد طلب الانضمام إلى نفس الأفكار الاقتصادية التي تؤمن بها الدولة التي تقدم المساعدة ..

فهذا التدخل لانقبله ..

فلكل شعب أن يسير في طريقه الخاص، و إلا فقد روحه ..

## تطبيق الاشتراكية بجرة قلم: كارثة!

• هل أنت ديمقراطى أم اشتراكى؟

نهرو:

- أنا ديمقراطي و اشتراكي..

ولكن يجب أن نزن ظروف الشعب و العصر الذي نعيش فيه.  
إن تطبيق الاشتراكية في الهند - بجرة قلم، يعني: كارثة.  
اننى اشتراكي، ولكننى أومن بالفرد. الفرد، لا الرجل الضائع وسط الجماهير.  
اننى من أنصار الاشتراكية الحرة التقدمية الهندية.  
ان المجتمعات يقل خضوعها تدريجيا للمؤسسات الفردية.  
وأعتقد أن زمن الرأسمالية سوف يولى، وأن انهيار الرأسمالية شئ حسن، لأن  
اشتراكيتى تتمنى مجتمعا يقوم على المساواة وانعدام الطبقات، حيث يتمتع كل  
شخص من البداية بفرص ومزايا متساوية، مجتمع تستخدم فيه أقصى طاقة  
للانتاج، و يوزع فيه الانتاج بأقصى عدالة ممكنة.  
وأعتقد كذلك أن أى نظام ولو بعد الثورة الصناعية الأوربية سواء أ كان ذلك  
النظام هو الرأسمالية أو الماركسية أو الاشتراكية أو الفاشية..لايستطيع أن يلائم  
بينه و بين ذلك التغيير الذى نلاحظه الآن، لابد من تغيير هائل في النظام نفسه.  
اننا نشهد عصرا مليئا بالتحول الخطير..وعلى النظم أن تلائم بينها و بين  
العصر نفسه، لا أن تفرض نفسها على طبيعة عصرنا و على الشعوب.

وسأله الصحفى:

ما هي عيوب الديمقراطية؟

فقال نهرو:

- إن الديمقراطية تزيد من حيوية الشعوب. ولكن الديمقراطية تسوى بين  
العابرة والعاديين.  
ثم هناك عيب آخر، هو انها تؤخر درجة التقدم و تؤخر ما يمكن أن نسميه  
: بايقاع التقدم.

● هل تعتقدون ان الهند الآن، ديمقراطية؟

- من الناحية الدستورية، نعم. في قلوبنا و إرادتنا، نعم.  
ولكن ما ذا تقصد من سؤالك بالضبط، هل هناك ما وراء هذا السؤال؟  
فقال الصحفى:

- إننى لا أعتقد أن الشعب في الهند بأغلبيته قادر على الاشتراك في الحياة  
الديمقراطية.

- الآن، عندك حق.

ولكنك تعلم ان هذا العيب ليس من نصيب الهند وحدها،

ولكن التعليم تدريجيا والكفاح ضد المجاعة والعناية الصحية سوف يجعل الشعب الهندي يهتم بحياة المدنية و حياة بلاده.  
 لقد ورثنا التركة كما هي، ولسنا صانعي معجزات ..  
 ثم هناك ملاحظة قد تخص الهنود.. وهي انهم اعتادوا خلال عصور عديدة على الخضوع في سلبية لسلطة النخبة الممتازة التي كانت تخضع بدورها للأجنبي ..  
 وبذلك، كان السادة في كافة المستويات يفكرون ويقررون بدلا من الشعب..الذي ارتضى أن يقبل وأن يطيع..  
 ونحن الآن نحاول باستمرار ألا تكون المبادرة قاصرة على القيادة، بل أن تأتي أيضا من القاعدة..

● ولكنك و أنت تعلن ان الهند بلاد مسالمة تبني جيشك و تقويه؟

- انه ثمن الحرية في العصر الحديث.

● هل تعتقد أن من واجب الجيش أن يتسلح بأية أسلحة يتسلح بها العدو، مثلا اذا تسلح العدو بالأسلحة الذرية فيتسلح جيشك بالأسلحة الذرية أيضا؟

- مستحيل. مستحيل أن نستخدم هذه الأسلحة، الصواريخ الذرية أو القنابل الهيدروجينية.

إنها ضد الانسانية. ان لها نتائج خطيرة، وتضر الأهالي لا الجنود فحسب. بل وتضر الأجيال القادمة. و حتى لو تسلح العالم كله بالأسلحة الذرية فاننا لن نتسلح بها.

● ماهو رأيك في العالم الآن؟

- إن العالم قفز قفزات كبيرة، عصر الذرة ثم عصر الفضاء.  
 ولكن علينا ان نعود الى السؤال القديم الذى سألته سقراط " اعرف نفسك بنفسك".

إن العالم يعانى من الاختلال. فكيف يعود الى التوازن.

والاجابة على هذا السؤال هي فى تعميق التطور في النفس الانسانية ..

و هناك عدة طرق لذلك. و قد كان الحكيم الهندي راما كريشنا يقول:

- إن الله فوق السطح. والناس يحاولون الوصول اليه، البعض يركض على السلم، والبعض على الحبال، والبعض على درجات من الحجارة .. أو الخشب، والبعض بطريقتهم الخاصة.

• هل تعتقدون في الخطر الشيوعي؟

- إن هناك عدة مخاطر في العالم.

من هذه المخاطر، التسرع في التعبير عن فكرتك في مسائل خطيرة.. غاية الخطورة.

إن النظرية الشيوعية تتطور هي أيضا، وأية نظرية تتجمد .. وتموت. لقد قرأت وأعدت قراءة، كارل ماركس. وأؤكد لك أن وقته قد انتهى. كان ينفذ في الوقت الذي كتب فيه.

[Translation begins:

**An Important Talk with Nehru<sup>142</sup>**

We are not miracle makers!!

The era of Karl Marx is over...

Serge Groussard, a French journalist, recently met the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru. Groussard used to meet important political personalities of the world. He had previously met Eisenhower, Khrushchev, de Gaulle, Salazar, and Mao Zedong. He would, through his journalistic discussions, paint a complete picture of the person he talked with... A picture of his opinions and beliefs and his experiences since his birth until he took office.

Nehru spoke about numerous serious problems facing India, Asia, and the world. We excerpt some of his important points from the talk.

**Every nation has the right to follow its own path, otherwise it will lose its soul...**

The journalist said that he had met Nehru in his office. As usual, he had a rose in the buttonhole of his national costume. He will turn seventy in November, but his face did not indicate signs of aging.

The journalist asked him:

Do you think that colonialism (which depends on force and which the world knew before the Second World War) has ended, but that there is a new

142. Translated from the Arabic by Tajammul Haque, Research Scholar at the Centre of Arabic & African Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

form of colonialism which is being legitimised and that is economic colonialism. It has many forms, what is your opinion?

[Nehru]: Of course, I denounce it also.

The foreign economic exploitation of any country or exploitation of any important national facility is entirely illegitimate just like the old colonialism.

The money does not mean anything to us, and it does not justify everything.

Economically weak nations need much aid that only the great powers are able to provide. If these big powers try to enslave the people to whom they offer assistance and convert the country's leaders—who accept their assistance—into puppets, I think that this will distort their vision and corrupt them...

Even if those receiving aid were merely asked to join the same economic system as those giving aid, it would amount to foreign intervention which we would not accept.

Every nation has the right to follow its own path, otherwise it will lose its soul...

### **Introducing socialism by fiat would spell disaster.**

[Groussard]: Are you a democrat or socialist?

[Nehru]: I am both a democrat and a socialist...

But we must bear in mind the condition of the people and the times in which we live. Introducing socialism by fiat in India would spell disaster.

I am a socialist, but I believe in the individual, the individual, not the man lost in the mass.

I am a supporter of a free and progressive Indian socialism.

Society is becoming gradually less subject to individual enterprise.

And I believe that the age of capitalism will come to an end, which is a good thing, because my socialism looks forward to a society based on equality and the absence of classes, where everyone enjoys equal opportunities from the beginning and without disadvantages; a society which uses its productive energy optimally, and distributes in the most equitable fashion.

And I also think that no system after the European Industrial Revolution, be it Capitalism, Marxism, Socialism, or Fascism...has been able to adapt to the changes we observe now; there is need of a huge change in the system itself.

We are witness to an era of important transition... so the systems should adjust to the age, they should not impose themselves on the nature of our times and people.

The journalist asked:

What are the shortcomings of democracy?

Nehru said:

Democracy augments the vitality of people. But it equates the genius with the ordinary person.

Then there is another drawback. It slows down the extent and pace of progress.

[Groussard]: Do you think that India is now democratic?

—From a constitutional standpoint, yes; by emotion and intention, yes.

The journalist said:

—I do not think that the majority of the people in India would be able to participate in democracy.

[Nehru]: Now there you are right.

But you know, this defect is not confined to India.

Gradually, education and the fight against hunger and disease will make the Indian people more interested in the civic and public life of their country.

We inherited this legacy, and we are not miracle workers.

There is something else which applies to Indians particularly. Down the ages, they have been inured to submission to an elite, which in turn was subject to foreigners...

And so, masters at all levels were entitled to think and decide for the people... who were ready to comply...

And now we are trying to ensure that the initiative should issue from below, not merely from above.

[Groussard]: But you build and strengthen your army while declaring that India is a peaceful country?

[Nehru]: It is the price of freedom in the modern era.

[Groussard]: Do you think that the army should be equipped with the same arms and equipment that the enemy possesses, for example, if the enemy is armed with atomic weapons, should your army also be?

[Nehru]: Impossible, it is impossible that we will use such weapons, atomic or hydrogen bombs.

It's against humanity. They have serious consequences; they harm civilians, not only soldiers, and future generations also. Even if the whole world is armed with atomic weapons, we are not going to arm ourselves with them.

[Groussard]: What do you think about the world today?

[Nehru]: The world has progressed by leaps and bounds; the atomic age and then the space age.

But we have to go back to Socrates: "Know yourself through yourself."

The world is in disequilibrium; the point is how to restore it.

The answer to this question is...the deeper development of the spirit.

And there are several ways of doing so. The wise Ramakrishna said:

God is on the roof and people are trying to reach him, some are climbing up the stairs, others on ropes, and some on piles of stones...or wood, and yet others are approaching in their own manner.

[Groussard]: Do you believe in the communist threat?

[Nehru]: There are several dangers in this world.

Among them is the danger of expressing one's thoughts too soon on subjects of general importance.

Communist doctrine is evolving, and if any theory stagnates... it dies. I have read and re-read Karl Marx. I am sure that his time is over. His theory was good for his own time.

Translation ends.]

## 20. To Serge Groussard: Translation, Indian Embassy, Cairo<sup>143</sup>

May 6th, 1959

This is the text of the conversation which Mr. Serge Groussard, a French writer, has had with Prime Minister Nehru and to which reference was made in yesterday's D.R.P.

143. Abridged translation by Indian Embassy, Cairo, of Arabic version of interview to Groussard. This is the English version that Nehru received. The complete translation however, is appended to the Arabic text above. Also see SWJN/SS/46/p. 661.



The text of the conversation was given by *Rose Al Youssef* yesterday in question and answer form and was described as one in which Nehru discussed "tens of problems which today face India, Asia and the whole world."

To a question: you believe that the pre-war Colonialism which depended on force is now ended, but there is one form of Colonialism, Mr. Nehru said that "the economic exploitation of any country was an unwarrantable Colonialism as bad as the old... "Under-developed countries," he added, "need aid. The Great Powers alone can give such aid. If a Great Power should therefore try to capture the souls of those who receive its aid and turn the leaders of countries receiving aid into mere puppets, then to my mind this would be a grave matter. Even if countries receiving aid were merely called upon to join the same economic system as the country giving aid, it would be an intervention which we would not condone, for each people must follow their own particular way, or else they lose their souls."

Question: Are you a Democrat or a Socialist?

Answer: I am both a Democrat and a Socialist, but we must keep in mind the conditions of each country and the age in which we live. To apply Socialism to India by a stroke of the pen would be a catastrophe. I am a Socialist but I uphold the individual... I am an advocate of free and progressive Indian socialism. Societies are now less under the control of individual enterprise. I believe the age of Capitalism will disappear, which would be a good thing, because my Socialism looks forward to a Society based on equality which is free from social classes, a society in which the maximum of productive potentials are used and production is distributed in the most equitable manner... We are now going through an age full of vital changes and all systems, be they Capitalism, Marxism, or Fascism, must try to conform to these changes.

Question: What are the shortcomings of Democracy?

Mr. Nehru: Democracy adds to the vitality of the people, but it reduces genii and ordinary people to the same level. It also entails retardation in progress and in timing.

Question: Do you think India is now a Democratic State?

Answer: Constitutionally, yes. In our hearts, also yes. But what do you mean exactly by that question? Is there anything behind it?

Pressman: I do not believe that the majority of people in India are capable of taking part in the demands of Democracy.

Mr. Nehru: Now you are right, but, as you know, this is not confined to India alone. Education, hygiene, and economic reform will however help make the Indian people take interest in civics.

We have received our legacy as it is, and we are not makers of miracles.

There is something more which concerns Indians particularly. Through the ages Indians have been wont to submit passively to the authority of the selected minority which, in its turn, submitted to the foreigner. It was masters, at all levels, therefore who thought and acted for the people. We are now trying to make the lead from below and not from the top.

Question: Yet, while you declare that India is a peaceful country you go on building and consolidating your armies.

Answer: This is the price of freedom in the modern age.

Question: Do you think it the duty of any Army to equip itself with armaments similar to those of the enemy's Army? If it is nuclear weapons, then it will be nuclear weapons?

Answer: No, no. It is impossible that we shall ever use these weapons, atom rockets and hydrogen bombs and the like. They are all against humanity. They injure Army and civilians alike. In fact their harm extends to the future generations.

Question: What do you think of the world of today?

Answer: It has made leaps and bounds- the atom age and the space age- but it suffers from maladjustment. But how can it be restored to its balance? That is the main question.

Question: Do you believe in the Communist danger?

Answer: There are various dangers in the world today. One of them is to give a hasty expression to your views on vital matters.

The Communist theory is certainly developing. Any theory that stagnates will die. I have read Karl Marx over and over again, and I assure you his time is over. His theory was good for the time it was expounded in.

## II. POLITICS

### (a) Parties

#### 21. To Indira Gandhi: Congress Factionalism in UP<sup>1</sup>

Some days ago, you showed me a letter from Abdul Latif, an M.P. from Bijnor area. In this letter, he complained against Govind Sahay.<sup>2</sup> He had said that Govind Sahay had worked against the Congress candidate in a by-election recently in Bijnor.<sup>3</sup> The Congress candidate was Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim's son.<sup>4</sup> Abdul Latif said that the facts could be ascertained from Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim.<sup>5</sup>

2. I could not believe this charge for a variety of reasons. No person with any intelligence would have done this, and Govind Sahay does not lack intelligence. Further, Govind Sahay has been very anxious to justify himself in the Congress. He has been seeking to gain the goodwill of the Congress leaders in the U.P., especially Dr Sampurnanand.<sup>6</sup> It would be odd indeed if in these circumstances he would do such an obviously foolish thing as to support a candidate against the Congress.

3. However, I asked Govind Sahay about this charge. He denied it vehemently and said that at the time of the by-election, he had been to Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim and offered his services to work for his son. Hafizji had not encouraged him at all and, in fact, had practically made it clear that he did not want him to interfere. So, he kept quiet.

4. I think this must be true because it fits in with all the circumstances. Hafizji conducted the election on a purely personal level and not on principles and the like. That is the old way to some extent and he is used to it.

5. Govind Sahay is a person with considerable vitality and is good worker, but he has also been somewhat wayward. He is a very old Congressman, from

1. Note to the Congress President, Patna, 1 May 1959. Secret correspondence between U.N. Dhebar and Nehru, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Congress MLA from Nagina, Bijnor district.
3. On 14 October 1958, from Najibabad in Bijnor, when the seat was vacated by Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim on his elevation to the Union Cabinet.
4. Atiqur Rahman
5. Union Minister of Irrigation and Power.
6. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

the twenties. He left the Congress, however, because he fell out with the local U.P. leaders.<sup>7</sup> His principal passion has been to combat communalism and, more especially, the R.S.S. and the Hindu Mahasabha. In fact, he has written a book about the R.S.S., exposing its activities, secret and public.<sup>8</sup> He felt that some of the principal U.P. Congress leaders were too complacent about this communal aspect and were even to some extent rather friendly with Hindu communalists. Otherwise too, he considered them rather conservative in their social outlook. So, he left the Congress and, at the time of the first general election, stood against a Congress candidate. I think that he won, but I am not quite sure.

6. Later, finding that it was of little use to function independently, he came back to the Congress.<sup>9</sup> When his name was put up for selection at the time of the second general election, this was vehemently opposed by some of the U.P. people and notably Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim. This was largely due to local Bijnor politics. Even other leaders like Sampurnanand did not favour him chiefly because of his criticisms and activities in the past. However, he was given a ticket, and he won in the elections. Since then, he has tried hard to win over Dr Sampurnanand and others and has to some extent succeeded. Recently, he was appointed in a Committee in connection with the Community Development movement, and he has just presented a fat report.<sup>10</sup> He gave me a copy of this. I have not read it. But, anyhow, it appears to indicate ability and earnestness and a keen mind.

7. But the old Bijnor feuds continue, and Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim does not forget easily and is rather rigid in his outlook. So, he does not at all approve of Govind Sahay. Their mental approaches to the elections and the like are completely different. Hafizji, as I have said above, believes in the personal approach, while Govind Sahay's approach is more concerned with principles for which the Congress stands and more particularly against communalism. Govind Sahay tells me that the result in Bijnor has been that while the personal approach of Hafizji helped in so far as the Muslim part of the electorate was

7. Left Congress in 1952; elected as an independent to the UP Legislative Council.

8. *RSS, Hitler's heirs: an exposition of the para-military fascist character of RSS* ( New Delhi, Sampradayikta Virodhi Committee, n.d)

9. Rejoined Congress in 1957 and elected to UP Legislative Assembly.

10. The Committee's comprehensive inquiry over ten months concluded that the project touched no more than 25 per cent of the rural population drawn into it, and that the programme was almost entirely confined to farmers, of which barely 30 per cent, and of them the richest. The more disturbing conclusion was that the current manner of implementing this programme would frustrate its objective of the socialist transformation of rural society.

concerned; the Hindus were not affected at all by it and were drifting towards Hindu communal elements.

8. Anyhow, I am quite sure that the charge Abdul Latif made against him, cannot be true. I have known Abdul Latif for a long time. In fact, he was in prison with me in Dehra Dun.<sup>11</sup> He is not a bad man. I think he used to be originally some kind of a police officer who resigned in the non-cooperation movement. But he is wholly ineffective and a very passive person.

9. I am writing this note to you because you had shown me that letter from Abdul Latif.

## **22. To H. Syed Abdul Aleem: Youth Congress in Mysore<sup>12</sup>**

I am glad to learn that the Mysore Pradesh Youth Congress is going to have a Workers' Conference later this month. I wish it success.

We live in an exciting time in India and young men and women in our country must particularly rejoice that they have opportunities to face and try to solve our great problems. Inevitably, such a period is one of trial and sometimes of tribulation. Great results cannot be achieved without great efforts.

For the youth of India today, there are innumerable things to do. We have talked enough and passed many resolutions. The time now is to act up to them and show the stuff we are made of.

## **23. To CPP: Nagpur Session and Other Matters<sup>13</sup>**

Well, meanwhile I shall take a few minutes of your time, just to mention a few matters. We shall be dispersing for about three months now. It is a long interval and a great deal may happen during this interval. Anyhow we have to do a great deal. Now I shall mention some of these matters.

Tomorrow and the day after the All India Congress Committee is meeting here in Delhi, many of you may be attending it. You will remember that the Nagpur Session of the Congress passed two major resolutions, one about the Plan and one about land reform and generally the organisation of agriculture.<sup>14</sup>

11. See SWJN/FS/5/p.419.

12. Note to Mysore Pradesh Youth Congress, 8 May 1959.

13. Speech at Valedictory Meeting, 9 May 1959. Tape No. M/44c (ii.), NMML.

14. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 164-168 and 173-174 respectively.

Those are the two major things, and I suppose that in tomorrow's meeting of the AICC most of the attention will be paid to these or rather to the latter, that is, to the second resolution on land reform and connected matters, cooperatives and other, because the Congress is functioning much more in a businesslike way now, not merely passing rather high sounding resolutions, but dealing with matters that it has to take up. Normally speaking at this May session of AICC there are hardly any resolutions, official or other. I am told it will consider this matter in detail as in a committee, not from a resolution, in a committee; but the point is that we have undertaken, the Congress has undertaken, and all of us in a sense have to shoulder, this burden of working for this programme, the Nagpur Session programme, in our different ways. It is a tremendous programme, the first. The Plan part is of course tremendous and generally most countries in the world are beginning to realise the nature of our effort, this planned effort. Possibly that is not fully realised by many people in India, not in Parliament I mean, but outside India. One has to realise the base of it: it is not a question of being a little more or little less, it is a question of somehow or other getting across a certain big hurdle, crossing a big river if you like or a ditch or something. You cannot remain in midway of it, so all the arguments about going slow etc. have no meaning. You have to reach the other side or else you may go under. I am not going to speak about this plan now, I have spoken previously and we shall have to deal with this matter a great deal in future here. Perhaps you know that the Planning Committee, subcommittee of the AICC is having a seminar on this subject, Third Five Year Plan etc. at Ootacamund at the end of this month.<sup>15</sup> They will meet for about five or six days, and I hope to attend it too, on invitation that is. I am not a member of that subcommittee, and I am glad of this because this kind of thing, sitting down quietly twenty, thirty persons, whatever they are and discussing all day, no engagements, no speeches, discussing these points is far more enlightening and worthwhile than conferences and the like and passing resolutions and more and more our system of work is becoming that.

Thus, both of the major Nagpur resolutions were the result of sub-committee sitting for day after day some months earlier. So during this time you will no doubt go to your constituencies and you will acquaint them with what has been done and with what is likely to be done. You will tell them something, broad features of the plan, that is, so that they may have some kind of a general conception of what is done or is being done. It is really amazing how some of our, shall I say, highly educated and intelligent persons, even those who write

15. See item 164, pp. 413-422.

in newspapers as experts, write. In the end [they] show, quite an amazing ignorance of the subject, ignorance of the subject as it is today. They write as if they might have written in the nineteenth century regardless of what has happened in the last fifty years or so.

One of the basic things to remember for us and everyone is that the whole nature of economic doctrine has changed or, in the last many years. Many, most of the books that I have read in the universities, they are good whatever they may be, they are hopelessly out of date. Things have changed, all kinds of things have changed of course, the productive capacity of the world has changed tremendously. The development of science and technology tremendously, the science of statistics has changed tremendously and that again helps in planning because planning is after all based on information, on knowledge. It is not good wishes being put down or wishful thinking.

Most of our economic thinking was so much derived from orthodox economic thinking of Western countries, England, America, etc. the orthodox economists, the conventional wisdom as many economists have called it; or, on the other hand, by what you might call the derivation from Marx as applied in some of the Soviet countries which have sometimes gone rather far from Marx. Now both have much to teach us, but the fact remains that neither, at least that is my opinion, neither is adequate to give us the answers to our problems. We have to find those answers ourselves, understanding the conditions here and understanding also, learning also, from the successes and failures of other countries. I am not going in to that, it is a complicated subject, a very fascinating subject which you must understand, must have a grip on it because it is the basic grip that counts, not the hundred and one minor things attached to it. We could learn them. Naturally we have to spend much time over the minor things in Parliament and elsewhere, but the basic thing is, what is the foundation of all this planning, what are we aiming at, how will we get there, and so on and so forth. I hope that such of you as are interested will perhaps devote some of your time during this interval to study these matters from papers which you may get from the Planning Commission, or otherwise.

Then, one thing, everything in our Plan depends, whichever way you look at it on food production. It has become of the most vital consequence how much food we produce, foodgrains. Nothing is so important. I think we are making good progress and I think we will make good progress but one cannot emphasise enough the fact of the basic importance of food production in this country. Everything else depends upon it. Now one thing in which all of you can help is in the new campaign, the new kharif campaign. We had a rabi campaign and all that, now a kharif campaign, in this you can help and should. Now all this what we have done, our land reform and cooperatives and all that,

we have decided in favour of them for a variety of reasons but in the final analysis it is for the greater production.

This is the importance of this food campaign, people must realise and that again cannot be tackled any more by pious exhortations from above. One has to go down to the grass roots to the farmer and in fact, I am sorry I say I advise you, although I do not do it or I am not likely to do it but there too one has not merely advised from the top but really to go down to him and may be work with him for a little while.

Now take this, cooperatives. Broadly speaking I think the country has warmly welcomed this idea of cooperatives. In Parliament or in some newspapers there appears to have been sometimes a warm debate or so, and so far as joint cultivation or collective farming is concerned. But I really do not think that that reflects the broad opinion in the country. I have found at any rate a very considerable appreciation of the Nagpur Congress resolutions, but the real thing is not in appreciation of them or not, you cannot do that without hard training, it is not a thing which can be done unless you have trained men to do it, that is of basic importance. Therefore yesterday in the Congress Working Committee and in governments, people are thinking more and more of training courses, for cooperatives at every degree and stage, top stage, of real experts who will be given a year's special training, other stages in between, six months course, a month's course, week's course. A week's course of course is not much training, but a week's course for the panches and sarpanches, then you get some idea of it. It is covering hundreds and thousands of persons in this way. It is very important because it is a technical job, running a cooperative, mere enthusiasm is not enough, you must know something about it.

Now one or two things more. We have had a debate and various references repeatedly to what has happened in Tibet. Well I have had my say on many occasions and I do not propose to say much more. But everybody realises I am sure how extraordinarily difficult and delicate this question of Tibet is and therefore we shall have to keep this in mind, our sympathies, our feelings go out in one direction, our capacity to do anything is obviously limited. Other considerations national, international, political and what not, everything comes in. I think that broadly speaking how we have acted has been the right way. I mention this because even in the debate in the Lok Sabha yesterday, a few speeches were delivered which seemed to me quite remarkably irresponsible. It does not matter what you say about, in your own country, but you are talking quite irresponsibly about other countries. That produces reactions. We have had quite enough of irresponsible talk in China about India. Now the point is are we going to compete with them in irresponsibility, or function in a different way. There is, I am told, a convention going to be held in Calcutta, and possibly



not Congressmen, but members of other parties, will take this matter up and make it an important issue just to show that they can shout louder than Congressmen. Anyhow we are not going to compete, I hope, in irresponsibility with anybody. We have to consider these carefully, these matters. We have in fact arrived at a stage, our party, our organisation, when we have to face terrific problems, difficulties, and we can only face them with knowledge, hard work and a sense of responsibility. I think by and large we show that, but we are likely to be tested hard in the future and there is no way of getting out of it except through knowledge and hard work, there is no other way really to solve our problems.

Well, that is all I wished to say now, except that I carry your good wishes.... Oh yes, Somebody has sent me a slip to say, to say a few words about recent communal riots. Well I must say that I have been much distressed about these riots, of course a riot always distresses one. There are two aspects in these riots. The major ones have been, as you know, the biggest in point of numbers, of Sitamarhi in Bihar and the next at Akhta, that is nearby. Then there was Bhopal and then there was Mubarakpur and Azamgarh district of U.P.<sup>16</sup> We need not go into what happened there, sometimes complaints are made that the police did not function properly or whatever it was, but the facts of these riots shows on what a feeble foundation we are trying to build up our country: it is no foundation at all in fact, just breaks up. Take Sitamarhi. So far as one can make out, there was no apparent preparation in Sitamarhi, it was sudden. But sudden as it was, how dangerous it is for a large crowd of goodly peasants to be misled and become and start misbehaving, a hundred thousand people, a lakh of persons gather at a fair because somebody gives them entirely false information that someone has killed a cow or has got beef or something in his shop, up they go, without enquiry without anything. See the dangers. How easy it is for a mischief maker to create trouble in this country. It shows our utter immaturity. We get excited and it can upset anything and Bihar peasants are a good lot, I like them, stout people, good people, but foolish people, what is this, excitement.... (Laughter) I should like to make it clear that I was referring to the peasantry there, not to members from Bihar here. (From the audience: some redeeming feature at least). So it really is, it shows how we build on quicksand, it is not a solid foundation, all your Five Year Plan and everything, the whole thing can go to pieces. In the ultimate analysis there is no way to get over it except widespread sound education. Or else quiet work, village work, and I think that all of us, all of you should pay particular attention to this matter,

16. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 280-281, 290-291 and 317 and also in this volume, pp. 8-10 & 248-250.

specially in North India. I am glad to say that this type of thing is totally absent, so far as I know, from South India; central India, North India exhibits it quite adequately. So I hope that you will come back having done a lot of work and refreshed.

It was my intention to go out of India. Two places that I have been asked to go to for some years repeatedly. One is countries of South America where I have never been, I have not been to Latin America even, that is Mexico even and South America and the other was Africa. Now I have only been to Egypt and Sudan, no other country in Africa, and numerous invitations and I think Africa is very important. So is of course South America, but Africa is nearer, and I had finally decided to go to Africa to 3 or 4 countries, Ghana, Nigeria, may be Morocco, Egypt, Abyssinia, but later I decided to give up the idea of going abroad because there is too much of work to be done here. I could not go for two days; three days, that is impossible, it will take me three or two weeks, at least a month, and I just could not afford to go away for a month. So I am not going out of India this year. And I hope that by staying here I shall be able to do some good honest work. Thank you.

## 24. To P.R. Madhavan Pillai: Agrarian Reform in Kerala<sup>17</sup>

May 12, 1959

Dear Shri Madhavan Pillai<sup>18</sup>,

I have your letter of the 8th May. So far as any agrarian legislation is concerned, it is the Congress policy to support progressive legislation and I am sure that the Kerala Congress Party will do this. I cannot say anything about the details of any legislation because I have not studied these details.<sup>19</sup> The broad policy

17. Letter.

18. (1917-1976); entered politics in 1938 as a Congress worker; Member, All India Travancore Committee till 1948, All India Kisan Sabha, Central Kisan Council, Kerala State Council of CPI; Vice-President and later President of Kerala Karshaka Sanghom; Member, Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly, 1953-55; and CPI MLA, Kerala, 1957-59 and 1967-70.

19. The Agrarian Relations Bill, introduced as early as 21 December 1957, was passed on 10 June 1959. It provided for land ceiling, fixity of tenure, fair rent, and so on. It incorporated numerous amendments proposed by an all-party Select Committee while rejecting many specifically opposition amendments. However President's Rule was imposed on 31 July 1959 before it received the Governor's assent. It eventually became law on 15 October 1960. See also Vol. 50 onwards for further details.

of the Congress has been laid down in the Resolutions passed at the Nagpur Sessions of the Congress last January.<sup>20</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 25. To Badri Prasad Misra: Nagpur Session and Other Matters<sup>21</sup>

I am glad to learn that a Congress Study Centre is going to be started in Allahabad.<sup>22</sup> I send my good wishes to it. It must be remembered that these study centres only yield results if there is practical work done. Merely having some lectures and listening to them does not do much good.

The Nagpur Congress has laid special stress on our present day problems in its two principal resolutions. One of these deals with planning and the approach to the Third Five Year Plan.<sup>23</sup> The other deals with land reforms and rural organisation.<sup>24</sup> Stress has been laid on co-operatives.

We have to take up this programme of cooperatives. This means understanding it ourselves and then discussing it with the peasants. A cooperative is not made by compulsion; it is a voluntary organisation. It is only when our peasantry willingly accepts it, that it can succeed.

Our workers must therefore realise that the kind of work to be done is to sit in the village and work with the peasants there and try to build up a cooperative. Merely telling others to do something is not good enough. One must do it oneself.

20. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 164-68 & 173-74.

21. Message to General Secretary, Congress Study Centre's Camp, Allahabad, 21 May 1959.

22. On 25 May 1959.

23. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 164-168.

24. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 173-174.

## 26. Public Meeting: The Swatantra Party<sup>25</sup>

### FORMATION OF NEW OPPOSITION PARTY NEHRU'S COMMENT: VALUE OF CLEAR-CUT POLICIES

Coimbatore

June 5

Prime Minister Nehru said here today that he welcomed the move for the formation of a new Opposition party as announced by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari yesterday, in Madras. He was addressing a well-attended public meeting at Mettupalayam.

Mr Nehru said: "Although I do not agree with the party's views, I welcome it and I hope that the party would put before the people of the country definite programmes and definite policies so that you and I and all of us may be able to differentiate what they are and how far we can follow them."

Mr. Nehru said: "I should like to remove from Rajaji's mind the idea that I do not like him to name his party as a Conservative Party. I would welcome that name for his party, if he likes to give it or any other name. After all, it is for him to choose a name for it. Why should I object to a name? What I am interested in is the content of the party and not its name. What I am also interested in is how far the problems that we have today are sought to be solved by the party through a programme that might be put forward by that party. Because obviously, a party must put forward a positive programme, not merely negative criticism or denunciation of what others say or do. Therefore, I say I welcome the formation of this new party."

Mr Nehru said he hoped that those who formed the new party would keep a "vigilant eye on what we say and do and criticise to their hearts' content because we may make mistakes."

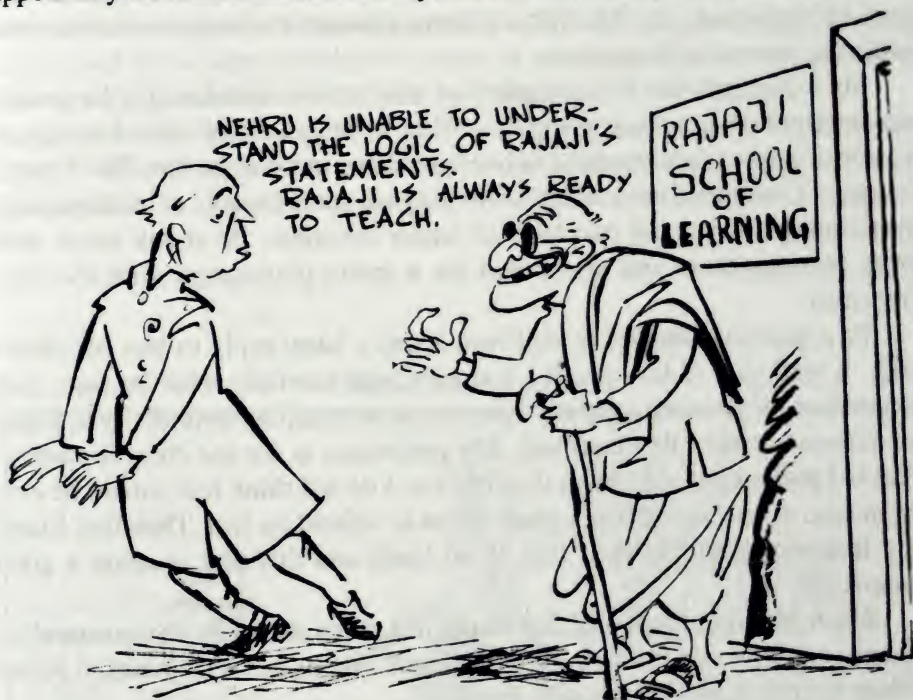
### TRIBUTE TO C.R.

"All of us do make mistakes and Rajaji, with his great experience, can certainly pull us up. If he thinks we have done any wrong, we shall, I hope, admit our fault. It does not matter how much he may differ from me or dislike the policy we may hold. However that may be, I shall always remember him as a great leader of India, the great leader in our struggle in our struggle for freedom, the leader who, for half a century we have respected and for whom we have affection

25. Speech at Coimbatore. From *The Hindu*, 6 June 1959.

as a wise leader. Nothing is going to change that position and the feelings of our minds and hearts. But, when it comes to deciding what we have to do in this country ultimately, we have to think in terms of our problems and if our minds are not convinced about something we cannot accept it."

Mr. Nehru said: "I do not want you to accept anything I say unless I can appeal to your minds and hearts. If you do not like it, by all means reject it."



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 7 JUNE 1959)

## 27. At Suler Airport: The Swatantra Party<sup>26</sup>

### DEPARTURE FOR DELHI

Coimbatore

June 6

Prime Minister Nehru left by a special IAF plane this morning at 8.30 for Delhi from Suler airport. He was given a warm send off at the airport by the Chief Minister, Mr Kamaraj, Messrs M.Bhaktavatsalam, and C. Subramaniam, Ministers. Among others present were Messrs. M. Bupathi, Municipal Chairman,

26. Speech at Coimbatore. From *The Hindu*, 7 June 1959.

R. Chinnaswami Naidu, President, District Congress Committee, S. Balakrishna Shetty, I-G of Police, S. Moni, Collector, and P.R. Ramakrishnan, M.P., and Miss Anna George, Deputy Secretary to Government, other officials and non-officials.

The Prime Minister's departure was delayed by thirty minutes as the van carrying his luggage went by mistake to the old Peelamedu aerodrome. This gave an opportunity for Mr Nehru to have pleasant exchanges with the small gathering present at the airport.

Mr Nehru told Mr C. Subramaniam that similar mistake like the present one occurred when he was going from New York to Ottawa when his luggage went to a wrong place resulting in one hour delay in his departure. The District Congress Committee have added to his luggage some baskets of choice mango fruits, hill plantains and two bags of tender coconuts. He shook hands with Press photographers and also posed for a group photograph with the local Pressmen.

To a question whether he had read Rajaji's latest reply to him Mr Nehru said, "I read part of his speech." I always read carefully what he says. Any admonition he gives me naturally I pay attention to and try to profit by it. Rajaji has referred to the Old Testament. My preference is for the New Testament. That is I prefer God of Love to God of Fear. I do not think fear should be ever the motive of any action. Even good action is vitiated by fear. Therefore I have said that people should shed fear of all kinds and that fear is never a good companion."

When Mr Nehru was told that Rajaji had given the name "Swatantara" to his new party he said it was a good name and that he never objected to Rajaji calling his party the Conservative Party.

When a Pressman told him that Rajaji had said that he disliked several things that he (Nehru) liked, Nehru replied that he (Nehru) liked many things which Rajaji liked in which case Rajaji would have to give up many things.

When Mr Bupathi, Municipal Chairman asked for a message to the people of Coimbatore, Mr Nehru said that Coimbatore was rapidly growing into an industrialised city and they should see that there were no slums there.

Prime Minister Nehru returned to New Delhi today after an eight-day visit to Ootacamund .

## 28. To N.G. Ranga: Ranga's Resignation<sup>27</sup>

June 6, 1959

My dear Ranga,

I have your letter of the 4th June. I am sorry to learn that you are resigning from the Congress Party as well as from the Congress organisation.<sup>28</sup> For any one to sever his connection with an organisation with which he has been intimately connected for a large number of years, is always painful to all concerned. However, if you feel this way, there is nothing more to be said.

I am forwarding your letter to the Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party<sup>29</sup> and asking him to put it up at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

*"Follow the Leader!"*



*Mr. N.G. Ranga has taken up leadership of the 'Swatantra' conservative party.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 21 JUNE 1959)

27. Letter to Lok Sabha MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

28. N. G. Ranga assumed leadership of the newly formed Swatantra Party on 11 June 1959.

29. Ram Subhag Singh.

## 29. To Indira Gandhi: Congress Misconduct in Sindri<sup>30</sup>

If it is a fact that the Chairman of the Congress Mandal Committee in Sindri is in adverse possession of Government lands from which he gets a substantial income, this appears to me highly improper.<sup>31</sup> I think that the AICC Office should enquire into this matter. This might be done both directly and through the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee.

## 30. To C.B. Gupta: Congress Factionalism in UP<sup>32</sup>

June 28, 1959

My dear Chandrabhanu,<sup>33</sup>

Thank you for your letter of June 23rd. I have not seen the reports of the various papers as to what I said at the UPPCC but I certainly did not say that the responsibility of managing the UP Congress is that of the Chief Minister.<sup>34</sup> What I said was that the responsibility for carrying on the Government must necessarily rest with the Chief Minister. That does not mean that others are bereft of responsibility or cannot advise or be consulted. But, in the final analysis, the responsibility of the Government has to rest with the Chief Minister.

As for the relations of the Pradesh Congress Committee and the Chief Minister and the Government, this has for long been a ticklish matter. Broadly, we have said that in matters of policy the Pradesh Congress Committee can certainly express its opinion and give advice, but that, in matters of administrative

30. Note, 4 June 1959.

31. Lakshmi N. Menon, the Deputy Minister of External Affairs, upon her return from Sindri in May 1959, informed Nehru that the Chairman of the Congress Mandal Committee in Sindri, besides being pro-communist and sponsoring a rival labour union, had occupied Government land from which he earned Rs.1000 per month. "A meeting sponsored by him was addressed by the Congress M.P Sheelabhadra Yajee of Rajya Sabha in which the Government was criticised in an unbecoming manner," she added.

32. Letter.

33. Congressman and a Minister in the U.P Government till 1957, was defeated in the general election in 1957 and also in a by-election in 1958.

34. *The Hindustan Times* of 18 June 1959 reported that, at the PCC meeting in Nainital, Nehru (i) both expressed distress at factional squabbles and declined to intervene; (ii) affirmed that the management of the State was the Chief Minister's responsibility; and (iii) both complimented C.B. Gupta as one of the leading Congress workers and reminded him of his duty to cooperate with others.



details, they should not interfere. We have often tried to lay down some rules, but the whole question is so much a matter of a co-operative approach that rules really cannot cover every aspect of it. Wherever intelligent men or women have to work together, they can seldom agree on everything. The whole question is one of cooperative approach and full opportunities of discussion and consideration of problems.

I said at this meeting of the Council of the UPPCC that I regretted the newspaper publicity which has been given to our internal Congress affairs in the UP. I do not think that you are at all responsible for it and probably the fault lies with the newspaper correspondents. But the fact is that this kind of thing does make it difficult to tackle a delicate situation.

You refer to Sampurnanandji expanding the Cabinet. I asked him about this. He told me that owing to stress of work he had added some Deputy Ministers, but had not expanded his Cabinet at all yet.<sup>35</sup>

### *Bright Future*



*Mr. C.B. Gupta, who had talks last week with Mr. Sampurnanand, said his stars are on the ascendant and he expects a turn of events for the better by July.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 31 MAY 1959)

35. Five new Deputy Ministers in Uttar Pradesh were inducted on 11 June 1959.

My reference to you was on the lines of my feeling on this question for a considerable time. I said that an old and experienced colleague of ability and organisation power like you should have the chance to exercise that ability in the cause of the country. It was a pity that this was not done. No doors are banged or can be banged.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) States

(i) Bihar

### 31. To Abdul Qaiyum Ansari: Fazlur Rehman's Vitriolic Speech<sup>36</sup>

Patna  
May 1, 1959

My dear Ansari,

I have been reading a report in *The Searchlight* of April 23rd about the debate in the Bihar Assembly on the Sitamarhi riots.<sup>37</sup> In this report, there is reference to a speech made by Fazlur Rehman.<sup>38</sup> I have read this report of the speech with considerable astonishment. Apart from the fact that the speech contains some obvious untruths, the whole tone of the speech appears to me highly objectionable for a Congress M.L.A. to make.<sup>39</sup> I should like you to write to Shri Fazlur Rehman and ask him for an explanation. You might mention that you are doing so at my instance.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

36. Letter to the President of the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee.

37. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 280-281.

38. Bihar MLA, 1952-76; Janta Party Lok Sabha MP, 1977-79; Union Minister of State for Planning, Labour and Wakfs, 1977-79.

39. See item 32, here p. 250.

### 32. To Indira Gandhi: Communalism and Congress Factionalism<sup>40</sup>

During my two days' visit to Bihar,<sup>41</sup> I addressed several major meetings and met Congress workers etc. in Patna. The meetings were on a very big scale, and I suppose I must have addressed about seven hundred thousand persons.

2. I came here in a very depressed mood because of the communal occurrences at Sitamarhi and Akhta. Sitamarhi especially was a very bad show. It was a big scale upheaval in which large numbers of peasants participated and attacked the Muslims. The whole thing occurred at a fair held at Sitamarhi where a rumour got abroad that in a Muslim shop, beef was being sold, or a cow had been slaughtered. The rumour could not be correct because it is hardly conceivable that any Muslim would do such a thing in the middle of a huge Hindu fair. Probably, some mischief-makers started this rumour. The fact remains, however, that it excited a huge multitude of the peasants who attacked the Muslims.

3. The next day, at Akhta, a Muslim village nearby, there was trouble also. Here, organised attacks on each other took place. Many houses or huts were set on fire. Because of the wind, the fire spread, and the damage was great. Sufferers in this respect were more Hindus than Muslims.

4. What I was deeply concerned about was this basic hostility which comes up at the slightest provocation. This is a serious matter. At all my meetings, I referred to this.

5. On enquiry here, I found that the Government had dealt with the situation with some rapidity and efficiency in both places. At Sitamarhi, the whole affair did not last more than two or three hours. There was no reason to expect any trouble there, and the police present were small in numbers, while the crowd was one hundred thousand or so at the fair. Anyhow, everyone is agreed, both Hindus and Muslims, that the Government acted swiftly. Also, immediate arrangements were made for medical relief. Everyone also praises the work of the doctors. The Chief Minister, Sri Krishna Sinha, gave a strong lead and acted up to it. There is general satisfaction at his attitude and the action he took.

6. It is interesting to note that in the Muzaffarpur district where this communal trouble took place, the District Magistrate is a Muslim.<sup>42</sup> Also, of

40. Note, Patna, 1 May 1959. Secret Correspondence between U. N. Dhebar and Nehru, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

41. From 30 April to 1 May 1959. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 165-206.

42. M. Sulaiman.

course, the Governor of Bihar is a Muslim,<sup>43</sup> and so is now the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee.<sup>44</sup>

7. This affair is certainly deplorable and makes us realise how easy it is to excite masses of people. Constant vigilance is required, apart from continuing propaganda, ultimately wider spread of education.

8. There is one aspect of this matter which has rather surprised and distressed me. In the Bihar Assembly, there was general approval of the swift action taken by Government. Even the Opposition parties joined in this. One member, however, a Congress M.L.A., Shri Fazlur Rehman, delivered a virulent and highly objectionable speech, attacking the Chief Minister in a most unbecoming language. He accused him of making false statements and said that the places where the injured persons had been hospitalised, were like Hitler's camps, and so on and so forth. Several Muslim members of the Assembly came to me to protest against this speech of Fazlur Rehman.

9. It seems to me that Fazlur Rehman's speech had little to do with what might conceivably be considered as Muslim reaction, even though unjustified. Fazlur Rehman is supposed to belong to the group associated with Krishna Ballabh Sahay.<sup>45</sup> In fact, he is the most prominent member of that group. Therefore, his speech was really to exploit these incidents for group advantage.

10. I am merely writing to you to give you my impressions of my visit. Apart from the very bad effect of the communal incidents at Sitamarhi and Akhta, this visit of mine has been very successful. I came here for the Kosi barrage and the opening of the Mokameh Bridge.<sup>46</sup> Both are worthwhile advances, very popular with the people to whom these will bring great relief.

11. It is evident, however, that the internal rivalries in the Congress continue here. Perhaps, they might be a little less than they were before. Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahay's group appears to be a much smaller one than I had imagined. Perhaps, it has weakened somewhat recently. Nevertheless, it counts, chiefly because of Krishna Ballabh Sahay who had, and presumably has, a good deal of administrative ability and push

12. *The Searchlight* newspaper (one of the Birla Chain) fully supports Krishna Ballabh Sahay.

43. Dr. Zakir Husain.

44. Abdul Qaiyum Ansari.

45. Minister of Land Revenue in Bihar till 1957.

46. First bridge across the Ganga in Bihar connecting the northern and southern parts of the state. See item 33, p. 251.

### 33. At Hathidah: Bridge across the Ganga<sup>47</sup>

#### Nehru opens Ganga Bridge in Bihar: Symbol of Hard Labour And Co-operative Effort

Hathidah,

May 1

Prime Minister Nehru today formally declared open the Rs. 16-crore rail-cum-road bridge over the river Ganga at Hathidah near Mokameh. This is the first bridge across the Ganga in Bihar connecting the northern and southern parts of the State.

Amidst cheers, Mr. Nehru operated a lever from the rostrum at the function, held near the bridge approach on the southern bank and the signal on the bridge was lowered. The function was attended among others by the Chief Minister of the State, Dr. S.K. Sinha, the Union Railway Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram and members of the Iraqi Railway delegation who are now touring India.

Addressing the large number of people who had arrived there mostly from the neighbouring villages, Mr. Nehru said the new bridge which had been constructed here was a symbol of hard labour and co-operative effort. It was an important link between the two parts of Bihar and would contribute to the growing prosperity of the country, he said.

The Prime Minister said that this great country from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari should be made strong and united to be worthy of her hard-won freedom.

Pointing to the bridge, Mr. Nehru said this great edifice would link both the parts of Bihar hitherto separated by the Ganga and would contribute to the growing prosperity of India. Many more such links were necessary for connecting various parts of the country to bring India's 40 crore people in close touch with each other. This was necessary to strengthen the country, which required hard work and co-operation of all whichever State they might belong to, he added.

India, said Mr. Nehru, was facing many problems, the chief among these being poverty and illiteracy. The people had reached only one portion of their journey. They had dreamt of Swaraj. Independence had come but with it also had come various responsibilities. There could not be any rest for them until the goal was reached.

Immediately after the function the Prime Minister boarded a special train in which he crossed the bridge and left for Patna.

47. Speech, 1 May 1959. From *The Hindu*, 2 May 1959.

### 34. To Sri Krishna Sinha: Slackness in the Bureaucracy<sup>48</sup>

June 8, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Humayun Kabir.<sup>49</sup> He has sent me also the letter addressed by Harinatha Misra, M.L.A.<sup>50</sup> to Sucheta Kripalani.<sup>51</sup>

I must say that if these facts are correct, then the District Officials did not behave as they should have behaved. To take many hours to reach a place of conflict which is only thirty seven miles away is not evidence of competence or eagerness to deal with a difficult situation. I think this matter requires inquiry and, if necessary, action.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 35. To Sri Krishna Sinha: Communalism in Appointments<sup>52</sup>

June 10, 1959.

My dear Sri Babu,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you about some matters which are, I think, of importance. I would not have done so but for my feeling that I owe it to you and myself that the information which reaches me from a number of quarters should be placed before you. That information may not be completely accurate or may be exaggerated. But it has come often from impartial sources. Also the mere fact of this kind of thing being talked about a great deal becomes relevant and deserves notice.

I am told that the Education Department of Bihar is not functioning at all effectively. Indeed, some reports I have received in regard to its working have rather shocked me. The Minister in charge<sup>53</sup> appears to be quite passive and

48. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

49. On 8 June, Humayun Kabir, Union Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, reported Harinatha Misra's information that the district officials of Muzaffarpur took about five to seven hours to reach riot-hit Sitamarhi, a mere thirty-seven miles distant.

50. (1917-1998); Bihar MLA, 1946-77; Speaker, Bihar Legislative Assembly, 1972-77; Lok Sabha MP, 1980-84.

51. General Secretary of the Congress.

52. Letter.

53. Ganga Nand Singh.

without any ideas as to what should be done. Apparently the Deputy Minister, Krishna Kant Singh,<sup>54</sup> takes much more active part in the Department's working. Even his part has not much to do with education, but is more concerned with appointments of various kinds, including appointments to Managing Committees, etc. These appointments, it is said, are very largely based on communal reasons.

In fact, I am informed, that there is a very considerable growth of communal feeling as between different castes in Bihar and a belief that appointments, etc, are largely governed by this feeling. Postings and transfers are also largely based on this approach.

I have received complaints also about your Minister, Maqbool Ahmed of Bhagalpur.<sup>55</sup> These complaints touch his integrity.

Complaints have also come of Mahesh Babu's<sup>56</sup> interference in State affairs. Even that notes and files are written sometimes under his directions. This kind of complaint or reputation whatever the truth in it must necessarily affect Mahesh Babu and even injure his future prospects.

I am told that the services in Bihar are also being progressively affected by these internal pulls and the senior men are anxious to be transferred to the Central Secretariat. Of course, the Central Secretariat pays more in salaries and that is also no doubt a reason.

I have indicated some of the complaints that have reached me. As I have said above, these may be greatly exaggerated. But when they come from people outside the normal political field or from such persons as are more or less objective in their outlook, then they assume a certain importance. It is the widespread nature of these complaints that has disturbed me. This creates an atmosphere which is bad.

I hope you will certainly forgive me for writing to you about these matters and yourself look into them.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

54. (1919-95); Bihar MLA, 1952-62; Deputy Minister of Education, Bihar Government, 1957-61; Lok Sabha MP, 1962-67.
55. Minister of Public Works, Public Health, Engineering, Housing and Local Self Government.
56. Minister of Industry, Transport, Information and Revenue.

(ii) Bombay

### 36. To Y.B. Chavan: Corporate Corruption and Government Inaction<sup>57</sup>

May 28, 1959

My dear Chavan,

You may remember that when I went to Nagpur and Yeotmal, I received delegations from the Labour associations there about the closing of the Model Mills Nagpur.<sup>58</sup> I was much concerned at the facts and felt strongly about it. I spoke to your Ministers who were there; I wrote to the Labour Minister<sup>59</sup> here and the Commerce & Industry Ministry; and I wrote to you<sup>60</sup> or perhaps to Jivaraj Mehta.<sup>61</sup> I felt that, in the circumstances it was quite essential to take speedy action. What action it should be was naturally for your Government or our Labour Ministry to determine.

And yet I find now that nothing has been done, and Gulzarilal Nanda writes to me that he himself is disappointed at the passivity of the Bombay Government in this matter. This is not merely a question of closing a mill, bad as that is, but of alleged misappropriation on a big scale.<sup>62</sup> This seems to me a very significant example of our Government's supineness in dealing with obviously bad cases as well as such cases as affect large numbers of persons who have been rendered unemployed. I can understand that for Government to take charge of the mill and start it on its own account is a complicated matter requiring much thought and preparation, but not to take any action at all except to go on examining the question for weeks and weeks and consulting lawyers and the like is an abdication of the function of government. If people criticise us and we become unpopular, how can we protest? If the law is bad, then we should change it. But, however bad the law may be, a government has enough authority to take action. I would not hesitate to put such a man in detention. Let him come out later or let the courts push him out. At least we would have shown our intention.

57. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bombay.

58. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 377-379.

59. Gulzarilal Nanda.

60. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 378-379.

61. Finance Minister in the Bombay Government.

62. See items 212 & 213, pp. 475-476.



I am really very depressed at the way this matter has been managed or rather mismanaged. We have become quite helpless to deal with serious matters. I am beginning to lose faith in myself and in my Government.<sup>63</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 37. To Kesho Ram: Vidarbha Agitation<sup>64</sup>

Please reply to this letter from Khamgaon as follows:-

Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of June 8th. What Shri S.G. Kazi<sup>65</sup> said was obviously his own opinion. It is true, however, that the Prime Minister has not approved at all of linguistic agitations that are going on and has thought that the recently revived agitation for a separate state of Vidarbha was not desirable. What may happen in the future, he cannot say, not being a prophet. He has also expressed the opinion that the present Bombay State is one of our most efficient and well-governed states in India and it would be a pity to break it up. What we require now is concentration on our various development schemes and Five Year Plans.<sup>66</sup>

63. This letter was copied to Gulzarilal Nanda, the Union Minister of Labour, Employment and Planning, and Lal Bahadur Sastri, the Commerce and Industry Minister.

64. Note to PPS, 15 June 1959.

65. (b.1904); lawyer and politician; participated in Non-Cooperation Movement, 1922; associated with Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind after 1948; called a Convention of Muslim leaders of various important parties and openly advised Muslims to join the Congress, 1948; MLA, Bombay State, 1952-62; Minister of Civil Supplies, Housing, Printing Presses and Fisheries in the Bombay Government, 1957-62; author of a booklet, *Place of Vidarbha in Proposed Bombay* (n.p: K. G. Deshmukh, 1960).

66. A copy of this letter was sent to S. G. Kazi.

(iii) Delhi

**38. To Master Tara Singh: Gurdwara Politics<sup>67</sup>**

26th May, 1959

My dear Master Tara Singh,

I have received your letter of May 25th this morning.<sup>68</sup>

On reading in the newspapers about the trouble and conflict in regard to some of the Delhi gurdwaras I was naturally concerned. It seemed to me very odd that when there is a recognised body of the Sikhs, namely, the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, there should be any argument as to the management of any gurdwara. If there is any dispute, it appeared to me the natural course for the SGPC to decide it. If there is any actual violent conflict, then the local authorities are responsible for dealing with it and preserving law and order.

When you met me last time and a statement was issued, the main burden of this statement was that the SGPC should deal with religious matters relating to gurdwaras and there should be no official interference. As this has always been Government's policy, I gladly agreed to it. Hence, my surprise was all the greater when I found that the authority of the SGPC itself was challenged by you or some of your supporters.

You tell me in your letter about some registered body formed previously to look after the Delhi gurdwaras. I do not know about all this, but the major fact appears to stand out that either the SGPC is the basic governing authority over all gurdwaras or it is not, and the various gurdwaras shift for themselves. This is a curious position about which I can say little. In case of conflict, the matter, I suppose, has to be decided in the law courts. In any event, I do not wish to be entangled in these arguments and conflicts. According to the assurance given by me to you, I have to leave these matters to the SGPC.

In your letter you refer to attempts to capture some of the Delhi gurdwaras. My recollection is that such an attempt took place about two months ago and Sisganj Gurdwara was seized by force by a group of persons. Indeed, in the conflict that followed, unfortunately one man was killed.

In your letter you cast the blame on others; the others cast the blame on you and your supporters. Government does not come into the picture at all. In fact,

67. Letter to a prominent Akali leader. File No. 40/2/59-Poll., Ministry of Home Affairs. Also available in JN Collection.

68. See Tara Singh to Nehru. Appendix 16 (a).

it is you now who want Government to intervene. I would rather adhere to the statement we made.<sup>69</sup> Of course, Government has to deal with the situation where violence and conflict are threatened. I presume that the Delhi authorities are alive to this.

I would suggest that such matters should be settled peacefully and cooperatively and in accordance with the rules and regulations therefore and not by violent methods.

I really cannot understand how you say that this is interference by Government in the management of gurdwaras. If any Sikhs are associated with Government, they do not cease to be Sikhs. They should not function on behalf of Government, but I cannot prevent them from functioning in their personal capacities.

You have expressed a wish to meet me. I am afraid, I am completely full up today and tomorrow with engagements and Cabinet meetings. In two days' time I am going down to Ootacamund.<sup>70</sup> But, quite apart from the difficulty of finding time, I must say that I do not understand how such an interview would

*On With The Show*



*Master Tara Singh says it is wrong to think that his battle with the Government is over.—Report.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 3 MAY 1959)

69. 12 April 1959. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 299-302, 304-305 and 590-592.

70. See item 164, pp. 413-422.

be profitable at this stage.<sup>71</sup> As I have said above, I have no desire to be entangled in these local troubles which have to be dealt with by the local authorities.<sup>72</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 39. To B.N. Datar: Gurdwara Politics<sup>73</sup>

May 28, 1959

My dear Datar,

I have received your letter of May 28th and have read your note about the position in regard to the Delhi Gurdwaras. I am leaving tomorrow morning for Ootacamund. In a matter of this kind I would hesitate to give any firm opinion as the situation changes from day to day. You will, no doubt, consult Pantji and advise the Chief Commissioner<sup>74</sup> accordingly.

If an enquiry is made as to the actual possession of the Sisganj Gurdwara, the result, I take it; will be that Master Tara Singh's party is in possession of it. That is a fact, in whatever manner the possession was obtained. It might have been challenged within two months. I believe the two months are over. When recently the opposite party went to the Sisganj Gurdwara presumably to take possession of it, all kinds of missiles were thrown at them from the roof of the Gurdwara and a large number were injured. The Police arrested some people; apparently most of them were from the opposite party, that is, those representing Giani Kartar Singh's group. I could not quite understand why the people who hurled soda water bottles etc. were let off rather lightly.

I do not think there is any chance of a compromise as things are today. It is bad for such armed conflicts to take place in Delhi or for a threat of them to be made and we can only deal with the situation in a passive manner. What exactly we should do, I cannot suggest without going more deeply into this question.

It seems to me that the main reason for seeking possession of these Gurdwaras by this party or the other is to gain the money that comes to them. The budget of the Delhi Gurdwaras for the year goes up to Rs.11 to 12 lakhs. It

71. For Tara Singh's reply to Nehru, 26 May 1959, see Appendix 16 (b).

72. Correspondence between Nehru and Tara Singh was copied to G. B. Pant.

73. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Home Affairs.

74. A. D. Pandit.

is this money that people are after. If some steps could be taken to freeze the bank accounts and other monies of these Gurdwaras, it would go some way to relieve the situation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iv) Kashmir

#### 40. To Saraladevi Sarabhai: Mridula Sarabhai and Vinoba Bhave<sup>75</sup>

May 21, 1959

My dear Saraladevi,

Thank you for your letter of May 20. About three days ago, I received a letter from Mridula<sup>76</sup> which I think was dated May 3. With this was a long letter addressed to Vinobaji<sup>77</sup> and to it were attached a number of long enclosures. I decided to send these immediately to Vinobaji. I did not want to send it by post, but as Shriman Narayan<sup>78</sup> was going to see Vinobaji, I gave it to him. This letter must have reached Vinobaji.

Today I received Mridula's second letter dated 11th May. This also contains long letters for Vinobaji. I shall arrange to have this sent on to him also, but as I have said above, I do not like sending these letters by post. As soon as some arrangement can be made for a messenger to take it, it will be sent.

I do not remember having received any letter from Mridula dated April 23.

I think, it will be a good thing for Mridula to seek the advice of Vinobaji as to what she should do. Indeed, it will be desirable for her to see him when she is discharged. There is, however, one difficulty. I suppose that at that time Vinobaji will be in Kashmir. I would not like Mridula to go there, partly because this is bound to be objected to by the Kashmir Government and partly because she is bound to get tied up with all kinds of currents and activities there, which will create difficulties. I do not know how long Vinobaji will remain in Kashmir.

75. Letter to the wife of Ambalal Sarabhai, the industrialist from Gujarat.

76. Daughter of Ambalal Sarabhai and a freedom fighter who organised relief and rehabilitation work for the refugees, including abducted women, after Partition.

77. Vinoba Bhave.

78. General Secretary of the Congress Party; Member of the Planning Commission. Nehru wrote to him on 22 May, enclosing the correspondence.

I shall gladly meet you and Ambalal when you come to Delhi. I shall be returning to Delhi on the 6th June evening. You can see me on the 7th or 8th in the evening. I shall be here till the 10th. Provisionally, we might fix the 7th June at 7 P.M., but I can change this if you like.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **41. To Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi: Kashmir Conspiracy Case<sup>79</sup>**

Ootacamund  
June 2, 1959

My dear Bakshi,

I have received your letter of May, 1959 with which you have sent a copy of your letter to Dr Sampurnanand.<sup>80</sup> This is about Iqbal Ahmed for the accused as Defence Counsel in the conspiracy case.

As you yourself say in your letter to Sampurnanandji, it would not be desirable to put any difficulties in his way for his appearance as Defence Counsel. It is true that the information you have received indicates that he is going to be paid by money received from Pakistan. This undoubtedly creates difficulties. In fact, it creates a complicated situation. Iqbal Ahmed probably does not know anything about this, though we cannot be sure.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **42. To Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi: Vacation in Kashmir<sup>81</sup>**

June 30, 1959

My dear Bakshi,

I spoke to you on the telephone today. This is to confirm what I said.

I find that I have a Cabinet Meeting in Delhi on the 8th July. I can, therefore, start from here and go to Srinagar on the morning of the 9th July.

79. Letter to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

80. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

81. Letter. File No. 8/110/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

Much as I would like to spend a number of days in Kashmir, the situation is so difficult that I do not know how long I can stay. My present intention is to spend at least a week there and possibly even ten days. As I told you, I want to have complete rest with no engagements and no pomp and circumstance. I do not mind people coming to the airport, but I would beg of you not to have arches etc. put up in the city.

As for my stay there, I am a little concerned about the possibility of crowds at Pahalgam. Perhaps, on arrival, we might go first to Dachigam. I could spend a day or two there and then proceed elsewhere.

Indira, Rajiv and Sanjay will be accompanying me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(v) Kerala

#### 43. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Hindu Religious Institutions<sup>82</sup>

May 11, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,

Your letter of the 8th May about Hindu religious institutions and endowments. Thank you for it. I am passing it on to our Law Minister<sup>83</sup> who deals with this matter.

We propose to have a simple law to ensure that proper accounts are kept and audited and that the money is spent for the purposes aimed at and not otherwise.<sup>84</sup> We have decided to do this to begin with, as any complicated piece of legislation will probably take a long time.

Apart from and in addition to this, we propose to have a small Enquiry Committee to go deeper into these questions relating to Hindu religious trusts, etc.<sup>85</sup> On the receipt of its report; we may frame a further Bill.

82. Letter to the Chief Minister of Kerala.

83. Asoke Kumar Sen.

84. See item 4, pp. 43.

85. From 1 March 1960 the C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer Committee inquired into the working of Hindu Religious endowments and reported to the Union Government on 31 May 1962.

Your Government will, of course, be kept informed of the steps we are taking.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 44. At Coimbatore: Anti-Communist Mobilisation<sup>86</sup>

The Prime Minister issued the following statement to the Press at Coimbatore today:

“For some time past I have been concerned about the situation in Kerala. Since I came to Ootacamund,<sup>87</sup> I have had much more information about it from a variety of sources and my concern and anxiety have increased. It seems clear that a dangerous situation, full of the possibility of violent conflict is rapidly developing in that State. I have remained silent over this issue because I have been reluctant to interfere in matters concerning the Kerala Government. I did not wish to take any step which might lead people to think that I was acting unfairly towards a Government which belonged to a different Party. In many matters I differ considerably from the policy of that Party. In so far as the State Government is concerned, I had to deal with such matters as were of all India concern or such as might affect the Constitution of India. On a few occasions I expressed my concern at some of the activities of the Kerala Government which I thought were not in keeping with the spirit of our democratic Constitution and our basic policies. But, generally speaking, I refrained from even comment and did not interfere in any way.

The situation that is developing in that State now is, however, such that I cannot remain wholly silent. The thought of going there myself occurred to me, but it is difficult for me to do so now as I am on my way from Ootacamund to Delhi. But if at any time I think that my visit to Kerala will be helpful, I shall endeavour to go there.<sup>88</sup>

I do not propose, in this statement, to enter into the merits of the controversies at present raging in Kerala, the chief of which is connected with the legislation passed in regard to education.<sup>89</sup> It is clear to me that the basic

86. Statement, 6 June 1959. Prime Minister's Secretariat (PIB).

87. Nehru attended a Seminar on Planning. See item 164, pp. 413-422.

88. Nehru went to Kerala on a three-day visit on 22 June 1959. See items 52, 53, 54 & 55, pp. 274-281.

89. See item 17, p. 187.



differences in Kerala are much deeper. All kinds of forces are at play, such as communalism and casteism, apart from political rivalries, and the language used in the Press and in speeches is often full of violence. Apparently, preparations for violent conflict are being made. The communalism and casteism of Kerala are somewhat different from the variety I am acquainted with in other parts of India, but they belong to the same species and, in so far as our Government and the great organisation to which I belong are concerned, we are entirely opposed to them as we are convinced that they are harmful to our unity and progress. Violence is even more objectionable and cannot be accepted as a method of action in a democratic State.

### **Feeling of Distrust**

It appears that a very considerable upsurge among large masses of people is taking place in Kerala against the Government there. I cannot measure the extent of this, but there can be no doubt that it is on a big scale. I do not think that any particular legislative measure, even though it is disliked, could have led to this upsurge. It is rather due to a feeling of distrust against the Government that has grown in the course of the past many months. The bona fides of the Government are doubted by many people and many charges have been made against it. These include accusations of unfairness to other parties and partiality in many ways to the Government party in Kerala, that is, the Communists. Charges of violence towards members of other Parties have also been made. Normally, in a democratic government, whatever the differences may be, issues are settled peacefully. The majority treats the minority with consideration and there is even a measure of cooperation; the minority while opposing any measure that it disapproves of, yet functions within the limits of democratic conventions and practice and seeks to change that measure or even the government by democratic methods. If these conventions and practices are not followed, then democracy breaks down and the law of the jungle prevails.

If there is now a deep and widespread distrust of the Kerala Government among large sections of the people there, it is for that Government to consider how this has arisen and how it can be removed. It is the duty of the Government to prevent such developments by its policies and approaches to the people generally, and even to its opponents. In particular, it is unfortunate if the very basis of faith in Government's bona fides is shaken. There is no doubt that there is at present this feeling of unfairness in considerable sections of the people.

### **Adherence to Peaceful Ways**

Even so, however, the duty of those who oppose is to adhere strictly to democratic and peaceful ways. They are entitled to agitate peacefully and try to convince the people of the rightness of their views and policies. They may look forward to changing the government, provided always that this is brought about by democratic and peaceful processes. The abandonment of peaceful methods might well lead to the abandonment of democracy itself. Peaceful methods, of course, mean an avoidance of violence. But they mean something more. The language of violence is itself opposed to peaceful methods. Indeed, all civilised life demands civilised and peaceful behaviour.

Therefore, I would appeal most earnestly to all people of Kerala, to whatever Party they might belong, to adhere strictly to peaceful methods and to avoid violence in speech or act at all cost. We seek the solution of even international problems through peaceful methods. It would be a tragedy for us to fail to solve our own problems through these methods and to have recourse to violence and coercion. We have been taught by our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, that means are always important and often even more important than ends. If we forget this lesson, we do so at our peril.

Our broad policies are well known, whether in the political, social or economic spheres. Recently the National Congress gave special emphasis to some basic policies for the progress of the nation and our people. I came to Ootacamund to join in a Seminar on Planning and during the past week many eminent men and women from all over India have met to consider our basic problems connected with Planning. We were not all of one opinion in some matters, but we laboured hard and I believe that we have achieved substantial results which we hope will advance the great causes we have at heart. It is rather a matter of regret that when we face these mighty problems affecting 400 million people, the people of Kerala should be confronted with a situation full of mutual conflict and violence.

### **Avoid Violence and Conflict**

I do not seek to impose my views, or opinions on others of a different way of thinking, even though I would like to win them over to what I consider the right path. But I think that I have a right to ask the people of Kerala to avoid the path of violence and conflict which can do no good to them or to India. In Kerala the primary responsibility for the peace and welfare of its people rests on its State Government. But Kerala also is an integral part of India and the whole of India is interested that peace must prevail there and nothing should be done which

causes injury to its people. All over India, people from Kerala occupy the highest positions in the public service. They do so because of their ability and worth. In the days to come, they will no doubt play an ever increasing part in the great drama of an advancing and progressing India. For them to lose themselves in conflict would be tragic.

While my appeal is to all the people of Kerala, I would make special appeal to the members and friends of the Congress. I have perhaps a greater right to speak to them. The Congress has prospered in the past because it adhered to certain basic principles. Where it compromised on them, it suffered. Those basic principles are tied up with non-violence and peaceful methods. They are opposed to communalism and casteism. Therefore, no action should be tolerated which, directly or indirectly, encourages violence or supports communalism and casteism. Congressmen should work positively for peaceful approaches and methods in furtherance of the objectives and long established policies of the Congress. They should do so whatever the provocation might be.

I hope that in spite of the present distemper, all will be well in Kerala.”<sup>90</sup>

90. *The Hindu* of 9 June 1959, reported Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the CPI, responding on 7 June to Nehru's statement thus: (i) graver charges were often brought against Congress Ministries in other States, especially UP, yet Nehru “uncritically accepted the version given by the State Ministry concerned;” (ii) to the Kerala Government's charges against the Congress in Kerala, he had nothing more than “pious exhortations” to offer; (iii) “he does not comment on the open alliance of Congressmen of Kerala with rabid communalists of the Nair Service Society and the Catholic Church; (iv) “there is not a word of criticism” of the move to “paralyse education” to undo an entirely legitimate Act of the Assembly; (v) “But by far the most significant thing in Mr Nehru's statement is that he finds nothing wrong in the attempt of the Congress in Kerala to launch a struggle with the avowed object of throwing out a legally-constituted Ministry by paralysing the administration;” (vi) Nehru had repeatedly declared that methods used to overthrow British rule could no longer be applied as only constitutional methods could be used to change a constitutionally elected Government, not “direct action to change a Government which enjoys a majority in the legislature; (vii) Nehru was setting a precedent which “will have repercussions which neither the Congress nor Mr Nehru nor any Indian who cherishes democracy and desires ordered progress would like.”

## 45. To Mannathu Padmanabhan: Deploring Violence in Anti-Communist Mobilisation<sup>91</sup>

June 15, 1959.

Dear Shri Padmanabhan,

I have today received your letter of the 12th June, 1959.<sup>92</sup> I have been greatly concerned with developments in Kerala and recently I issued a statement which perhaps came to your notice. A few days later, I said something further in the course of a press conference.<sup>93</sup>

As you must know, I am not a Communist and I do not agree with a number of things that the Communists believe in. In particular, I do not agree with the Communist technique of action. I believe in the democratic way and in peaceful methods. Above all, I believe in what Gandhiji taught us about the importance of means. Wrong means cannot yield right results.

It has seemed to me that the way the agitation is being carried on in Kerala must necessarily lead to violence as well as to methods which are opposed to those of democracy. We cannot stand up for democratic methods and, at the same time, ourselves countenance something that is totally different.

So far as the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee is concerned, I understand that the All India Congress Committee has given them specific directions that they must adhere to the Congress policies and on no account must they participate in any activity which savours of communalism or might encourage violence. Those are basic policies of the Congress and we forget them at our peril.

So far as the Government of India is concerned, we cannot approve of any violent activity or any anti-democratic activity.

Whatever the objective of the Communist Government in Kerala might be, it should not be countered by methods of violence. I am quite sure that will be injurious to those who use them. We are entirely opposed to any picketing of schools, whoever might own the schools, or to any compulsion on students not to attend schools. No Government can permit such compulsion to continue.

I regret I cannot accept your argument on this matter as I think it is against the basic principles on which we have functioned as a Congress Party and as a democratic Government. I realise that there is strong feeling among large sections

91. Letter to one of the founders of Nair Service Society and President of the Liberation Committee for the removal of the CPI Government of Kerala.

92. See Mannathu Padmanabhan to Nehru. Appendix 21.

93. See item 18, pp. 196-202.

of the community against the present Kerala Government. That feeling can be expressed peacefully and democratically. But if undemocratic means are used, then they cannot have our sympathy.

It is not clear to me how it is proposed to change a government except through democratic processes. The only other way is violence and that we totally object to.

I shall be sorry if the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, in the excitement of the moment, forgets Congress principles and acts in a way which I think can only prove harmful.

You asked me last year to inaugurate the Mahatma Gandhi College at Trivandrum.<sup>94</sup> I earnestly trust that you will appreciate my desire that we should not take Mahatma Gandhi's name in vain but that we should adhere to the advice he gave and the principles he laid down.<sup>95</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 46. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Visiting Kerala<sup>96</sup>

June 15, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

Since writing my other letter to you, I have received Namboodiripad's letter dated 13th June. I enclose a copy of it. As I have written to you, there is no question of my going to Kerala now. I shall have to consider any possible future visit later. You will notice that Namboodiripad does not want me to go there for a brief visit. It is, of course, not at all easy for me to go on a long visit.<sup>97</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

94. See SWJN/SS/42/pp.20-26.

95. This letter was copied to Indira Gandhi, Ramakrishna Rao, R. Sankar, G. B. Pant, and Sadiq Ali.

96. Letter to the Governor of Kerala.

97. This letter was copied to G. B. Pant and Indira Gandhi.

## 47. To R. Sankar: Cautioning Against Violence and Unconstitutional Action<sup>98</sup>

June 15, 1959

My dear Sankar,<sup>99</sup>

I returned from Nepal yesterday. On arrival here, I learnt of recent developments in Kerala and I also saw in the newspapers that Namboodiripad had invited me to go to Kerala. I have not received any such invitation from him yet. I do not propose to go there for the time being or in the very near future. I have to go to Nainital tomorrow and some other places. But, apart from my engagements, I do not wish to go there till I feel that my going will be worthwhile.

But I need not tell you how very concerned we are at the way things are shaping themselves in Kerala. What is happening is exactly what we did not want to happen and what we tried to warn you against. Violence has come and will no doubt increase. This can only lead to chaotic conditions in Kerala and to evil consequences in other parts of India. The Congress will suffer.

I gather from the Congress President that she is sending Shri Sadiq Ali, General Secretary, AICC, to Kerala immediately. We are requesting Shri Dhebarbhai also to proceed there. He might be delayed by a day or two.

I realise that you are facing a difficult situation. When this occurs, it is all the more important that we should adhere to certain basic principles for which we stand. If we forget them and act contrary to them, then we have no real basis left. I fear that what is happening in Kerala is a progressive abandonment of both Congress principles and democratic practices. I do not understand how you can achieve anything by these methods. What the Opposition does today will naturally be an example, if example was needed, to the Kerala Government and the Communists there and elsewhere. I thought that we had made it perfectly clear at Ootacamund that nothing should be done in a hurry, no blueprint of a programme should be made and that care should be taken not to go against any of our principles.

You are reported to have said that direct action will take all forms and that there are only two alternatives left, namely, resignation or removal of the

98. Letter.

99. (1909-1972); Member of Travancore-Cochin State Assembly, 1949-56; led the Congress Party as KPCC President during the anti-communist movement, 1958-59; Deputy Chief Minister of Kerala; 1960-62; Chief Minister of Kerala, 1962-64.

Communist Ministry.<sup>100</sup> This means that you are adopting undemocratic means to change the government. If this principle is accepted, democracy perishes and there is civil conflict on an ever-increasing scale. Obviously the Government of India cannot view this prospect with satisfaction. In the final analysis, the Government of India is responsible for peace and order everywhere in India and we cannot encourage any movement which tries to upset a Government through so-called direct action.

You will see thus that events are marching in a direction when both the All India Congress organisation and the Government may well have to disapprove completely of some of the activities indulged in by the direct actionists.

We realise fully the strong feelings in Kerala against the present Government there. But strong feelings are not enough. There are principles and good sense and a clear appraisal of the issues. To say that in this way the Kerala Government would be pushed out is to challenge the Constitution as well as our own principles.

Also we do not like at all the close association of the Congress with communal parties and practices. This will inevitably lead to many developments which are contrary to our own ways of thinking and working. I am writing to you frankly on this subject because of my great concern and anxiety. I wrote to you not only as the head of the Government of India but also as one intimately associated with the Congress for a very long time. I hope you and your colleagues will consider carefully what I have written.

Sadiq Ali will take this letter with him and I hope that soon Dhebarbhai will follow. Dhebarbhai, as you know, is a person whom we respect greatly and whose advice should also be respected.<sup>101</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru.

100. On 6 June, the day that Nehru issued his statement on Kerala, Sankar publicly declared that there could be "no compromise with the Communist Government" and that it had to "go out." See "Upsurge in Kerala. Nehru's Statement Criticised", *The Hindu*, 9 June 1959.

101. This letter was copied to G. B. Pant, B. Ramakrishna Rao, Indira Gandhi.

## 48. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Congress Drift Wrong<sup>102</sup>

June 15, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

As you know, we have been very much concerned about the developments in Kerala. The latest accounts have added to our concern and we feel that the Congress Party is drifting rather rapidly in a wrong direction. I have been away in Nepal and have returned yesterday. During these three or four days, fresh developments have taken place in Kerala which are distressing.<sup>103</sup>

I received a letter from Mannathu Padmanabhan today. To this I have sent a reply by ordinary post.<sup>104</sup> I enclose a copy of his letter and a copy of my reply.

I am sending both these letters to Sankar, the President of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee together with a covering letter. I enclose a copy of this also.

I do not quite know what more to say to you apart from what I have said in these letters. It is clear that as a Central Government we must adhere to the Constitution. If necessity arises, we shall have to help the Kerala Government in maintaining order. But we should like not to interfere as long as possible. I have declared very clearly that I do not approve of this kind of picketing that has started there. I am opposed to picketing of schools and am even more opposed to picketing of Collectors' Offices and the like. Indeed, I cannot understand the desirability of trying to put an end to the present Government there by the means that are being adopted. Apart from the consequences in other States, even the consequences in Kerala are not likely to be desirable ones.

What the Kerala Government is going to do, I do not know. Possibly, they will meet violence with greater violence or even incite the others to violence so as to meet the situation that way. It is difficult to give advice on day to day developments. As far as I can see, all that you can do is to try to give such advice as might prevent unseemly developments on either side. The leaders of the so-called liberation group should realise that what they are doing might lead them to activities which are against even the Central Government. That

102. Letter.

103. On 13 June, five persons were killed in police firing at Ankamali, 18 miles from Ernakulam; on 14 June, another five were killed in police firing at Pulluvila and Kochuveli, two coastal villages in Trivandrum district; and on 15 June, 662 persons courted arrest by picketing Government offices and educational institutions.

104. See item 45, pp. 266-267.



will be exceedingly foolish of them. If they were wise, they would not lay down ultimate objectives which are difficult to attain. The result may well be either chaos or the progressive collapse of the movement.

There is another aspect which I think should be borne in mind. I think that the agrarian legislation before the Kerala Assembly should pass.<sup>105</sup> By and large, it is in accordance with our rural wishes and policies. If it is made to appear that the Opposition has prevented the passage of this legislation, it will not be good.

I understand that the AICC is sending Sadiq Ali, the General Secretary, to Kerala immediately. Dhebarbhai is also being requested to go there soon.

I see from the newspapers that Namboodiripad has invited me to go to Kerala. I have not received any communication from him to this effect. In any event, I have no present intention of going there. I am going to Nainital tomorrow and to one or two other places later.<sup>106</sup> I do not rule out the possibility of my going there in the future, but I shall not go unless I am clear in my mind.<sup>107</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 49. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Kerala Government's Violence<sup>108</sup>

June 15, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,

I have received your letter of the 13th June late this afternoon.<sup>109</sup> I am leaving early tomorrow morning for Nainital.<sup>110</sup> I am, therefore, sending you only a brief reply.

105. The Assembly passed the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill on 10 June 1959.

106. See item. 9, pp. 66-67.

107. This letter was copied to G. B. Pant.

108. Letter.

109. See E. M. S. Namboodiripad to Nehru. Appendix 22.

110. To attend the meeting of the Executive of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee.

I need not tell you that I am deeply concerned about developments in Kerala. Firing has taken place which has resulted in deaths. Whether this firing was justified or not, I cannot say. But complaints have come to me that it was not justified.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 24 MAY 1959)

You have now asked me to visit Kerala, but have added that I should not do so in a hurried way. As it happens I have almost continuous engagements till the end of this month. I cannot easily cancel my engagements during the next seven or eight days, and, as I have said above, I am going to Nainital tomorrow morning. After that I go to Chail in the Simla Hills and later to Jabalpur.<sup>111</sup>

I am writing to you in some haste. All I can say now is that I shall keep the possibility of visiting Kerala in mind and try to do so at the earliest available opportunity. You say that the visit should be carefully planned. I agree, though I cannot say how long I shall be able to remain in Kerala. Obviously I should have plenty of opportunities to meet people of various groups and opinions. It is hardly worthwhile for you to come to Delhi just to draw up my programme. Also I shall be mostly out of Delhi during the next week. You can, however send me your suggestions for my programme. It should not be a rigid one, and there must be plenty of room for adaptation.<sup>112</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

111. See items 11, 12, 13 & 14, pp. 103-136.

112. This letter was copied to Indira Gandhi and G. B. Pant.

**50. To K. Kelappan: Anxiety over Violence<sup>113</sup>**

June 15, 1959

My dear Kelappan,<sup>114</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 9th June. I need not tell you how deeply concerned I am at recent developments in Kerala. It is quite true that in spite of assurances and promises and in spite of the intentions of the leaders, the whole atmosphere is full of hatred and violence. All of us here are greatly worried over this.

The Congress President<sup>115</sup> is tonight sending Sadiq Ali, General Secretary of the AICC to Kerala, and she is requesting Dhebarbhai also to go there.

It is possible that I might be able to go there after some days.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**51. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Kerala Tour Programme<sup>116</sup>**

I intend reaching Trivandrum on Monday 22nd June afternoon and to stay there till 25th morning when I return to Delhi. I do not at present intend visiting other places. I would naturally like to meet you and members of your Government, as also other representatives of organisations who may wish to see me. In particular, please inform President of Pradesh Congress Committee.<sup>117</sup>

113. Letter.

114. Leader of the Vaikom satyagraha in Travancore (1924-25) for the right of the Harijans to use roads around the temple and a Sarvodaya activist at this time.

115. Indira Gandhi.

116. Telegram, 18 June 1959.

117. In a separate telegram of the same date Nehru asked Ramakrishna Rao to inform U. N. Dhebar that "I would like him to send me his appraisal of situation and advice he is giving."

**52. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Documents  
for Namboodiripad<sup>118</sup>**

Trivandrum.  
June 23, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,

I have been overwhelmed here by telegrams, letters, representations, memoranda, etc. I find it difficult to keep pace with them.<sup>119</sup>

I have, however, picked out three papers which I am sending to you for your consideration. One is a telegram, another a letter and the third a representation signed by a large number of persons in connection with the firing which took place at Vettukad.<sup>120</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

118. Letter.

119. On 23 June, Nehru wrote to Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Bombay, "This Kerala business is very complicated and distressing. I am afraid that after two days of it I see no clear way out of it."

On 24 June 1959, *The Hindu* reported that "Nehru has not spared himself since his arrival in Trivandram yesterday and has been meeting and discussing with people early morning till late in the night. As one Minister put it, it was a fatigued Prime Minister that the members of the Kerala Cabinet met late in the evening today."

120. See item 48, pp. 270-271.

### 53. At Trivandrum: Mass Upsurge<sup>121</sup>

#### CENTRE NOT TO INTERVENE IN KERALA AT PRESENT

#### PM: Elections Obvious Way out Inquiry Into Firings Desirable Agitation Essentially Mass Upsurge

Trivandrum, June 25. Prime Minister Nehru today ruled out Central intervention in Kerala at present.

Talking to pressmen at the airport before emplaning for Delhi, Pandit Nehru said: "The Centre is greatly interested. But at present it is not our intention to intervene in Kerala. What the future may hold depends on the future developments, because we try to avoid intervention everywhere. We do not like this intervention."

Asked whether he would recommend that fresh elections be held in Kerala, the Prime Minister said that it was not for him to recommend. "It is the obvious way out. This kind of agitation (as in Kerala) is a challenge, and this challenge can certainly be met by elections."

The Prime Minister could not say if the tension in Kerala would lessen as a result of his visit.

Questioned if he had put forward any proposals for a solution of the problem, the Prime Minister said that there were certain ideas. He could not say that these had been accepted either by the Government or opposition parties. He said he did not press them for an urgent answer.

Explaining the ideas he had given, the Prime Minister said that so far as the Education Act was concerned, it might be discussed by people who objected to any part of it with the Government, and the Government would try to meet their objections as far as they could. In the meantime, the implementation of the act might be postponed.

As far as the charges against the Communist Government were concerned, the Prime Minister said that if any charges were laid, it was only desirable to give an opportunity to the person charged to answer them and discuss them.

#### Inquiry into Firings

As for the police firing, Pandit Nehru said he had long been of the opinion that an inquiry should take place in major incidents.

121. Interaction with Press at Trivandrum Airport. From *National Herald*, 26 June 1959.

“It is desirable to inquire into it from the point of view of the Government and people. Otherwise, the worst suspicions are nursed,” he said.

Prime Minister Nehru, who spent three days in Trivandrum investigating the situation and consulting every shade of opinion,<sup>122</sup> said that while there were all kinds of trends in the agitation, including communal trends, “essentially it is, as I have said before, the people’s upsurge.”

Asked whether he would justify the agitation, Pandit Nehru said that it was difficult question to answer for a variety of reasons. But the fact that there was an upsurge was important.

Asked whether he expected the agitation to continue, the Prime Minister said: “Agitation, of course, is there and I have no doubt it will continue, because there is a strong feeling behind it.”

“But”, Pandit Nehru said. “I did not like the method of picketing, more especially by school-boys.” He said he did not like school-boys and girls getting involved in this kind of things. Stopping of transport buses and such things were also regrettable, he said.

### No Directive

He, however, made it clear that he had not given any directive to anybody in any capacity. He had only expressed his views.

A correspondent asked whether Pandit Nehru would approve of the opposition attempt to paralyse the administration.

122. As reported in *The Hindu* of 24 June 1959, Nehru met persons from across the political spectrum. From the CPI came M. N. Govindan Nair, K. Damodaran and E. Gopalan, who argued that Opposition groups were disturbing the peace to attract Central intervention; from the Nair Service Society, Mannath Padmanabhan, who claimed that Nehru was convinced of the pacific nature of the agitation, and told Nehru that it would end only with the Government’s exit; from the PSP, Pattom Thanu Pillai asked for the Government to be dismissed; a delegation from the Catholic Church; Muslim League leaders who told him that the agitation embraced all the people, not just a segment of it; for the Ezhava community K. Sukumaran, the Editor of the *Kerala Kaumudi*, and P.N. Madhavan, a retired Judge, stressing the need for communal representation; for the non-CPI trades unions, a delegation from the United Trade Union Congress, the Cochin Turaimugha Thozhilali [Port Workers] Union, and others, who informed Nehru of their support for the agitation and claimed their strength was double that of the CPI controlled unions; planters’ delegations from the Trivandrum District Planters’ Association, the Associated Planters of Calicut, and the Mundakayam Planters’ Association, complaining of lawlessness encouraged by the Government and asking for exemption from land ceiling for plantations; a deputation from the Kerala Mahila Sangham asking him to dismiss the Kerala Government; and of course Congress leaders.

Pandit Nehru replied: "Paralyse is a big word. The opposition tends to do that in greater or lesser degrees. It may be concentrating on doing it in a big way. It is difficult to answer. But whatever is done, there are certain norms of public conduct and behavior, which should be followed both by the Government and the opposition. Otherwise, you land yourselves in most uncivilised behavior. That does not lead to any good."

### **No Sudden Outcome**

Asked what the outcome of his discussions in Trivandrum was, the Prime Minister said that there was no sudden outcome.

He added: "Whatever impressions I have gathered I shall report to the people in Delhi. There are two aspects of this question. There is the Government aspect and the Congress aspect, so far as the Government of India are concerned, we would like to keep in touch with the situation. So far as the Congress is concerned, the Parliamentary Board and the Working Committee will consider these matters. I shall talk to them."

A correspondent asked how was it that the feeling of the people of Kerala had till now not been appreciated in the rest of India.

Pandit Nehru said it was only a relative statement of feelings. It had been appreciated, but, perhaps, not in its intensity. To some extent, he said, it was naturally difficult to appreciate from a distance. He had been in touch with Kerala developments. "But it does make a difference to read about them, and to come, hear and have personal feelings about it."

Asked what his advice would be if a Congress Government was in a similar situation, Pandit Nehru said. "Congress or any Government, they would have to investigate the causes of the upsurge and try to remove those causes so far as they could."

### **Obvious Way**

Question: "Would you advise them to seek elections?"

Answer: "I very well might. It depends on circumstances. But elections, where there is a challenge and conflict, are an obvious way of dealing with the situation. Otherwise, one cannot finally judge majorities and minorities by demonstrations, etc. Every party will demonstrate. Election is a democratic way out."

Question: "Would you recommend elections in Kerala?"

Pandit Nehru: "It is not for me to recommend. It is an obvious way out. This kind of agitation is a challenge, and this challenge can certainly be met by elections."

Question: "Do you think that tension will be lessened as a result of your visit here?"

Answer: "How can I say that? I do not like the tone and temper and the language used and the slogans here."

To a correspondent's suggestion that there would be bloodshed if the tension did not ease, the Prime Minister replied: "I do not know why there should be bloodshed."

### **Deep Seated Disease**

His attention being drawn to recent stabbing incidents, Pandit Nehru said: "It is most distressing. That is a symptom of deep-seated disease here."

Question: Deep-seated disease for mass upsurge."

Answer: "There are vague political expressions. You must not pin me down to any expression. What I mean to say is there is a certain feeling. You cannot charm them away by patting on the back or by a few good words. We should deal with it in various ways."

Question: "Do you approve of direct action method to remove a Government?"

Answer: "That is a vague word. Broadly, I do not think that where other methods are available, direct action method, in a big way, should be used. That is a broad statement. It may be qualified by particular circumstances and particular difficulties."

At the outset, the Prime Minister "earnestly appealed" to the newspapers in Kerala to express their sentiments, strongly if they liked, but in a more moderate language.

He said the newspapers here had developed a language, which was unequal to their strength, of vigour and of vituperation. He however, made it clear that he had only seen translations from the papers.



## 54. At Delhi: Agitation, Violence, and Elections<sup>123</sup>

### ELECTIONS DEPEND ON STATE GOVERNMENT

New Delhi, June 25. Prime Minister Nehru returned to Delhi this afternoon from Kerala.

Pandit Nehru told pressmen at the airport that the question of holding elections in Kerala as a way out would depend, first, on the present Government of Kerala. He was amplifying his remarks on the subject made at Trivandrum this morning.

Asked whether the elections suggested by him should be held by the Centre or with the Communist Government continuing in office, Pandit Nehru said: "What the Centre will do depends on circumstances. If there is an agitation and there are doubts about majority, the democratic way is election. Whether it takes place or not depends, first, on the present Government."

Asked whether he expected any final decision to be taken by the Congress Central Parliamentary Board tomorrow, Pandit Nehru said they would consider and send their advice.

Question: Do you expect the KPCC to call off the agitation?

Pandit Nehru: You must not get things mixed up. Agitation is the democratic right of any opposition. The way might change. What I have expressed (to the KPCC) is my personal view that this kind of picketing is not desirable.

Question: Picketing of schools or also of Government offices?

Pandit Nehru: Government office also, but specially schools and buses. There may be some kind of symbolic picketing. That is a different matter, but not picketing of schools and buses.

Pandit Nehru added: "It is open to anyone in a democracy to have any agitation in the form of peaceful demonstrations."

Asked whether there was any possibility of the compromise between the opposition and the communists in Kerala, Pandit Nehru said, he had been trying to understand the situation and could not say anything more now.

The Prime Minister said that it was a very difficult situation but he hoped things would remain peaceful.

123. Interaction with Press at Delhi Airport. From *National Herald*, 26 June 1959.

## 55. At Delhi: Namboodiripad's Response to Nehru<sup>124</sup>

### INQUIRY INTO FIRINGS DESIRABLE Partial Acceptance of Suggestions by E.M.S., says Nehru

New Delhi, June 26. Prime Minister Nehru said today that the statement of the Kerala Chief Minister, Mr. Namboodiripad, published this morning, showed that there had been "partial acceptance" by the Kerala Government of his suggestions.<sup>125</sup>

Pandit Nehru was talking to pressmen at the end of today's sitting of the Congress Central Parliamentary Board.

Asked whether he had suggested to Mr. Namboodiripad the holding of general elections as a way out of the present situation, he said: "I certainly mentioned elections to him as a normal way of deciding these things."

Asked about Mr. Namboodiripad's reaction to it and whether it was true that Mr. Namboodiripad had declined to hold elections and had instead suggested that public opinion could be tested during the panchayat elections, Pandit Nehru said: "He said something about holding in the near future elections to the panchayats. There was no question of acceptance or rejection in the talks. I had mentioned, as I have said in public, that the normal course of deciding such political conflicts is to have elections, that is, for the government itself to choose to have elections. I left it at that."

Question: Mr. Namboodiripad has mentioned three suggestions made by you and has said that the Kerala Government had accepted them. Is that correct?

Pandit Nehru said that he had not been able to read the statement in detail. But he had never used the word "round-table conference and all that."

"I said that charges have been made. It is desirable for these to be discussed so that some clarifications may come. It may not come also. But there was no question of a round-table conference. It is too pompous a name."

124. Interaction with Press in Delhi. From *National Herald*, 27 June 1959.

125. The *Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu* reported on 26 June that Namboodiripad said that Nehru had made three suggestions with regard to the Education Act, opposition complaints against the Government and judicial inquiry into the police firings; Namboodiripad promised to put the advice to good use.

## Separate Issues

Pandit Nehru added: "You must remember all these things (charge sheet and Education Act) are separate issues not covering the whole ground. The whole situation is a bigger one. These are only parts of it."

Asked whether Mr. Namboodiripad's statement amounted to a full acceptance of all suggestions made by him the Prime Minister said, "I have not seen his statement in full. In so far as these two matters (Education Act and charge sheet) are concerned it is partial acceptance. I do not know. Details have to be asked for and worked out. Ultimately, it may not be what I have in mind. But it is certainly partial acceptance."

"As far as the firing question is concerned the holding of an inquiry is made contingent upon many other things. How it can be contingent, I do not know. My suggestion was that an inquiry was desirable into the firing. We had a talk and I made the suggestion. I was not bargaining politically."

A correspondent said that the Kerala Government had cast him in the role of an arbitrator. How did the Prime Minister like the idea?

Pandit Nehru: "I am no arbitrator. I made it clear to him that I am not an arbitrator. I said that in these, education and other matters, where there is no agreement, the matter might be referred to me so that it might be considered afresh."

## 56. To N.V. Gadgil: What to do in Kerala<sup>126</sup>

June 27, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of June 26. Broadly speaking, I agree with what you have said in regard to Kerala. I took up more or less this line there. In fact, I suggested something like this in regard to the Education Act and one or two other Matters. But the people of Kerala, or most of them, are in an excited and hysterical mood and it is difficult to calm them down. We are giving a great deal of attention to this matter here and have, in fact, invited many Chief Ministers also next Monday to consider this question.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

126. Letter to the Governor of Punjab.

## 57. Congress Resolution on Kerala<sup>127</sup>

### Draft

The Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress has given earnest and careful attention to the serious situation that has arisen in Kerala State. In view of importance of the issue that have arisen in the State and the possible consequences of any action that may or may not be taken, the Board has thought it desirable to confer with the President and other representatives of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee as well as other leading Congressmen holding responsible positions.

The Board has considered the situation not only from the point of view of the Congress but even more so in the larger interests of the country and of the democratic structure to which India is committed. Any steps to be taken must be in conformity with that democratic structure and the wishes of the people concerned.

For some time past, there has been a malaise in the public life of Kerala. Numerous charges have been made against various activities of the Kerala State Government and some of these have even been placed before

### Final Version

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3. For some time past, there has been a malaise in the public life of Kerala. Numerous charges have been made against various activities of the Kerala State Government and some of these have even been placed before

127. 29 June 1959. File No. PG.3/1959, AICC Papers, NMML. Also Available in JN Collection. Both drafted by Nehru. The draft is available in "Proceedings of the informal meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board held on 27 June, 59," marked "Draft" and "Secret" with a superscript in Nehru's hand "Draft Resolution for Central Parliamentary Board meeting on Monday 29th June." Only twelve copies were made. The final version "Resolution of the Central Parliamentary Board Passed on Monday, 29th June 1959" is in the same file.

Parliament. It has been repeatedly stated that there has been a state of insecurity in the State. The present deadlock in the affairs of the State is a natural consequence of these past happenings.

But, whatever the past may have been, in the present it is clear that there is a vast upsurge of public opinion and feeling against the present Government of the State. This may be due to a variety of causes, political, communal and other, as well as certain specific measures taken by the Kerala Government. But all these various causes have been submerged in a great movement of opposition to the present Kerala Government, and all kinds of people, including large numbers of people who are not allied to political parties, are now passionately opposed to the Kerala Government. There is a widespread and persistent demand for a change of Government.

Normally, a Government continues to function for the full period of five years as laid down in the Constitution. But the Constitution itself has provided for a change to be made if it is found that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provision of the Constitution. If a State Government fails to carry a majority in the Assembly and no other Government can be constituted which can claim that majority, then it is clear that such a contingency has arisen. It may be, however, that the Government has a

Parliament. It has been repeatedly stated that there has been a state of insecurity in the State. The present deadlock in the affairs of the State is a natural consequence of these past happenings.

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5. Normally, a Government continues to function for the full period of five years as laid down in the Constitution. But the Constitution itself has provided for a change to be made if it is found that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. If a State Government fails to carry a majority in the Assembly and no other Government can be constituted which can claim that majority, then it is clear that such a contingency has arisen. It may be, however, that the Government has a

majority in the State Assembly, but nevertheless is unable to function satisfactorily because of widespread opposition from the public. This is not easy to judge with any precision, even though such a situation may have arisen.

The present Kerala Government has a small majority of two in the Assembly. It was elected by a vote of about 35 per cent of the voters. A minority vote in elections may lead to a majority in the Assembly. This sometimes happens in any democratic set-up and has to be accepted.

But in the present circumstances in Kerala State, it seems obvious that a big change-over has taken place among the people and many of those who supported the present majority party in Kerala Assembly during the last elections have changed over and are opposing it. It is a legitimate presumption that the Kerala Government now in no way represents the majority opinion of the State. Normally, if there was no serious crisis, even this situation could continue till the time of the next General Elections.

But the situation that has arisen in Kerala State has become critical because of the widespread and almost passionate opposition to the State Government. Conflicts have taken place and there is a tendency to adopt extra constitutional methods to give expression to this opposition and indeed to make it difficult for the Government to function normally and

majority in the State Assembly, but nevertheless is unable to function satisfactorily because of widespread opposition from the public. This is not easy to judge with any precision, even though such a situation may have arisen.

6. The present Kerala Government has a small majority of two in the Assembly. It was elected by a vote of about 35 percent of the voters. A minority vote in elections may lead to a majority in the Assembly. This sometimes happens in any democratic set-up and has to be accepted.

7. But in the present circumstances in Kerala State it seems obvious that a big change-over has taken place among the people and many of those who supported the present majority party in Kerala Assembly during the last elections have changed over and are opposing it. It is a legitimate presumption that the Kerala Government now in no way represents the majority opinion of the State. Normally, if there was no serious crisis, even this situation could continue till the time of the next General Election.

8. But the situation that has arisen in Kerala State has become critical because of the widespread and almost passionate opposition to the State Government. Conflicts have arisen and the Government has frequently used the coercive apparatus of the State. This has led to great bitterness which is likely to grow and make the situation more and more

without constantly using the coercive apparatus of the State. This has led to great bitterness which is likely to grow and make the situation more and more intolerable both for the people and the Government. It will also lead to undesirable activities if a proper democratic solution of the deadlock is not available. It will add to conflict, and insecurity to life and property will grow.

In such circumstances, the democratic way of meeting the situation is to have General Elections in the State for the Assembly. A Government which is so challenged and which has to face this widespread and intense opposition would be well advised to accept that challenge, and agree to fresh elections. Such a course of action would immediately relieve the tension and direct it to proper democratic channels. The Parliamentary Board is, therefore, of opinion that this is the proper course to be followed in existing circumstances.

In view of the many grave charges that have been made against the State Government and which, whatever their truth or substance, are widely believed in by the people, it appears desirable that some kind of an enquiry at the highest level and by a person or persons of high integrity and impartiality should take place to investigate these charges. This would be a proper course both from the point of view of the State Government which is so charged and those who make the

intolerable. If a proper democratic solution is not found, conflict and insecurity to life and property will increase.

9. In such circumstances, the democratic way of meeting the situation is to have General Elections in the State for the Assembly. A Government which is so challenged and which has to face this widespread and intense opposition would be well advised to accept that challenge and agree to fresh elections. Such a course of action would direct popular energy into proper democratic channels. The Parliamentary Board is, therefore, of opinion that this is the right course to be followed in existing circumstances.

charges. An enquiry of this kind would relieve the tension that exists and bring out, to some extent, the truth or otherwise of these charges. To leave them in the air without enquiry is to allow a situation to continue which is neither fair to the State Government nor to the people.

One of the many causes that have led to this upsurge in Kerala has been the recent passage of the Education Act. The Parliamentary Board does not wish to enter into the merits of this measure. But in view of the passions that have been aroused on this subject, it recommends to the State Government that the implementation of this Act be postponed and, meanwhile, an effort should be made, in consultation with those who are opposed to the measure or to some part of it, find out a way to meet the wishes of the opposition, insofar as this is possible. It is unfortunate that this conflict has led to the closure of a large number of schools and even to picketing to prevent boys and girls attending such schools as have not closed. From the point of view of the education of children, this is unfortunate, and the longer such closure continues the more harm it will do, not only in regard to education but even more so in encouraging indiscipline and conflict. The Board trusts that boys and girls will be kept outside the arena of political conflict.

The Board also disapproves of picketing in other forms, and more especially the attempt to stop transport

10. One of the many causes that have led to this situation in Kerala has been the recent passage of the Education Act. The Parliamentary Board does not wish to enter into the merits of this measure. But in view of the passions that have been aroused on this subject, it recommends to the State Government that the implementation of this Act be postponed and, meanwhile, an effort should be made, in consultation with those who are opposed to the measure or to some part of it, to find out a way to meet the wishes of the opposition, insofar as this is possible. It is unfortunate that this conflict has led to the closure of a large number of schools and even to picketing to prevent boys and girls attending such schools as have not closed. From the point of view of the education of children, this is unfortunate, and the longer such closure continues, the more harm it will do, not only in regard to education but even more so in encouraging indiscipline and conflict. The Board trusts that boys and girls will be kept outside the arena of political conflict.

11. The Board also disapproves of the attempt to stop transport vehicles by forcible methods.



vehicles by forcible methods.

While token picketing may sometimes be admissible in order to give expression to public feeling, such a method should normally not be used as it may lead to conflict and a diversion of people's minds into wrong channels. Agitation for any legitimate object must always be peaceful, both in action and in word. The consequences of an agitation which might lead to violence are likely to be harmful to the well-being of the State.

The recent firings by the police at Ankamali and in the Trivandrum District, which resulted in many deaths, have powerfully affected people in Kerala who believe that they were unjustified. In the interests both of the State and of the people as well as the police force, the Parliamentary Board is of the opinion that impartial enquiries should be made into these firings.

The Parliamentary Board regrets more particularly that at a time when all the energies of the nation should be directed towards the development plans and the fulfillment of the Five Year Plans, a conflict should arise which must necessarily come in the way of such development and indeed is injurious in many other ways. Where there is a conflict of opinion, ways to resolve it should be found which are both peaceful and constitutional. It is with these objects in view that the Board has put forward the suggestions made in this resolution.

12. While picketing as a method of political action is undesirable, occasions may arise when, in order to give expression to public feeling, some form of peaceful token picketing may be admissible. Such a method should normally not be used as it may lead to conflict and a diversion of people's minds into wrong channels. Agitation for any legitimate object must always be peaceful, both in action and in word.

13. The recent firings by the police at Ankamali and at Pulluvila and Kochuveli in the Trivandrum District, which resulted in many deaths, have powerfully affected people in Kerala who believe that they were wholly uncalled for. In the interests both of the State and of the people as well as the police force, the Parliamentary Board is of opinion that impartial enquiries should be made into these firings.

14. The Parliamentary Board regrets more particularly that at a time when all the energies of the nation should be directed towards the development plans and the fulfilment of the Five Year Plans, a conflict should arise which must necessarily come in the way of such development and indeed is injurious in many other ways. Where there is a conflict of opinion, ways to resolve it should be found which are both peaceful and constitutional.

## 58. Instructions to the KPCC<sup>128</sup>

The broad policy in regard to the present situation in Kerala State has been given in the Resolution of the Parliamentary Board.<sup>129</sup> This Resolution indicates a positive approach to the problem. Future activities should, therefore, be governed by this Resolution. It is desirable that the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee should accept this Resolution in its entirety and act up to it.

2. The Pradesh Congress Committee should endeavour to convince the other parties and groups associated with it also to accept the broad policy laid in this Resolution. Even if the others do not accept this wholly or in some part, they should have no difficulty in accepting its main proposals.

3. The demand, therefore, in future should be for General Elections in the State at the earliest date. It should be noted that the demand is for elections and for dismissal of the present Ministry. If elections are to be held, the question of the present Ministry's continuation or not will have to be considered. Presumably, in the circumstances in Kerala, it will be desirable for the elections to be held under some neutral auspices.

4. It is not likely that the present State Government in Kerala will resign or will agree to the elections being held. In that event the second proposal of the Parliamentary Board, namely, an inquiry at the highest level into the charges made against the State Government, may be proceeded with. The question of elections will then be considered as a result of this inquiry.

5. Thus, the Pradesh Congress Committee should concentrate on the demand for early elections and for an inquiry into the charges against the Government. This means that the charge sheet they are preparing should be finalised as soon as possible.

6. The charge sheet should be in the nature of a petition to the President and the relief claimed in it should be an inquiry into them as well as early elections in the State. The draft charge sheet should be sent to Delhi to be finalised after consultation with the Parliamentary Board.

7. When this new turn is given to the agitation by the Resolution of the Parliamentary Board and the presentation of the charge sheet by the Pradesh Congress Committee, then it should not be necessary to carry on the picketing of Collectorates, etc. In any event this picketing should not be increased in any way and progressively it should be lessened both in regard to the number of persons participating and the number of places.

128. Confidential note of Instructions from the Central Parliamentary Board to the KPCC, 29 June 1959.

129. See item 57, pp. 282-287.

8. The Pradesh Congress Committee should make it clear that it does not participate in the school picketing. Further, it should express its clear disapproval of the attempts to stop transport vehicles by lying down in front of them or other forcible means.

9. Suggestions have been made that the State Congress should take up some other activity. Among these suggestions are resignation of all the Opposition Member from the Assembly and withdrawal of monies from State Government loans, Post Office Certificates, etc. The Parliamentary Board is entirely opposed to both these proposals.

10. Resignation from the Assembly would normally lead to fresh elections. These elections can either be contested again by the Opposition or boycotted. It is bad tactics to resign from the Assembly at this juncture. To withdraw money from State loans, Post Office Savings, etc. is an activity directly aimed against development works. It is not good enough to try to embarrass the present Government in this way. Such a step is not only bad in itself, but is likely to embarrass any subsequent Government that comes. It will have a bad effect in all development work not only in Kerala but elsewhere and set an example which may prove highly injurious to the country.

11. The Parliamentary Board would like to make it clear that no step outside the scope of the Resolution just passed, should be taken by the Pradesh Congress Committee without the express sanction of the Parliamentary Board.

12. Proposals have been made when the charge sheet is framed, representatives of the Pradesh Congress Committee should be prepared to discuss it with representatives of the Kerala Government. There appears to be some resistance to this among Congressmen there but, in the wider context now indicated, it would not be desirable for Congressmen to refuse to discuss this. Normally such a refusal is against our practice. In the special circumstances of Kerala now and in the context of the bigger demand that we are making, such a refusal would be harmful to our interests. Therefore, it is recommended that if the Government invited Congressmen for such a discussion, they should accept that invitation. There is no question of what is called a round table conference, but a discussion of each charge.

13. The same procedure should apply to the Education Act discussion. In this, Congressmen are not directly concerned, but the Congress should try to convince others concerned not to boycott such a discussion. To enter into this discussion cannot lead to any harm. Not to do so indicate a certain weakness and has undesirable results.

14. An earnest attempt should be made not to use abusive language. Strength of language does not mean abuse. Courtesy is always helpful in the biggest agitation. Insofar as possible, newspapers should be induced to use

restrained language. The placards and slogans should also be dignified and restrained.

15. The situation in Kerala has arrived at a stage when rapid developments may take place and any advice given now may not meet all the contingencies that may arise. It is suggested, therefore, that constant contact be maintained and that no step be taken which is at variance with the instructions laid down.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 28 JUNE 1959)

## 59. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Recommending Elections<sup>130</sup>

June 30, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,

Thank you for your two letters dated the 26th and 27th June.<sup>131</sup>

I am very sorry and disturbed to learn about conditions in Kerala. Everything seems to be on the verge of conflict all the time and the atmosphere can only be described as bordering on hysteria. For my part, I have made it clear that I disapprove of picketing and, more especially, boys and girls participating in such activities.

As for the discussions on the Education Act, I would suggest to you to endeavour to discuss and consider every aspect of it, even though the actual controversial aspects may be limited. Personally I think that the rule about

130. Letter.

131. See E. M. S. Namboodiripad to Nehru. Appendices 29 (a) and 29 (b).

paying teachers' salaries directly is a good one though the Managers might be asked to certify such payments. That is, the actual payment is done directly by Government, but the Managers or Headmasters, as heads of the institutions, can express their views on the teachers' work.

As you know, a meeting of the Congress Central Parliamentary Board has been taking place here and last evening they issued a resolution they had passed. I am not a member of this Board, but I was invited to attend it as were a number of others. Probably you will not like the resolution as passed. We gave earnest consideration to this matter and, in view of the extraordinary situation that exists in Kerala, we felt that the only democratic way of dealing with it would be a General Election in the State. I can think of no other suitable and peaceful way.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vi) Madhya Pradesh

## 60. To Kailas Nath Katju: Jabalpur and Seoni Tour Plans<sup>132</sup>

Ootacamund  
June 2, 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of May 27th has just reached me here in Ootacamund. The detailed programme for going to Jabalpur has not been drawn up yet, but I think I shall reach there on the forenoon of the 21st June for the Ordnance Factory function. That evening we can have a public meeting at Jabalpur.<sup>133</sup> If you so wish, I can spend an extra day there, on the 22nd; that is not in Jabalpur itself, but round about, and return to Delhi on the 23rd June.

I have received a letter from the Sarvodaya Karyalaya at Seoni. Having heard that I am going to Jabalpur, they have requested me to pay a visit to Seoni as that is one of the big centres of constructive work. But the place is rather far out, about 82 miles from Jabalpur. That is a long distance for coming back.

132. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. File No. 8/102/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

133. See item 12, pp. 130-133.

Anyhow, I am at your disposal on the 22nd June.

It is neither necessary nor customary for the Governor and all the Ministers to collect in a place where I am going to. This means not only work suffering, but also needless expense. The usual practice is for one Minister to meet me. I suggest that you may follow this practice. If it is convenient to you to come there, I shall of course be happy. Otherwise send some other Minister. My chief concern is that work should not suffer because of my visit.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 61. To Kailas Nath Katju: Jabalpur Visit Plans<sup>134</sup>

June 14, 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

I have just come back from Kathmandu. I have not heard from you about my proposed visit to Jabalpur on the 21st June. I had suggested staying there for an extra day if you thought this worthwhile.

With the development of the situation in Kerala, I should like to limit my commitments as I might be wanted elsewhere. I, therefore, suggest that my visit to Jabalpur should be confined to one day only, that is, the 21st June, and that I return to Delhi on the 22nd morning.

As I have informed you, I shall be busy with the Ordnance Factory till lunch time. After that I am free.

I have received a telegram from Jagmohandas, Deputy Minister, asking me to dine on the 21st evening at Raja Gokuldas Palace. I cannot accept any such engagement directly myself. I am telling him that this is a matter entirely for you to determine.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

134. Letter.

## (vii) Madras

**62. To K.T. Kosalram: Discourtesy of Bureaucrats<sup>135</sup>**

May 5, 1959

Dear Shri Kosalram,

I have your letter of May 3rd. I am sorry that the Deputy Secretary of the Madras Government<sup>136</sup> did anything that was considered discourteous by you or others. She is a young woman and probably she did not mean any discourtesy. Her object might have been to protect me from too many people seeing me. But, anyhow, it is not proper for anyone to deal with legislators or, indeed, others in a discourteous way.

I quite agree with you that every opportunity should be given to members of local Congress Committees to meet me when I visit a place.<sup>137</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**63. To K. Kamaraj: Visiting Toda Settlements<sup>138</sup>**

May 25, 1959

My dear Kamaraj,

You will remember I spoke to you about my visiting the Toda<sup>139</sup> settlements at Kotagiri from Ooty. You said that you would make the necessary arrangements. I informed my friend, Anna Ornsholt,<sup>140</sup> accordingly, telling her that the Madras Government would make these arrangements. She is happy to learn this, but points out that unless full notice is given to the Todas round about, they will not be able to gather in time to meet me. I think there is point in this. Therefore a

135. Letter to MLC, Madras State and President of Tirunelveli District Congress Committee. File No. 8/92/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

136. Anna R. George, Public (Political) Department.

137. This letter copied to C. Subramanian, Minister of Finance, Education and Law in Madras State.

138. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madras. File No. 8/99/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

139. Pastoral community in the Nilgiris.

140. Danish friend of the Nehru family.

date should be fixed for us to visit them and information should be sent previously allowing for adequate notice. If you like, you can fix the date towards the end of my stay in Ooty so that notice may be adequate. There is very little chance of my going to the Todas again and again and it will be a pity if I go there without adequate notice and those people are disappointed.

Indira will anyhow go to Kotagiri because she wants to meet her old friend, Miss Anna Ornsholt. I would also like to go there.

Will you therefore kindly have some early steps taken to fix the date of my visit to Kotagiri? I understand there is some settlement of the Todas, at Muthunadmund, twelve miles from Ooty. Perhaps we might go there also and meet the chief Toda at the temple.<sup>141</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **64. To V.R. Rajaratnam: Madras Police Centenary<sup>142</sup>**

I understand that the Madras Police is completing hundred years of its existence in September 1959 and is celebrating this centenary. I send my good wishes on this occasion.

I have sometimes criticised the police, but I have often wondered at the great responsibilities they have to carry and the quick judgements they have to make from time to time. Theirs is indeed a difficult and delicate task and we should sympathise with them. At the same time, they should remember that they are constantly before the public eye, and in a democratic structure of society, the police are a part of the public and not opposed to it. Therefore, the only way to work successfully and effectively is to have the confidence and cooperation of the public. If they have this, their work is made much lighter and their reputation is thereby enhanced.

141. Anna Ornsholt had written to Nehru on 22 May suggesting a visit to Kotagiri and then to the Toda settlement Muthunadmund. She also suggested, "It might perhaps also interest you to see the Chief Toda temple Deity in the village." Nehru has condensed this to, "Perhaps we might go there and meet the chief Toda at the Temple." He replied to her on 25 May confirming his plans to visit Kotagiri and the Todas.

142. Message to the Inspector-General of Madras Police, 27 June 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS.



## (viii) The North East

65. In the Lok Sabha: Foreign Reporter in NEFA Area<sup>143</sup>

Renu Chakravartty:<sup>144</sup>

S.M. Banerjee:<sup>145</sup>

Prabhat Kar:<sup>146</sup>

Rameshwar Tantia:<sup>147</sup>

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether attention of Government has been drawn to the article entitled "Head hunters war" appearing in *Daily Express*, London, of 9th February, 1959 regarding Naga Land;
- (b) if so, how the foreign reporters could enter NEFA, and
- (c) whether permission was accorded by Government?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) The Government have seen the article which appeared in the "*Daily Express*" of London dated 9th February, 1959.<sup>148</sup>

(b) and (c). Mr. Donald Wise, the author of the article did not apply for any permit to enter NEFA or NHTA nor any such permission was accorded to him by the Government. He managed to meet some Naga hostiles through the assistance of two or three officers of the adjoining tea estates in the Sibsagar Distt. of Assam.<sup>149</sup>

143. Reply to questions, 5 May 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXI, col. 14959.

144. CPI, MP from Basirhat, West Bengal.

145. Independent, MP from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh.

146. CPI, MP from Hooghly, West Bengal.

147. Congress, MP from Sikar, Rajasthan.

148. The eight-column headline on the first page of the *Daily Express* of 9 February 1959 from London read "Headhunters' War", with a five-column sub-heading "I saw the hills of the naked and dead."

149. In reply to a similar question by Z. A. Ahmad, CPI, in the Rajya Sabha on 6 May 1959, Lakshmi Menon said that (i) Donald Wise had met some Naga rebels on 20 January 1959 in the jungle near Kathonibari Tea Estate on the border of Naga Hills with the help of two junior officers of that tea estate and another officer of the Hilika Tea Estate; and (ii) Government would take action against the three officers.

## 66. To Roger Baldwin: Naga Movement<sup>150</sup>

May 8, 1959

Dear Roger,<sup>151</sup>

Your letter of May 4th about the Nagas. This problem has troubled us for some time past. If we had behaved as perhaps some other countries would have done in such circumstances, we would have, in a sense, finished it by strong military measures, which no doubt would have involved much suffering. But we have tried our best to avoid this kind of thing and rather to win over the hostile Nagas. The trouble is chiefly confined to a relatively small number of them who live in the mountain and come down in groups committing murder, arson and loot and kidnapping people, usually Nagas. I have no doubt that a very large majority of Nagas are fed up with this kind of thing. In fact they have held two or three conferences and said so. Another conference will be held fairly soon. Altogether there has been great improvement in the situation there.

I have sometimes seen the type of propaganda which some of these hostile Nagas carry on through some of their Christian Missionary friends. What I have seen is so grossly exaggerated and often quite baseless that it has surprised me.

I am glad to learn that you might be coming to India in August.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 67. To S. Fazl Ali: British Journalist, Tea Planters, and Nagas<sup>152</sup>

May 16, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,

You will remember the case of the two young British tea planters who helped Donald Wise to go to the Naga hostiles.<sup>153</sup> When we got hold of the facts, we decided that these two persons should leave India. We preferred, however, this being done without any formal orders being issued, that is, the Tea Company

150. Letter.

151. Secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union (1917-1950); also served with Nehru on the Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism.

152. Letter to the Governor of Assam.

153. See SWJN/SS/47/p. 212-214 and SWJN/SS/48/p. 296, and also in this volume pp. 295 & 300-301.

should send them back.

Today I had a visit from Sir Percival Griffiths<sup>154</sup> who used to be the leader of the European group in the Assembly here in the old days. He retired some years ago. He is still connected with some Indian business. He apologised profusely for coming to see me about a matter which had pained him and made him feel greatly ashamed. He referred to Donald Wise, the articles in the *Daily Express* of London and more especially the exploits of these two young tea planters. He said that the Chairman of this Tea Company in London had come to see him just before he was leaving for India and said that he was very much upset and angry at these two young men. Their behaviour was wholly improper and indefensible. All that could be said was that they were very young men who had joined this service recently – one of them within a year or so – and probably they did not realise the significance of what they were doing and acted very foolishly. Anyhow, Percival Griffiths asked me whether it would be possible to give them some lighter punishment than dismissal. I asked him what kind of lighter punishment? He said, well, reduction of pay. I then told him that this was a matter with which, while we were concerned, even more so the Assam Government was concerned. We could not bypass the Assam Government. All I could do was to write to the Governor who had taken personal interest in this.

One other thing was suggested to Sir Percival Griffiths by Dutt.<sup>155</sup> This was that in case the Assam Governor was prepared to take a more lenient view, in any event, these two young men should not be kept where they were at present and should be transferred to some other area, presumably in Assam. Griffiths said that this could be done.

I told Griffiths that I would be writing to you and it would be for you to consider this question in all its aspects and then decide. He asked me if he or his colleagues could see you. I said that I had no objection to anyone seeing you.

This is the position and I leave it to you to decide.

The Deputy High Commissioner of the UK<sup>156</sup> has also called on our Ministry and spoken on this subject pleading for a more lenient view to be taken. He admitted that these two young planters had behaved badly. A warning had been

154. (1899-1992); entered Indian Civil Service, 1922; retired, 1937; Member, Indian Legislative Assembly, 1937; Leader, European Group, Indian Central Legislature, 1946; Central Organiser, National War Front, India, and Publicity Adviser to Government of India; Honorary Adviser to India, Pakistan and Burma Associations; Adviser, India Tea Association, London; Pakistan Association, London; Director of various companies.

155. Subimal Dutt.

156. Simon.

given to them by the Tea Association. If now any action such as externment was taken this would bring much more publicity to the matter and there might be Parliamentary questions in the UK and adverse press comments. Therefore, he hoped that no further action would be taken against these young assistants who are inexperienced and perhaps unaware of the laws of the country and the objectionable nature of their action.

I am inclined to think that taking all aspects into consideration you might show some leniency in this matter. If Griffiths or someone else on his behalf sees you, you could tell him that even though you consider the offence a serious one, in view of the representations made, you are prepared not to ask for externment. But this should be on condition that (1) a severe warning should be given by the Tea Association to the young planters concerned; (2) the Tea Company itself gives them such punishment as it thinks fit which may be some reduction in salary; and (3) they should be transferred from their present area to some fairly distant place.

Fakhruddin<sup>157</sup> has been writing to me on this subject. Perhaps, you could send for him and show him this letter.<sup>158</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 68. To S. Fazl Ali: Rustomji's Appointment<sup>159</sup>

May 16, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,

Your letter of May 13th has just come. This is about Rustomji.

We are quite agreeable to your having Rustomji as Mehta's<sup>160</sup> successor. He will be leaving Sikkim soon. If you so wish it, and he is agreeable, he can take up his post as Adviser as soon thereafter as is convenient; that is, without any long leave.

If however, he wants some leave, he can take it and join you at the end of that leave. During this interim period you can make such local arrangement as you think proper.

157. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, the Minister of Finance in the Assam Government.

158. Nehru wrote the same day to Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed asking him to discuss the matter with the Governor.

159. Letter.

160. Kanhaiyalal Mehta; returned as Joint Secretary to the MEA.

Once having joined his new post as Adviser, it will not, I think, be desirable for him to leave it soon after to go to the UN. Rustomji was Adviser to the Governor many years ago.<sup>161</sup> But since then the work there has expanded greatly and when he takes charge, he should give himself wholly to it and not, if I may say so, think of packing up later to go to the UN. As a matter of fact, we have not given any thought to our UN Delegation yet. Therefore, no name can be said to have been included in it. There was only a suggestion made by some one that he might be included when the time comes.

I know Rustomji fairly well, I know him when he was Adviser in Assam previously and, later, as Dewan of Sikkim. He accompanied me in my journey to Bhutan last October.<sup>162</sup> I think well of him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **69. To Jagat Mohan Raina: Clashes between Assam Rifles and Police<sup>163</sup>**

I have just seen your letter of May 15 to Sahgal<sup>164</sup> on the recent friction between the Assam Rifles and Manipur Civil Police and civilians. The incident is a very serious one and I have the impression that it is not an isolated case. There is a background of continued ill-feeling between Assam Rifles and the Civil Police. I understand also that relations between the Head of the Police and the Officer Commanding the Assam Rifles have been very bad recently. It is important that the incident should be investigated immediately and discipline in the forces on both sides restored and departmental action taken against the persons concerned. It is odd that you should be content with letting the police investigate the case and bring it before a magistrate. I would like you to hold an informal enquiry immediately with the assistance of the IGAR. If no charge sheet has yet been placed before a magistrate, it should not be done until your enquiry is completed and instruction received from us. Even if the case is before a magistrate, further

161. From 1948 to 1954.

162. From 16 September 1958 to 2 October 1958. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 305- 332.

163. Telegram to the Chief Commissioner of Manipur, 20 May 1959. File No. 10/5/59-Poll. II., p. 29/c. MHA.

164. N. Sahgal was the Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

proceedings might be held up. I have suggested an informal enquiry since a formal enquiry might be difficult at this stage. Please let me know the result of your enquiry.<sup>165</sup>

## 70. To Subimal Dutt: Objecting to the Adviser's Wife's Article<sup>166</sup>

The Governor of Madras, Shri Bisnuram Medhi, has drawn my attention to an editorial in an Assamese paper, *NATUN ASAMIYA* dated 14th May, 1959. This commented on an article written by Mrs Mehta, wife of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam and NEFA.<sup>167</sup> In this article some statements have been made which are certainly not desirable from the point of view of India. I enclose a translation of the extract from the editorial of this paper.

2. I must say it is surprising that the wife of our Advisor should write about Tawang and NEFA as she has done. You might enquire from the Adviser.

## 71. For S. Dutt: Disciplining English Tea Planters<sup>168</sup>

Telephone message for Foreign Secretary, Subimal Dutt.

"I have received your note and other letters regarding Rigby of the Assam Tea Garden. I think that, in the circumstances, it is not right to extern him from Assam. In fact, it appears that he was not guilty at all. About the other person,

165. On 10 May the Chief Commissioner Raina at Imphal informed N. Sahgal that 4th Assam Rifles and Manipur Civil Police had clashed, without exchanging fire, in Paona Bazar late in the evening of 9 May, with light injuries to 6 Assam Rifles personnel, and that the District Magistrate was investigating. On 11 May, N. K. Ray, the deputy director of the Intelligence Bureau forwarded the gist of a telephone message from Shillong that the conflict had led to injuries to eight Police personnel and three Assam Rifles sepoy. The problem seems to have begun with the police arresting a drunken Assam Rifles sepoy, extreme public anger against the Assam Rifles, and consequent ill-feeling between the Assam Rifles and the Police. Eventually, on 25 June Subimal Dutt summarised the problem in general for Nehru and recommended seeking the Governor's opinion, to which Nehru agreed the same day. (See also Subimal Dutt's note to Nehru, 25 June 1959. Appendix 28).

166. Note to Foreign Secretary, 2 June 1959.

167. K.L. Mehta.

168. Telephone Message sent through C.R. Srinivasan, Ootacamund, 3 June 1959.

Johnson, I cannot say so definitely. Please send the following telegram to Mr Fakhruddin, Finance Minister, Assam.

“To FAKHRUDDIN from PRIME MINISTER.

I wrote to you some time ago about two English Tea Planters who had helped Donald Wise to get in touch with Nagas.<sup>169</sup> I thought then that it would be enough punishment to them if they were transferred to some other work. They need not be externed. I have now received letters from Rigby's mother and also from P.C. Borooah about Rigby. From these papers it appears that Rigby is a young boy who had only joined his post three months before the incident and further that he took no active part in it. I think, therefore, that it would be unfair to punish him at all and, more especially, to compel him to part with his family. I suggest to you, therefore, that the Order of Externment on Rigby should be withdrawn. A warning is enough. What has happened already is sufficient punishment for him.

As for Johnson, I do not know all the facts. It may be adequate to get him transferred elsewhere.

We have made our displeasure clear enough to all Tea Planters and they are not likely to misbehave in future. We must avoid taking any strong action which may have undesirable consequences abroad.”

## 72. To K.D. Malaviya: Assam and Oil India<sup>170</sup>

June 6, 1959

My dear Keshava,

The Chief Minister of Assam, Chaliha,<sup>171</sup> is coming here tomorrow. Among the subjects he wishes to discuss is Assam's participation in the share capital of Oil India Limited. We considered this once and did not agree to his proposal.

I was not then convinced of the rightness of our decision, and I still feel some sympathy for the proposal of the Assam Government in regard to this matter. I think that it would be all to the good if we associated the Assam Government with this, however small the association might be. Indeed, I think that this principle is worth following in other States also. I have not given detailed thought to every aspect of it, but this is my present reaction.

169. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 212-214 & SWJN/SS/48/p. 296 and also in this volume pp. 295-298.

170. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil. File No. 17(290)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

171. Bimla Prasad Chaliha.

You will, no doubt, be seeing Chaliha. We cannot commit ourselves in any way at this stage, but we may tell him that since he has raised this matter again, we can discuss it further.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 73. To S. Fazl Ali: Appointing Officials<sup>172</sup>

June 7, 1959.

My dear Fazl Ali,

I have received three letters from you on my return to Delhi from Ootacamund yesterday. One of these is about Rustomji,<sup>173</sup> the second about Verrier Elwin<sup>174</sup> and the third about Dr. Imkongliba Ao.<sup>175</sup>

About Rustomji, there is nothing more to be done. Everything has been fixed up. The formal order will be issued just before he joins. This need not delay any other step that has to be taken. So you can go ahead with this matter and Rustomji should prepare himself to join on the date mentioned.

Verrier Elwin. I agree with you that we should extend Verrier Elwin's term. He is doing good work and we should give him full opportunities to continue his work in the tribal areas which will be of advantage to us. I have spoken to Pantji also on this subject and he is agreeable to this extension. The only aspect of it which might be considered a little further in the future is the period of this extension. You have suggested five years. Normally extension periods are not quite so long, though they are capable of further extension. It might be desirable for a three year extension from the 1st of January 1960 to be given, leaving it open for a further period later. There is no hurry to decide this matter now as his present period does not expire till the end of this year. We shall be guided by your advice in this matter. You may however, tell Verrier Elwin that we should like him to continue his work in the tribal areas of NEFA as well as the Naga Hills-Tuensang area.

As for Imkongliba, I have consulted our Foreign Secretary. It does seem undesirable for him to convene a meeting of the Select Committee of the

172. Letter.

173. N. K. Rustomji was the Dewan of Sikkim at this moment.

174. Adviser to the Government of Assam on Tribal affairs since 1955.

175. A doctor from Mokokchung, later assassinated.



Convention. How this is to be avoided is for you to consider. I would suggest your consulting Luthra<sup>176</sup> in this matter and then taking such decisions as you think best. In fact you have yourself said in your letter that you are going to consult the Commissioner and the G.O.C.

I referred to this matter briefly in the course of a talk with Pantji<sup>177</sup> last evening, but I did not wish to trouble him too much about it.

Jagat Mehta is going to Shillong and to other places in connection with the Tibetan refugee problem. He will carry this letter and deliver it to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ix) Punjab

#### 74. To N.V. Gadgil: Regional Committees in Punjab<sup>178</sup>

May 14, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th May. As I wrote to you, when forwarding the Speaker's letter,<sup>179</sup> I had referred this matter to the Law Minister. I have not yet had his advice.

So far as I know, there is no question of winding up the Regional Committee. But I must say that the attitude adopted by these Committees appears to me quite extraordinary, and their attempt to copy the procedure of the Legislature is ridiculous.

When the question of the formation of these Committees was considered by us, there was a long discussion about their powers. We made it quite clear that they could not over-ride the Legislature, and their advice was advisory,

176. P. N. Luthra, Commissioner of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area.

177. G. B. Pant.

178. Letter.

179. On 9 May, Nehru forwarded to Gadgil, Asoke Sen, and the Home Ministry the "confidential and personal" letter of 8 May 1959 from Gurdial Singh Dhillon, the Speaker of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha. (See Gurdial Singh Dhillon to Nehru, 8 May 1959. Appendix 6(a)).

though in matters completely under their kin, this advice would normally be accepted. But the final authority would inevitably be that of the Legislature.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 75. To Partap Singh Kairon: Ministers' Foreign Travel<sup>180</sup>

May 15, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I have seen some papers in which it is said that there is a proposal of the Punjab Government to send a delegation to various countries including the Soviet Union, Germany and the United Kingdom.<sup>181</sup> The idea apparently is that they should go there to study the working of irrigation experimental stations. I am surprised to read all this. Delegations, especially if they are led by a Minister, do not go to other countries unless they are invited there. Even if they are not formally invited, there has to be an approach to the foreign country previously and an attempt to find out if they will be welcome there.

I think, therefore, that it will be improper for your delegation to go in a casual way to these countries. Also, I do not understand the reason for going abroad. Is this a kind of educational tour to study irrigation stations and irrigation institutions? No doubt, a person profits by going abroad and there is much to see in these other countries. But at the present time when we are trying to save every rupee of foreign exchange, a vague tour of this kind seems to be far from necessary. There must be a more specific and definite object in view.

180. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

181. The Punjab Government wanted to send G. S. Rarewala, the Minister of Irrigation and Power, and Joginder Nath, the Executive Engineer of the Irrigation Branch, to the Soviet Union, East and West Germany, and the UK. In their notings of 14 and 13 May, N. R. Pillai, the SG, S. Sen, the Joint Secretary, and P. N. Kaul, the Deputy Secretary, all of the MEA, objected to the tour. They pointed out that (i) GOI did not know in advance about the plan; (ii) there was no official invitation from these countries; (iii) it was inappropriate for Ministers to travel abroad without official invitations; (iv) it was virtually impossible to go to East European countries without such invitations; (v) the visit was unnecessary given that India had undertaken so many large projects with the best of Indian and foreign expertise; (vi) the Punjab Government's assurance that it would not be spending on the trip was meaningless since in any case the Punjab Government did not have a foreign exchange account.

Anyhow, I think that since there is no invitation from these foreign countries, the delegation should not go at this stage.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 76. To Partap Singh Kairon: Gurdwara Politics<sup>182</sup>

May 18, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I have half promised Prithvi Singh<sup>183</sup> to visit Chail for his Self Cultural Institute.<sup>184</sup> He told me that I could go there on any date by the 25th June. I am not fixing a date yet, but I shall try to find a day to go there. I take it that the best way to get there is to go to Chandigarh and from there by car.

I am yet vague about my programme for June. As soon as that is clear, I shall fix a day and let you know.

For the last two years or more Bibi Amtus Salam<sup>185</sup> has been inviting me to go to Rajpura.<sup>186</sup> I think I should try to meet her wishes. She has suggested the first week of July. I am not fixing anything now, but I am just informing you of these proposals. I should like to know if you agree to both of these.

I see that Master Tara Singh has now brought in SGPC elections fully into the political arena. The fact that this is wholly contrary to what he has been saying thus far has, I suppose, little relevance for him. But, surely, this is a matter which the present SGPC as well as other Sikhs should emphasise. It is really a bad thing that Master Tara Singh should be allowed to get away with lining up the SGPC elections with the Punjabi Suba and the like. If his argument is followed, it means that if Punjabi Suba does not come, then the Sikh religion would suffer grievously. This is dangerous tactics from the point of view of Sikhs themselves and I think it should be brought out.

So far as I am concerned, Master Tara Singh can be assured that even if his party wins the SGPC elections, Punjabi Suba will not come.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

182. Letter.

183. Revolutionary-turned-Gandhian.

184. See item 11, pp. 103-130.

185. Adopted daughter and disciple of Mahatma Gandhi since 1930.

186. She established Kasturba Kendras, homes for destitute women, at Rajpura in Punjab.

## 77. To Partap Singh Kairon: Regional Committees in Punjab<sup>187</sup>

May 23, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of May 21st about the functioning of the Regional Committees. As I have already informed you, I sent your Speaker's letter addressed to me on this subject to our Law Ministry for their advice as to the legal situation. I have not yet received the Law Ministry's opinion. I have reminded them. They tell me that by the middle of next week they might be able to send it.<sup>188</sup>

I had sent a copy of the Speaker's letter also to the Governor and had pointed out that whatever the legal interpretation might be, it was quite clear that for these Regional Committee to try to ape the Assembly was ridiculous.<sup>189</sup> They were committees and should function as such.

The Governor in his reply to me said that while this was true, he hoped that it will not be considered necessary to put an end to the Regional Committees. I replied that it was not anyone's intention to put an end to them, but obviously they must function within the law.

You will remember that you had referred another aspect of this subject to the Home Minister.<sup>190</sup> He wanted to talk to you about it, but unfortunately he fell ill. However it is as well that the broader aspects have been referred to the Law Ministry and the Governor also knows that we are considering these various matters. I understand that lately the Governor has pulled up these Regional Committees in some matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

187. Letter.

188. See Appendix 6 (b) for Hari Sharma's note, 15 May 1959 and Appendix 6 (c) for K. Y. Bhandarkar's note, 26 May 1959. Nehru copied this note to the Governor, Chief Minister and Speaker of Punjab on 28 May 1959, requesting confidentiality.

189. See item 74, pp. 303-304.

190. G. B. Pant.

**78. To Partap Singh Kairon: Ministers' Foreign Travel<sup>191</sup>**

May 25, 1959.

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of May 23 about Gian Singh Rarewala's visit to East Germany.<sup>192</sup>

We are constantly receiving invitations from different countries in Europe. Many of our Ministers have received them. So also many MPs. The West German Government has repeatedly invited people from here. Generally we do not encourage these visits unless they are for a particular purpose which is considered important.

However since this matter has gone rather far, I do not wish to come in the way of Rarewala's visit, more especially if it is at all of some help to you in regard to your problem of water-logging. I do not know what foreign exchange will be involved.<sup>193</sup> That will be a matter for our Finance Ministry to look into.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**79. To Partap Singh Kairon: Ministers' Foreign Travel<sup>194</sup>**

May 27, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I wrote to you two or three days ago about the proposed visit of Gian Singh Rarewala to East Germany and agreed to his going there for the particular purpose in view. This morning he came to see me and explained to me the importance of dealing with the problem of water logging etc. I agreed that he should pursue this and if, from the point of view of work, it was necessary for him to take an extra engineer with him, this should be done.

191. Letter.

192. Kairon explained that Grotewohl, the East German Prime Minister, first verbally invited Rarewala when he visited Punjab, probably following up on a visit by one Dr. Janert, an East German water-logging expert; thereafter, an official invitation had been received.

193. Kairon assured Nehru that, owing to foreign exchange constraints, only Rarewala and an engineer would go, adding however, "Of course, Rarewala is also planning to take his wife on his own expense," besides "thinking of visiting two or three other countries also where research on land reclamation and water-logging problems may have been done and from where, therefore, we may be able to learn something about how to tackle our own problem."

194. Letter.

Then he showed me a provisional programme made for his tour abroad by the East German engineer. This programme was for just a little over a month. Of this two weeks were for the Soviet Union, a few days in Western Germany and a few days in London. In fact, the time to be spent in East Germany was only a few days and was largely occupied in brief visits to a few institutions. This is not my idea of studying a subject.

Also, if Gian Singh Rarewala is going through the Soviet Union and stopping there, we shall have to inform our Ambassador<sup>195</sup> and the Soviet Government. So also any other country. The East German engineer cannot draw up his programme for other countries. I have pointed this out to Rarewala and suggested to him that the programme for East Germany should be more thoroughly drawn up so that it is not merely a sight-seeing programme. The whole point of going there is for our engineers to understand certain methods and processes and they should spend more time on this.

There is no reason why the engineer should wander about in West Germany and England. In fact, I rather doubt if Rarewala himself should go to West Germany.

The result of all this is that a carefully drafted programme of the visit to East Germany should be made. This should be not merely for tourist visits, but to learn something about the processes of how to deal with water-logging etc. Once that is made, we can add to this programme a little for the Soviet Union and elsewhere, if possible.<sup>196</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 80. To Partap Singh Kairon: Ministers' Foreign Travel<sup>197</sup>

Ootacamund  
May 31, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of May 28th has reached me here with the report about the unauthorised sale of tube-well by the son of Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala. I am much disturbed by this report. In any event, it would, *prima facie*, have been an

195. K. P. S. Menon.

196. Letter copied to Subimal Dutt.

197. Letter.

improper transaction. The fact that the Minister was in charge of the Department at the time makes it doubly so. I entirely agree with you that this should be fully investigated and care must be taken that no pressure is exercised on officers preventing them from giving any information.

I wrote to you a few days ago about Gian Singh Rarewala's proposed visit to East Germany and other countries.<sup>198</sup> I did not like this at all, but ultimately I agreed to his going. Even so, I wrote that we must be assured that his visit is not a pleasure jaunt but is necessary from the point of view of his work. I am inclined to think that after this recent report, this visit should not take place.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 81. To N.V. Gadgil: Border Controls<sup>199</sup>

Ootacamund  
June 1, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th May which I have read with interest.<sup>200</sup>

So far as trade between Lahaul and Spiti and Western Tibet is concerned, I do not think that there will be any difficulties or obstructions from our side. I am enquiring about this. If there are any difficulties, they will be from the Chinese side.

As for writing off of a loan of Rs.5 lakhs from the Government of India, I am passing on your suggestion to the Home Ministry who presumably deal with this matter.

So far as the entry of people from Tibet into the Punjab is concerned, this matter should be enquired into fully. As a matter of fact traders from China do come that way normally. But I do not think that any Khampas can go anywhere near our Punjab-Tibet border.

198. See items 78 & 79, pp. 307-308.

199. Letter.

200. See N.V. Gadgil to Nehru. Appendix 15.

The development of Manali is surely the responsibility of the Punjab Government. When I was there last year, I wrote some notes on the subject and the Chief Minister said he would take steps.<sup>201</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 82. To Shri Virendra: Arya Samaj and Communalism<sup>202</sup>

June 14, 1959

Dear Shri Virendra,

I have received your letter of the 12th June.<sup>203</sup>

I said at the press conference that in regard to certain matter in the Punjab, the Arya Samaj had, to my thinking, been functioning in a communal way. I did not call it a communal organisation.<sup>204</sup> I have been of this opinion and have said so previously, in connection with the linguistic agitation in the Punjab last year.<sup>205</sup> So far as I remember, this agitation was carried on jointly with some well-known communal organisations. I have repeatedly expressed my regret that a great organisation like the Arya Samaj with a record of fine social and educational work, should allow itself to function in this way.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

201. Letter copied to G.B. Pant and Subimal Dutt.

202. Letter to the Editor of *The Daily Pratap* and an MLC, Punjab.

203. *The Hindu* of 29 June 1959 reported from Jullunder that Virendra had taken exception to Nehru's bracketing Arya Samaj, which according to him was primarily a political organisation, with the Hindu Mahasabha.

204. See item 18, here p. 201.

205. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 353-54.



**83. To Darbara Singh: Pillars of Democracy<sup>206</sup>**

I send my good wishes to the *Punjab Congress Patrika* which is issuing a special Panchayat Number. I welcome these efforts to spread useful knowledge about our programme relating to the rural areas to the people living there. The Panchayat and the Village Cooperative are the two basic pillars of our democracy. The third is the village school. If these three function satisfactorily, then the foundations are well and truly laid.

**84. To Partap Singh Kairon: Corruption and Factionalism<sup>207</sup>**

June 27, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I spoke to you yesterday about the case of Gian Singh Rarewala. You told me that it was Gian Singh who had gone to the Press in this matter.<sup>208</sup> That, of course, was wrong of him. He came to see me this morning for a few minutes. I think he was with me for less than ten minutes. I told him that he should not have rushed to the Press. He said that he was sorry for that, but it was the Press that had surrounded him after the issue of the Press Note by the Punjab Government.<sup>209</sup> He was agitated about it. Above all, he was agitated that policemen should go about enquiring about his personal affairs unconnected with the tube-well transaction. All kinds of members of his family were approached by the police and this had certainly upset him.

I told Rarewala that I was thoroughly dissatisfied with all these developments and he should not say anything in public in future. He should, in fact, have a full talk with you directly about these matters.

You may remember that once I spoke to you about the normal conventions between Ministers. I forget who the Minister was then. Perhaps it was Gopichand,<sup>210</sup> but I am not sure. A Minister is an intimate colleague and,

206. Message to the President of Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee, Trivandrum, 24 June 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

207. Letter.

208. See items 80 & 85, pp. 308-309 & 313-314.

209. After the Cabinet meeting on 24 June 1959, Kairon informed the Press that he would inquire into Rarewala's tube-well deal.

210. Gopichand Bhargava, the Minister for Planning, Community Projects, Jails and Justice in Punjab.

naturally, must be treated as such. For the Chief Minister or any other Minister to go behind the back of a colleague is wrong. I receive various complaints about my colleagues in the Central Cabinet. My first action is to send those complaints to them or to speak to them about them. I accept their word in preference to any one else's, unless there is some strong evidence to the contrary. If there is such strong evidence, then the question arises of dealing with it. I cannot keep them as Ministers and colleagues and carry on enquiries behind their backs. Thus, the issue of a Press Note by your Government was probably not right. Calling upon the police to carry out roving enquiries about all manner of matters also appears to be wrong. To say that records may be removed by a colleague indicates that there is no trust left in that colleague, and he can hardly continue as a colleague afterwards. Whatever the result of these enquiries, the reputation of the colleague is ruined.

I think, therefore, that conventions followed among Cabinet Ministers should be strictly observed and nothing should be said or done in public which indicates lack of confidence in each other. When a crisis arises, of course it has to be dealt with as such. Apart from those conventions among colleagues, the question arises about Punjab politics. These politics are always full of factions and personal disputes and rivalries. Anything that adds to these elements of factions is therefore not good.

When you mentioned this matter to me for the first time it seemed to me a relatively small affair. I gathered that it was the question of the purchase of a tube-well for, I think, about Rs.21, 000. The charge was that the price paid was too much. It may be that a few thousand rupees were made out of this transaction. It certainly deserved some kind of an enquiry. But the whole thing was rather trivial. If I had had such a case before me, I would have sent for my colleague and told him about it and asked him to convince me about the position. I would not have asked any outsider, police or other, to interfere at that stage. I would have suggested to Rarewala that as such a charge had been made; it would be desirable to clear it up by all the facts being brought out. To set the Police on a colleague would never have occurred to me. There may be possible explanations which I would have invited. If I had personally come to the conclusion that there was something mala fide, then I would have thought that there was some further step to be taken.

I am, therefore, disturbed by all these developments from the larger point of view. More particularly, I dislike the idea of the police being let loose on a colleague and going about investigating members of his family.

In a matter of the sale of a tube-well, the issue is a very simple one. Any expert could go into it in an hour or so and get his opinion. Why then all these complications?

I suggest that you meet Rarewala and have a full talk with him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 85. To Partap Singh Kairon: Corruption and Factionalism<sup>211</sup>

June 27, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

Thank you for your letter of the 26th June sending me various papers in connection with Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala's case. I wrote to you on this subject today.<sup>212</sup>

What has troubled me and continues to trouble me and others here is the manner of treatment of a Cabinet colleague. There are certain firm conventions about this, and it is not right to hand over a colleague, while he continues to be a colleague, to the police or to Anti-Corruption Department for investigation. If the charge is really serious, then he cannot continue as a Cabinet Minister. Even such a public charge and the steps taken in regard to it are enough to cause great injury to the reputation of the person concerned, regardless of the result of that enquiry.

I can only say what I would do in this kind of thing. My first step would be to enquire directly from my colleague about any charge made against him. If I am not fully satisfied by this preliminary enquiry, I would go more deeply into the subject with him and see the necessary papers and files. If after that I am still dissatisfied, much will depend upon the nature of the case. I might try to gather further facts or ask some other colleague to go into it. I would not hand the matter over to the police so long as the person concerned remains my colleague.

I have looked through the report of the S.P., C.I.D. which you have sent. I confess that it is too detailed and confusing for me to understand it unless I give a great deal of time to it. The whole thing resolves into a higher price being charged. The sums involved are rather trivial. I should have thought that the right course would be not for the police to enquire, but for any competent

211. Letter.

212. See item 84, pp. 311-313.

outside engineer to evaluate the tube-well. Why it is necessary to go into hundreds of details to reach this conclusion is not clear to me.<sup>213</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(x) Uttar Pradesh

## 86. To Sampurnanand: Communalism and Bureaucracy<sup>214</sup>

May 5, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

You will remember my speaking and writing to you about the Mubarakpur incident. You told me that some local planning or development officer had been asked to inquire.

I have been greatly worried about Mubarakpur. Recently there have been three major incidents of communal trouble—Sitamarhi, Bhopal and Mubarakpur.<sup>215</sup> Sitamarhi was a much bigger affair, but practically no one there blames the Government or the officials. Swift action was taken and the whole situation was controlled within two or three hours. Relief measures were organised immediately on a fairly large scale. Even the critics of Government praise the work done by it, however much they may criticise the actual trouble itself.

In Mubarakpur the whole complaint is against Government and the officials—the District Magistrate, Superintendent of Police and other policemen. The complaints made indeed are of a very serious nature. If they are even partially true, the district authorities deserve heavy punishment. Naturally, I cannot say

213. Nehru sent a note to Indira Gandhi on 28 June about his meeting Kairon at Sonapat, their driving back to Delhi together, and their discussing Kerala and the Rarewala matter. "I spoke to him at some length about the Gian Singh Rarewala affair. I think he might have proceeded somewhat differently in this matter, but he told me about various aspects of it of which I was not aware. It is rather unfortunate that Gian Singh Rarewala gave some publicity to it. Anyhow, I have asked Sardar Partap Singh Kairon to speak to Sardar Rarewala."

214. Letter the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. File No. A/141, Sampurnanand Collection. NAI. Also available in JN Collection.

215. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 280-281, 290-292 and 317.

how far these complaints are true. But from the people from Mubarakpur I have met and the reports I have received I have a feeling that there is a fair amount of truth in these charges and complaints. I have seen people who are terror-stricken and even when they met me they were frightened men.<sup>216</sup>

Apart from what actually happened at Mubarakpur, this seems to me a very bad symptom because this means the utter corruption of our servicemen there. It is the mentality of the extreme communalist which appears to pervade among the senior officers in the Azamgarh district. How is this to be inquired into and to be dealt with? My personal reaction is that where such charges are made in a big way, the chief officers concerned have failed to do their duty and should immediately be transferred, apart from the result of any inquiry. Indeed, an inquiry can hardly succeed if such persons are present there.

I do not know what the result of your A.D.M.'s inquiry has been. I shall be grateful if you will send me a copy of the report. But an inquiry by the A.D.M. even though he is in charge of development, into charges against the district authorities can hardly be satisfactory. I do not know what you propose to do in this matter, but I am much distressed. I feel that I should at least pay a visit to Mubarakpur. This will be an act of prayaschit if nothing more. My going there may console the people who have suffered and make the officials there sit up. If you have no objection, I shall fix up a date for a visit there roundabout the 20th May. I have not been to the Eastern Districts of the U.P. for a long time and shall spend two or perhaps three days there.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 87. To Sampurnanand: Communalism and Bureaucracy<sup>217</sup>

May 17, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

You were good enough to send me, with your letter of May 11th, a copy of the report of S.M.S. Manohar, Assistant District Magistrate (Planning) in regard to certain incidents in Mubarakpur in Azamgarh District.<sup>218</sup> I have read this report in full. I must say that I am totally dissatisfied with it. It is a bad report. Here is a major incident affecting the whole life of the qasba which has powerfully

216. See item 146, p. 382.

217. Letter.

218. See SWJN/SS/48/p. 317.

affected large numbers of people in Mubarakpur and outside. This is dealt with as some kind of a petty affray between individuals or two small groups. A kind of a judgment that a munsif might write about trivial details is written. Apart from the general inadequacy of the report as a whole, the impression I gather from it is that the writer is powerfully impressed by everything that the police says and tries to find reasons to justify it. Some of these reasons appear to me to be singularly feeble.

Anyhow, I am not impressed by this report at all. If I may say so, in such cases it is always better to appoint someone from outside. That someone should preferably not be connected with those Services.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 88. To Sampurnanand: Resettlement<sup>219</sup>

June 26, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

Thank you for your letter of June 26 from Delhi. This was in reply to the letter of Dr. Faridi which I sent you. I know nothing about Dr. Faridi. It was in the normal course that I forwarded this letter to you.

You will remember my writing to you about a year ago about Ganga Khader and the difficulties that the people were experiencing there. Nearly a thousand persons had marched on foot from there to Delhi to see me.<sup>220</sup> Thereafter I asked Shah Nawaz Khan<sup>221</sup> and my P.P.S. Kesho Ram, to visit the place. They gave me a long report, copies of which I sent on to you.

Since then there has been a good deal of correspondence between the Uttar Pradesh Government and the Ministries of Rehabilitation and Commerce & Industry. But unfortunately nothing much has been done during this period of about fifteen months. Various proposals were made to the effect that land should be reserved for the resettlement of ninety families of Ganga Khader Colony. In November 1958, however, we were informed that no progress had been made in the scheme. In January last you wrote to me that an adhoc Committee had been set up for examining the various matters connected with Ganga Khader

219. Letter.

220. See SWJN/SS/41/pp. 479-82.

221. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Meerut, UP.

and Hastinapur townships.<sup>222</sup> Now I gather that your Government has expressed its inability to find any suitable land and some proposal is made to deforest a portion of the Ganga Khadar block. I do not know what has been done about it.

I understand that our Ministry of Commerce & Industry have granted a loan of Rs. 4 lakhs to one of the U.P. firms through the State Government to set up a sugar factory at Hastinapur.

I continue to get rather pathetic letters from the Ganga Khadar people and now they want to bring another deputation to see me. I shall be grateful if you could kindly expedite these matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(xi) West Bengal

### 89. To B.C. Roy: Siddhartha Ray on Corruption<sup>223</sup>

May 16, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Siddhartha Ray<sup>224</sup> came to see me this evening. He had been asking me for an interview for many weeks now and at last I gave him some time today.

He said that he wanted to bring some matters to my notice, but he had hesitated to come to me previously. Mostly he spoke and I said little to him except by way of question or enquiry.

The first point he raised was that Food and Agriculture, which were so intimately connected, were separate Ministries or departments in the West Bengal Govt. There was no coordination between them and this inevitably was harmful and caused great delay. In the Central Govt. they were under one Ministry and generally in other countries this was also so. I told him that obviously the two were intimately connected and there should be the closest coordination even if they were in two Ministries.

222. See SWJN/SS/46/p. 450.

223. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. From Saroj Chakrabarty, *With Dr. B.C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers* (Calcutta: Benson's, 1974), pp. 380-382.

224. MLA, Minister for Law and Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, 1957-1958. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 753-54.

He said that this lack of coordination applied to various departments in the West Bengal Government. He gave me some instances. One was about a bridge being built somewhere near Jalpaiguri and no approach road being made.

He further said that large sums of money were sent from the Centre to the West Bengal Government but they seldom produced any effective results. Young District Magistrates, who started with a measure of enthusiasm, gradually became frustrated. There were delays etc. in their getting sanctions and also there was interference in their work by the Mandal Congress presidents or some other persons.

Then he referred to the NES and Community Development Schemes which, he said were entirely apart from the people and run from the top. The result was that there was no cooperation from the people or enthusiasm.

He said he went to some schools where he found half-starved boys. In one place a teacher told him that a number of children actually fainted through hunger. Evidently money was not being properly used, even the money which came from the Government of India.

He referred to the fantastic way in which fertilisers were disposed of. They went to the black-market and sometimes even reached Madras where there was great demand for them and higher prices could be obtained.

Relief money was paid through the so-called paymasters and much of it never reached the persons affected. The whole thing was corrupt.

Indeed he said that corruption had reached such a terribly high level in West Bengal that it was hardly believable. No honourable man can put up with it. When he pointed this out, he was laughed at.

Lastly he said that the system of issuing licences was thoroughly bad and led to ever increasing corruption. Why should there not be Licensing Justice for Licences and permits as in the U.K.?

I did not discuss any of these matters with him but merely listened. I did say something about coordination of activities within Govt. and told him how we had various ways of trying to bring about coordination in the innumerable departments and activities of the Govt. of India.

Siddhartha Ray gave me a draft Bill which he had apparently prepared. This is called the West Bengal Prevention of Anti-Social Activities Bill 1957. Basically this is to have complaint committee all over the State with certain powers. I am not at all clear if any such procedure will be helpful, but I am worried about corruption and the inadequate means we have to deal with it.

I am writing this just to report to you what he said to me.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawahar



**90. To B.C. Roy: Mother Selling Her Child<sup>225</sup>**

June 14, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

The President has drawn my attention to a leading article in the *Hindusthan Standard* of Delhi of the 12th June. In this reference is made to the news of a mother selling her only child on account of her inability to find food. Could you kindly let me know if the facts stated in the *Hindusthan Standard* are correct, and your comments.<sup>226</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawahar

(c) Goa and Pondicherry

**91. To Sudha Joshi: Anti-Colonial Movement in Goa<sup>227</sup>**

May 23, 1959

My dear Sudhabai,

I am very happy to learn that you have at last been released by the Portuguese authorities in Goa.<sup>228</sup> All of us have been greatly pained at your continued detention there and all the sufferings that you have gone through in Goa. I hope that your health is in good condition.

With all my good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

225. Letter. File No. 31(47)/57-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

226. B.C. Roy had the matter investigated and forwarded the reports of both the District Magistrate and the Sub-Divisional Officer. As he summarised the findings in his letter of 6/7 July to Nehru: (i) no sale took place; (ii) the woman had ten children; (iii) when her boy fell ill, a passenger on a train "told her that the best way to save the life of the boy was to sell him and then to buy it [sic] back again." (iv) "This sort of superstition prevails amongst the village folk, but in this case, before the child could be sold and bought the child was dead. Therefore, there is no question of selling the child." (v) Newspapers "concoct sensational news so that their papers might be sold in large numbers."

227. Letter to an active member of the Goa National Congress.

228. See SWJN/SS/43/p. 582 and SWJN/SS/44/p. 296.

(d) Bhutan and Sikkim

**92. In the Lok Sabha: The Sikkim Lottery<sup>229</sup>**

Hem Barua:<sup>230</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that raffles run and organised in Sikkim are allowed to operate in India as well;
- (b) if so, whether they are organised by Indian nationals living in Sikkim or by Sikkimese themselves; and (c) what are the reasons, if the reply to (a) is in the affirmative, for allowing these raffles here?<sup>231</sup>

Lakshmi Menon:<sup>232</sup> (a) The Health Relief Charities Fund Lottery of Sikkim has been treated as an authorised raffle in India.

(b) This raffle is run by Indian nationals.

(c) The H.R. Lottery of Sikkim has been treated as a validly authorised lottery because of our special relations with Sikkim and because a fair amount of income derived by the Sikkim Government from the same is spent on health, social welfare works and relief to ex-servicemen from the Indian Army.

Hem Barua: May I know whether the Government are aware or whether the Government have asked the Indian nationals who have subscribed to this raffle to seek redress of their complaints in Sikkim, because the Jurisdiction of our Supreme Court does not extend to Sikkim and if so, may I know the difficulties that confront our nationals in this matter?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what difficulties there may be. I do not know what difficulties have arisen and why they cannot seek redress in Sikkim itself. It is not necessary to go to the Supreme Court for a minor matter.

Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that section 294A of the I.P.C. does not treat this raffle as valid in India because our laws do not operate in Sikkim and if so, are Government aware of the difficulties on the way?

229. 5 May 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXXI. cols.14920-14722.

230. PSP, MP from Gauhati, Assam.

231. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 303.

232. Union Deputy Minister of External Affairs.

Lakshmi Menon: The Government are aware of all the difficulties and the matter has been very thoroughly gone into before this decision was taken to declare the lottery as an authorised one.

Hem Barua: May I know whether the Government are aware of the fact that the Indian national who runs this raffle can remit his profits to his family in India and at the same time avoid Indian income-tax and if so, are the Government aware of this fact, and what steps Government have taken so far to see that income-tax is recovered?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Income-tax on persons who win in the raffle?

Hem Barua: The Indian national who runs the raffle remits the profits to his family in India and also avoids Indian Income-tax. I want to know what steps are taken.

Mr. Speaker:<sup>233</sup> The hon. Member will put down a separate question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Income-tax does not, to my knowledge, come up before us. The Sikkim Government was very much interested in this because they got money for their hospitals out of it. They spoke to me. Their difficulty at that time was that the Indian post office people came in the way. Considering this as an unauthorised undertaking, they did not co-operate and may be, they even confiscated the tickets, etc. They spoke to me about it. Then, we discussed this matter here. Quite apart from our general policy in India, whatever it may be, we felt that we should not come in the way of the Sikkim Government in this matter. So, we declared it as an authorised raffle. The consequences on Income-tax, I am not aware of.

### 93. To Subimal Dutt: Code for Mission in Sikkim<sup>234</sup>

I do not know what kind of a code is used in messages from our Mission in Gangtok to the Bhutan Maharaja<sup>235</sup> or Government. If it is some simple code, then it is highly likely that the message reaches and is deciphered by unauthorised

233. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

234. Note, 6 May 1959.

235. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk.

persons. This fact should be kept in mind and our representative at Gangtok<sup>236</sup> should be told of it.

#### 94. To Apa B. Pant: Intrigues in Gangtok and Kalimpong<sup>237</sup>

May 23, 1959.

My dear Apa,  
Dinesh Singh<sup>238</sup> and the Maharaja of Tehri-Garhwal<sup>239</sup> came to see me this morning and presented me with their report of their tour. There is nothing very special in this report about Sikkim. They have, however, written a good deal about Bhutan and made various suggestions for closer integration of Bhutan with India or, at any rate, for closer association in various ways such as the appointment of an agent by us in Bhutan and common defence.

I told them that I did not agree with their approach to Bhutan. I did not think it was at all desirable for us to appoint an agent there or to take any steps of a military nature.

In the course of their report they have stated that according to rumours in Gangtok there are Soviet troops in Tibet helping the Chinese. I see telegrams emanating from Gangtok also to this effect appearing in the press. In fact, the longest message that I have seen about this matter was in *Dawn*, Karachi. In this it was particularly said that these Soviet troops have come to Gyantse and have been welcomed by the Chinese.

I am rather concerned about Gangtok becoming a centre for the dissemination of all kinds of rumours and gossip. In the old days, soon after the Soviet revolution, Riga on the then frontier of the Soviet Union became famous for long and tall stories about conditions in Russia that emanated from there. Lately, Kalimpong has attained a measure of notoriety in this respect. To some extent that is natural because of the presence of large numbers of foreign intelligence agents, refugees and odd people there who have been coming from Tibet in the past.

I do not want Gangtok to compete in this business with other places as a centre of sensational news. Gangtok is such a small place and there is the Indian Political Officer there. Almost every kind of news that comes out of Gangtok

236. Apa Pant.

237. Letter to the Political Officer of India in Sikkim.

238. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Banda, UP.

239. Manabendra Shah.

will be attributed to the Indian Representative, either directly or indirectly. Hence, we have to be very careful. Or else our reputation for objective news and reports will suffer and we will be considered purveyors of sensational stories.

I cannot believe that any Soviet forces could have come to Gyantse. The whole story is basically and inherently improbable and I shall not be prepared to believe this unless there is hundred percent evidence. Merely vague stories of some fair haired people or soldiers being seen in the streets and being mistaken for Russians is not enough. Nothing would be more unlikely, both from the Soviet and the Chinese points of view, than that Soviet troops should come to Tibet in this connection.

It may be conceded that some people from Northern Tibet with fair hair have been brought there by the Chinese or from some part of China, or even if they are Russians, they might be some experts for geological surveys and the like.

Anyhow, I am writing to you so that you might keep all this in mind and be vigilant about these rumours that refugees and others will spread. No one is less likely to give an objective and truthful account of occurrences than a refugee. It is not a question of straightforward lying, but of a state of mind which is terribly excited and believes every rumour.

Gangtok occupies a very special position both geographically and because of the presence of the Indian Representative there whose contacts are supposed to be with Tibet. Therefore, our mission in Gangtok must remain completely wide-awake and objective; otherwise it will not be able to serve us properly. It must not accept any odd story that comes and it must remain calm and untroubled, even though difficult situations arise.

During the last two and a half months our missions in Tibet have had to face some critical situations from day to day.<sup>240</sup> It is always difficult for a mission to function when the governing authority is not only uncooperative, but actually obstructive. I think our missions have done very well in these difficult circumstances and a great deal of credit goes to them.

These difficulties will continue, though at a lower level. I see no relief from them in the near future. A few days ago the Chinese Ambassador in Delhi<sup>241</sup> conveyed a message to our Foreign Secretary on behalf of his Government. This was, in our opinion, a very objectionable message and we are replying to it in our own way. You will get information of this from our Foreign Secretary. According to our policy and practice, we are replying to this firmly, but at the same time courteously, unlike the Chinese message.

240. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 224-226 and 443.

241. Pan Tzu-li.

It is relatively easy to take up extreme attitudes and to talk without restraint. That is what the Chinese have been doing. We have to follow a more difficult path.

Gangtok, because of its geographical position and as a highway to Tibet and its contacts with Bhutan, has been for us an important centre. It has been our good fortune to have you there as our representative. This importance of Gangtok has grown greatly since recent developments in Tibet and your presence there is a comfort to us. I am writing to you particularly so that you should exercise your influence against gossip and rumour-mongering in Gangtok. Newspapermen and others go there and pick up bazaar rumours. They may go to you and repeat these rumours and even your silence may lead to certain inferences which might well embarrass you later. One has therefore to be particularly careful in dealing with newspapermen.<sup>242</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 95. To Subimal Dutt: Aid to Bhutan<sup>243</sup>

I agree in principle to our helping the Government of Bhutan more than we are doing at present. The amount suggested, that is, Rs.7 lakhs, in addition to the present Rs.5 lakhs per annum (total Rs.12 lakhs) does not appear to me to be unreasonable.

But I do not like the idea of considering this Rs.12 lakhs as normal subsidy to Bhutan. In effect this means amending the Treaty between India and Bhutan of 1949.<sup>244</sup> Also, indirectly, it would appear that this is a compensation for the territory that was taken from Bhutan in earlier days. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the Treaty figure of Rs.5 lakhs should remain as it is as the annual subsidy. In addition, we should agree to a Development Grant or Subsidy of Rs.7 lakhs per annum. This approach appears to me a somewhat better one. It keeps the additional subsidy of Rs.7 lakhs earmarked for development and we do not touch the old figure of Rs.5 lakhs, which was not earmarked and was largely treated as compensation for territory.

242. Nehru copied this letter with the report to Subimal Dutt; he rejected the idea of an agent in Bhutan as "our relations were close at present though somewhat on the informal level."

243. Note, 26 May 1959.

244. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 319.

Although this Rs.7 lakhs would be an annual grant to be continued more or less indefinitely, it would stand on a separate footing from the Rs.5 lakhs mentioned in the Treaty. That is, the Rs.7 lakhs would not be a Treaty obligation, but an annual grant to be continued without any fixed period, but essentially at our pleasure.

### (e) Administration

#### (i) General

### 96. To Rajendra Prasad: Election Expenses and Fraud<sup>245</sup>

May 3, 1959

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of May 2nd, with which you have sent a note addressed to the Election Commission in connection with the expenditure incurred at the General Elections.<sup>246</sup>

I entirely agree with you that this is a matter of great importance. We should consider it in all its aspects. We have in fact discussed it in our Party Meeting

245. Letter to the President of India. File No. 135/58, President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

246. On 2 May Rajendra Prasad wrote to Nehru with a copy of his minute of the same day to the Chief Election Commissioner about election expenses. He estimated that candidates and the government spent about Rs six crore each on a general election, and parties or candidates would be beholden to those who supplied such funds. Expenditure could be controlled by (i) reducing expenses, or (ii) by strict accounting. (i) Expenses could be reduced, as in Japan, by limiting election meetings and postage. This could also be achieved by restricting the period of electioneering, or "propaganda" as he termed it. The law disallowed it only for one day before polling: Rajendra Prasad suggested considering prohibiting electioneering for a whole month before polling or even from the day of final nomination. In that case, candidates would have to depend wholly on their previous record of service and not on propaganda just before elections, and this might "cut down expenditure incurred in a hectic manner during the last few days." (ii) Strict accounting could take the form of expenditure statements until nomination, candidates' accounts being vetted by the Election Commission, candidates disclosing sources of funds, and party funds and donations being open to inspection by the Election Commission. On 3 May Nehru asked the Cabinet Secretary to circulate to the Cabinet both this minute and his own letter of 3 May to Rajendra Prasad about the growing problem of impersonation.

and we could find no way out of this deadlock. However, I am sending copies of your note to all the Cabinet Ministers.

There is another very serious aspect of our elections now. This is the large-scale impersonation. A few individual cases would perhaps not matter much. But when this is resorted to in a big way, it puts an end to the whole idea of a real election. In Calcutta, in Kerala and in Madras and elsewhere, we have had reports of large numbers of people voting by giving their names to the Polling Officer. Subsequently the real persons whose names were on the register came and could not vote. There was no means of checking this. I believe this matter has been brought to the notice of the Election Commission, but nothing so far has been done.

One proposal was to have photographs of voters, but this is wholly impracticable. Another proposal is to have some kind of registration cards. This is also difficult and would of course add to the expense. But it has been suggested that such cards might be issued in the cities and not necessarily in the rural areas. Much of this impersonation takes place in the cities.

Dr. B.C. Roy was much upset by this impersonation in Calcutta during the last elections. It was said that in Kerala this was done in fairly large scale also in a by-election last year<sup>247</sup> and now, quite recently, in Madras in the Municipal Elections, I was told that this had taken place in a big way.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 97. To B.V. Keskar: Tourist Publicity<sup>248</sup>

May 5, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

Some months ago, there was some correspondence between you and me about tourist publicity. I also wrote to S.K. Patil.<sup>249</sup> I had suggested then that we should meet together and discuss this matter, but, somehow, the meeting has not yet come off.

Recently, when I went to Mussoorie for the Tourist Agents' Conference,<sup>250</sup>

247. This reference is to the Deviculam by-election, held on 16 May 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 259-260.

248. Letter to the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

249. Union Minister of Transport and Communications.

250. Nehru inaugurated the eighth convention of the Travel Agents Association of India at Mussoorie on 24 April 1959. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 336-338.



this question of encouraging tourist traffic in various ways was discussed there, not only in the conference, but privately also by some people. I felt that much could be done if adequate arrangements are made. Present arrangements do not seem to me satisfactory, and there is obviously not much cooperation between the two Ministries.

I think that essentially the Tourist Department of the Transport Ministry should be the main Department in charge of tourist publicity, though inevitably the full cooperation of the I. & B. Ministry will be essential. Probably, some arrangement comparable to what we decided upon last year about external publicity,<sup>251</sup> might be arrived at.

I suggest that this matter might be discussed by the Secretaries of the two Ministries, that is, the Transport<sup>252</sup> and the I. & B.,<sup>253</sup> with Secretary-General of the External Affairs Ministry.<sup>254</sup> They can then make their recommendations, which we can consider. I am writing to the Secretary-General to invite the two Secretaries to meet him for this purpose.<sup>255</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 98. To B.V. Keskar: Tourist Publicity<sup>256</sup>

May 6, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

Your letter of May 6th,<sup>257</sup> I have already asked our Secretary General to meet the two Secretaries and discuss these questions in regard to tourism and tourist

251. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 235-236.

252. R. L. Gupta.

253. R. K. Ramadhyani.

254. N. R. Pillai.

255. Nehru sent a note the same day to Subimal Dutt suggesting the Tourist Department of the Transport Ministry might be preferable to the I & B Ministry for tourist publicity.

256. Letter. File No. 27(50)/59-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

257. Keskar pointed out that the I & B Ministry's remit was to prepare material for, but not to organize, tourist publicity, which remained that of the Tourism Department. Hence the differences, small in themselves, between the two Ministries, concerned such material, and he took care to see that films asked for by the Tourism Department received priority. The analogy with External Publicity was, he believed, inappropriate, as that dealt with the radio, the press, foreign correspondents, and much else. Finally, he suggested a meeting between himself and Raj Bahadur, who dealt with the Tourism Department, as a quicker means to agreement than a conference of Secretaries.

publicity. If the matters to be discussed are very few, well and good. The main thing is that tourism has to be pushed and responsibility should, as far as possible, not be split up. I think it will be desirable for the two Secretaries to meet the Secretary General. Later the Ministers can meet as you suggest.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 99. In the Lok Sabha: Chaprasis<sup>258</sup>

8 May 1959

D.C. Sharma:<sup>259</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that steps are being taken to replace the present system of employing Class IV employees (peons and Jamadars) in the Central Government;
- (b) if so, how the matter stands and the number of persons involved;
- (c) what are the broad features of the proposed scheme; and
- (d) what steps are proposed to be taken to properly utilise the present employees by making them useful for other suitable jobs in the Government offices?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) to (c). The existing system of peons in personal attendance on officers or separately attached to sections is proposed to be replaced by a messenger service system. Messengers will be pooled for convenient blocks and their work organised on a systematic basis.

The new system is being tried in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Ministry of Defence and the Planning Commission. It will be extended elsewhere also, but the scattered nature of several officers is a handicap.

(d) In these three organisations, the strength of messengers is 176 less than the strength of 669 jamadars and peons admissible according to the prescribed scale. There has been no retrenchment and none is intended. Reduction has been secured by keeping vacancies unfilled and by diverting surpluses to where messengers were needed.<sup>260</sup>

258. Reply to questions, 8 May 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXXI, cols 15843-15844.

259. Congress, MP from Gurdaspur, Punjab.

260. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 66 & 250 and SWJN/SS/43/pp. 273-274.

## 100. To Kesho Ram: Bridge Across the Jamuna<sup>261</sup>

Shri Shah Nawaz Khan<sup>262</sup> told me today that it had been apparently decided by the Railway Ministry to have a new Railway bridge over the Jamuna in Delhi. This, no doubt, is necessary. Another necessity is obviously another road across the Jamuna. The present road is hopelessly crowded and traffic from Ghaziabad and Meerut side is very heavy.

2. What surprised me was that it was proposed that an entirely separate road bridge should be constructed by the Transport Ministry over the Jamuna. That is, there should be two new bridges over the Jamuna in Delhi, one a railway bridge and one a road bridge. Prima facie, this seems to me wasteful. Surely one bridge, both railway and road, should be built. If, years later, traffic is so great that another road bridge is necessary, this may be thought of.

3. Will you please find out from the Railway and Transport Ministries if there is a proposal to have two separate bridges?<sup>263</sup>

## 101. Kesho Ram: Demolition of Huts<sup>264</sup>

I am entirely in favour of these huts being cleared. But I do not understand why this process of clearance should take place late in the evening which must be the most inconvenient time. Why should it not be done in the morning so as to give some chance to these people to make other arrangements? Also what notice is given? The men who came to see me this morning said that they had been given no notice. I am not thinking of this from the legal point of view as they are entitled to no notice, but in common decency, they should be clearly and firmly informed that on such and such a date this would happen.

2. As for the C.P.W.D. contractors, I think that the terms of the contract should be strictly enforced and they must be made to provide temporary but suitable accommodation for their labour force. If they do not do so, deduction should be made from their dues and the P.W.D. should make arrangements for the labour staff out of that money.

261. Note, 15 May 1959. File No. 27(56)/59-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

262. Deputy Minister of Railways.

263. Kesho Ram replied on 25 May that the Transport Ministry preferred two bridges because (i) it was cheaper than a combined rail-and-road bridge; and (ii) the Defence Ministry thought it better for strategic reasons. Nehru assented the same day, but suggested pedestrian paths be added.

264. Note, 16 May 1959.

## 102. To Morarji Desai: Rupees and Naye Paise<sup>265</sup>

I wrote to you once about some confusion that was being caused by the new way of writing rupees and naye paise. The two are separated only by a dot as in dollars and cents. It seemed to me that this was not a clear enough separation and sometimes people are misled by it. Indeed, I have seen cases of this kind of mistake being committed.

2. Surely, we can have some better way of writing this. I remember the Finance Ministry, after considering it, thought that a change was not necessary. I forget now what their arguments were. But I would suggest to you and your Ministry to look into this matter afresh. What is the difficulty in a clearer and more obvious method being evolved? This might be a diagonal line or two small lines or something like a colon mark. Thus Rs. 100.50 N.P. might be written as Rs. 100/50 NP or RS.100=50NP or Rs 100:50 NP or indeed any other way that can be devised. We must think of the large number of simple persons who will be using this way of writing. It is not enough for the experts to understand each other.<sup>266</sup>

## 103. At the National Advisory Committee: Public Cooperation<sup>267</sup>

Speaking in Hindi the Prime Minister in his introductory remarks emphasised the need for the committee to confine itself to the specific tasks assigned to it instead of covering a very wide ground as it appeared to have done in the reports of the sub-committees. One of the sub-committees seemed to have traversed, in places, on matters relating to judicial reforms, amendment of the Constitution etc. which were entirely outside its purview.

Dealing with report of the sub-committee presided over by Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao,<sup>268</sup> the Prime Minister observed that some of the recommendations of the sub-committee appeared to be idealistic. Others were general recommendations such as increase of scholarships, making villages more attractive etc. to which no one could take exception. He criticised the suggestions regarding amendment

265. Note, 16 May 1959. File No. 37(17)/56-59-PMS.

266. See SWJN/SS/43/p. 287.

267. Speech at the Meeting on Public Cooperation, 18 May 1959. File No. 17(410)/60-66-PMS. (Extract) Nehru was the Chairman of the Committee.

268. Vice Chancellor of Delhi University.

of the Constitution in Recommendation No. 6 and observed that the suggestion for organising national plan fronts reminded him of the national war fronts of the War days. Such a front could serve a little purpose now. We wondered whether it was going to be a new organisation in which case it would only be adding to avoidable expenditure.

Dealing with the second report he said that most of the suggestions appeared to be acceptable; particularly, he welcomed the suggestion regarding the setting up of quasi-judicial tribunals for expediting the implementation of land reforms.

Dealing with the question of association of all political parties with the development work he said that the implementation of development plans ought to provide for increasing cooperation between the various political parties. But, he wondered, what the result would be if they were to accept the proposal of Mrs. Renu Chakravarty<sup>269</sup> that, at the lower levels also there should be all-party committees. The first question that would arise would be: what would be the parties? He was apprehensive that in order to get entry into these committees, a number of bogus parties might spring up. While he was anxious to secure the cooperation of all parties at the lowest level, he was afraid that if this was accepted as a principle it might result in opening the floodgates for letting in party conflicts even at the village level. It was comparatively easier to secure all party cooperation at the Central and State levels; but when they went down to the village level, all kinds of difficulties cropped up. What was essential was that development work at the village should be taken up on an all-party basis which would mean that it should be on a "no party basis." He would be rather generous to include as many people as possible and not make any exclusion by being too rigid. The approach should be flexible.

Regarding the proposal for making panchayat elections free from party politics, the Prime Minister said that while one might agree with it in principle, he was not sure how it could be applied in practice. The Prime Minister, however, expressed his preference for the village cooperatives being free from party politics.

The Prime Minister emphasised that there was today a ferment in the peoples' minds as a result of widespread thinking and discussions about the plan; public cooperation itself was an off-shoot of the Five Year Plan. He was sure that out of this vital activity of minds, something useful would emerge. He, however, cautioned against their adopting an escapist attitude by trying to find faults in the existing situation and not doing anything constructive.

269. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Basirhat, West Bengal.

Referring to the report of the sub-committee on voluntary organisations the Prime Minister said that he did not find much to criticise in the report. He, however, emphasised that voluntary organisations should not show excessive dependence on Govt. and lose their independent character. This did not mean that he was opposed to giving grants-in-aid or otherwise assisting voluntary organisations in their work.

He said he was not enthusiastic about their having Advisory committees at the State levels also. This might lead to more bureaucracy.

In conclusion the Prime Minister advised the Committee to discuss practical issues and not content themselves by merely advising Govt. and trying to escape responsibility.

The Planning Minister<sup>270</sup> then outlined the task of the Committee. The question of immediate relevance to the Committee was the one relating to the agencies and programmes through which greater public participation could be secured to development work. The recommendations of the three sub-committees would have to be considered from this point of view. There might be some recommendations which might be more expression of opinion; still others which might deal with specific subjects like panchayats and cooperative which might have to be referred to the Ministries concerned for necessary action. What the committee should do was to apply their minds intensively and concentrate on the job of mobilising and drawing larger number of people into various programmes.

#### **104. To Vishnu Sahay: Election Identity Cards<sup>271</sup>**

The law may certainly be revised. But the real difficulty is catching the man.

I think that the proposal to have photographs plus identity cards, though much more effective, is not feasible. It is far too expensive. It is as well to have that power with the Election Commission and, if they like, they may try it at some places.

I think that having identity cards only, though not very effective, will nevertheless go far to check this false impersonation. They obviously would be much cheaper and this can be tried in the urban areas certainly and occasionally in rural areas where it is considered necessary.

270. Gulzarilal Nanda.

271. Note, 28 May 1959.

**105. To Morarji Desai: Rivalry between Road and Rail<sup>272</sup>**

June 27, 1959.

My dear Morarji,

As you perhaps know, there has been an argument going on between Jagjivan Ram<sup>273</sup> and S.K. Patil<sup>274</sup> about the composition of a committee to consider questions relating to rail-road transport. It is agreed that there should be a committee, but there is a difference about its composition.

It seems to me that the appointment of a big committee, including public men and others, is hardly necessary at present. At least such a committee will probably tour about all over India and then, after many months or a year or two, present a fat report. The whole question of railway and transport administration will probably come into their ken.

I feel that a smaller committee of experts in the Ministries concerned and the Planning Commission should anyhow consider this matter. This will not take much time and will give us a technical approach to the problem. If we consider it necessary afterwards, we may have a larger committee or commission.

In any event, I should like to have your views. I am sending you some papers on this subject.<sup>275</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

272. Letter. File No. 27(51)/59-70-PMS.

273. Union Minister of Railways.

274. Union Minister of Transport and Communications.

275. On 28 May, Morarji Desai replied, agreeing with Nehru.

**106. To S.K. Patil: Rivalry between Road and Rail<sup>276</sup>**

June 28, 1959

My dear SK.,

For some time past, there has been a bit of an argument between the Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of Transport & Communications about rail-road transport.<sup>277</sup> You wrote to me on this subject on June 13th.<sup>278</sup> Thereafter I had some correspondence with Jagjivan Ram.

There was agreement about the appointment of a committee and the terms of reference, but there was a lack of agreement as to the composition of such a committee. Jagjivan Ram thought that a committee of officials from the Ministries concerned and the Planning Commission should be adequate; while you thought that in view of the importance of this subject and the bearing it had on our future economic development, this committee should consist of public men and economic experts.

There is strength in what you say. There can be no doubt about the importance of this subject. At the same time, I wonder if, at this stage, a high powered public committee would be desirable. Such a committee might well take into consideration the whole of our railway policy and transport policy and roam about all over India. Ultimately they will produce a big report, probably a year or two from now, covering a multitude of matters. We might well be caught up in a tangle and both major and minor questions of policy would have to be considered. Inevitably this would delay a consideration of this subject, and perhaps make it a little more difficult. While undoubtedly it might be helpful to have the advice of prominent public men, they would have a tendency to cover a very wide ground. I have, therefore, been thinking that even if at a later stage such a committee of public men becomes necessary, it would be desirable for us to have a small expert committee to begin with. Such a committee could function with some rapidity and report to us. We can then, if we think it necessary, have a larger public committee that you have suggested. With the report of the expert committee, the Cabinet will be able to consider the matter with greater clarity and to come to grips with it. I confess, at the present moment I am rather

276. Letter. File No. 27(51)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

277. See item 105, p. 333.

278. Patil's letter of 13 June had asked for a "national transport policy" and for sorting out the competition between road and rail transport systems. Since "public opinion is greatly exercised", he wanted a committee of public persons; Jagjivan Ram however preferred officials. He wanted to announce such a committee before the next session of the Lok Sabha.



ignorant about the various aspects of this problem.

I consulted the Finance Minister<sup>279</sup> and he also feels that, in the first instance, it would be more appropriate to have this small committee. I suggest, therefore, for your consideration, that we might, to begin with, appoint a committee of experts from the Ministries concerned and the Planning Commission. They may deal with the subject as laid down in the proposed terms of reference. I would ask them to report within a fixed period which should not be too long.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 107. To Brij Mohan: President's Advice Confidential<sup>280</sup>

June 30, 1959.

My dear Brij Mohan

I have your letter of the 25th June. It is unfortunate that some confidential correspondence with the President has been published in the daily Press. In our Constitution, Executive authority rests with the government, even though orders are issued in the name of the President. But it is always open to the President to give his private advice to the Prime Minister or to the Government. The decision must rest with the Government.

The President's name should not be brought into public discussions.

### (ii) Corruption and Accountability

### 108. To Morarji Desai: M.O. Mathai Case<sup>281</sup>

May 1, 1959

My dear Morarji,

This evening Vishnu Sahay<sup>282</sup> gave me his report on his enquiry into the allegations made against Mathai.<sup>283</sup> He attached a note to it. I am sending you this note as well as a copy of the report.

279. Morarji Desai.

280. Letter to the General Secretary, Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee.

281. Letter.

282. Cabinet Secretary.

283. M. O. Mathai, Special Assistant to Nehru, resigned on 12 January 1959. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 374-391.

I am sending a separate copy to the Comptroller and Auditor-General.<sup>284</sup>

I am writing to the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha<sup>285</sup> and the Speaker<sup>286</sup> informing them that I have received this report and sending them a copy of Vishnu Sahay's note. I am not sending them the report at this stage. I enclose a copy of the letter I am sending them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 109. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: LIC Inquiry<sup>287</sup>

May 4, 1959

Dear Mr. Speaker,

I was unfortunately not present in the Lok Sabha when a question relating to the U.P.S.C. Report on the L.I.C. Enquiry was answered.<sup>288</sup> There were a number of supplementary questions and you were pleased to make some remarks at the time also about the leakage of the recommendations and the delay in placing it on the Table of the House.

I am venturing to place some facts before you for your consideration. This report was received by the Home Ministry on the afternoon of the 29th April. Only one copy was received. It was kept quite secret and sent to the secret press for making copies. I have not seen the report yet, nor has it been circulated to the Cabinet. So far as I have been able to find out, there was no question of leakage from the Home Ministry. Indeed, there was no time for it as the very next morning; some newspapers contained what was said to be a summary of

284. Asok K. Chanda.

285. Vice-President, S. Radhakrishnan.

286. Nehru's letter of 1 May to M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, the Speaker, also referred to the question of publication; as he himself was uncertain what should be done, he said "I shall naturally abide by your advice."

287. Letter.

288. According to the *Hindustan Times* of 5 May 1959, the Government would not agree to an early release of the report of the Vivian Bose Inquiry Commission and of the advice of the UPSC. While Nehru told the Rajya Sabha on 4 May that the Cabinet had not so far considered the UPSC report on the findings of the Bose Commission, B. N. Datar, the Minister of State, dismissed the Press versions of the UPSC's advice on the Bose report as "unintelligent" guesses. He informed the Lok Sabha that while the Government had received the UPSC report on 29 April 1959, it would be released after a decision had been taken on the matter.

the recommendations. Even before this, newspapers had been giving surmises. As I have not seen the report yet, I am quite unable to say if what the newspapers said was correct or not. In any event, I do not think there was any case of leakage from the Home Ministry. Presumably, therefore, the leakage, if any, took place at an earlier stage, that is, when the matter was being dealt with by the U.P.S.C. As you are no doubt aware, the U.P.S.C. functions independently of Government departments.

As we have not even seen the report yet, the Cabinet has not considered it. Till we consider it, it would not be proper for us to place it on the Table of the House. The normal practice is for the Government to consider such a report and make their recommendations and then place it on the Table of the House.

You will be pleased to observe, therefore, that there has been no delay on Government's part in this matter.<sup>289</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 110. MEA: Forged Passports<sup>290</sup>

Questions relating to the forging of passports have come up before Parliament again and again. Our answers have seldom been satisfactory. We go on saying that the case is under investigation. This time we said that something more has been done. There has been a spate of supplementaries every time, but our lips were sealed. This happened today also.<sup>291</sup>

In the note for supplementaries today, it is stated that "the case is in the personal custody of the Chief Commissioner<sup>292</sup> and that information about it cannot be disclosed except in court." I can understand that some information cannot be disclosed. But still it seems to me that we are quite needlessly secretive about this. There was a sense of irritation in Parliament at the way we had dealt with this question again and again. In fact I had to get up and say to the Speaker

289. This letter was copied to S. N. Sinha, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

290. Note to N. R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and Vishnu Sahay, 5 May 1959.

291. On being asked by Nagi Reddy, A. K. Gopalan, Iqbal Singh, Sarju Pandey, Parulekar and T. B. Vittal Rao regarding the forged passports, Lakhshmi Menon replied that investigations had been completed and the case was being tried, but for obvious reasons detailed information about the results of the investigations could not be revealed at that stage.

292. A. D. Pandit.

that I would look into it and collect such information as we could and inform the House.

Will you please see the report of today's questions (supplementaries) and answers and have as full a report about this matter prepared as possible? If we can give this further information before the House rises on the 9th, it would be a good thing.

**111. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: M.O. Mathai  
Case<sup>293</sup>**

May 6, 1959

Dear Mr. Speaker,

As you are aware, various allegations were made against Shri M.O. Mathai in Parliament. On the 11th February I requested the Cabinet Secretary to examine these allegations and to find out if Shri M.O. Mathai had made any improper use of his official position during the period of his employment with Government. This enquiry was in the nature of an investigation for my own guidance. I stated however in Parliament that when I received the report of the Cabinet Secretary, I would send it to the Finance Minister and separately to the Comptroller and Auditor General so that they may judge the financial propriety of any action that had been taken.

The Cabinet Secretary submitted his report to me on May 2, 1959. I sent copies of it to the Finance Minister and the Comptroller and Auditor-General I attach their comments.

It is not usual for departmental enquiries to be given publicity. The present report was not even a departmental enquiry; it was in the nature of an investigation to establish the facts.

I had previously stated that I would either submit the Cabinet Secretary's report or my own report to you. I am therefore writing to you now on this subject and enclosing a note prepared by me based on the Cabinet Secretary's report. In this note the Cabinet Secretary's comments and findings have been briefly given.

As a result of considering the report of the Cabinet Secretary as well as the comments of the Finance Minister and the Comptroller and Auditor-General, I

293. Letter. Group I, File No. 887, P. D. Tandon Papers, NAI. Also available in JN Collection.

am of opinion that during the period of his employment with Government, Shri Mathai had made no improper use of his official position.<sup>294</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 112. In the Rajya Sabha: M.O. Mathai Case<sup>295</sup>

The Cabinet Secretary was asked by me on the 11th February 1959 "to examine the allegations against Shri M.O. Mathai of improper use of his official position during the period of his employment with the Government and submit a report." Some days later, on the 17th February, the Home Minister announced in the Rajya Sabha that anyone who had material information on this subject could send it to the Cabinet Secretary. No such information was sent to him, except a letter from a person in prison who made some general charges without supporting evidence and an anonymous communication.

2. The Cabinet Secretary received various statements from Shri Mathai in regard to his finances. He also saw income-tax assessment figures and wealth-tax returns. The pass book from one Bank and a statement of account from another Bank were also consulted by the Cabinet Secretary. He found that these various statements and the information from the Banks tallied.

3. The charge made against Shri Mathai was of improper use of his official position during the period of his employment with Government. Before this employment began, he had a considerable sum of money with him as a result of his service with the American Red Cross on the Assam-Burma border as well as by his obtaining some American surpluses. Shri Mathai came to me in Allahabad about a year before I entered Government. I had informed him then that I could not afford to pay him any suitable salary. He told me in reply that he had earned a considerable sum during his service with American Red Cross in the Assam-Burma Border and that he could support himself without any difficulty for some years without any salary. So far as I can remember, he

294. This letter was copied to S. Radhakrishnan.

295. Statement, PMS, 6 May 1959. Group I, File No. 887, P. D. Tandon Papers, NAI. Also available in JN Collection.

mentioned the sum of Rs. two or three lakhs with him then. He served me therefore without any salary till some time after I had joined Government, when a salary was fixed for him which began with Rs. 750/- a month and later was fixed at Rs. 1500/- a month. He was treated as a special officer and did not have a regular post which was an integral part of the Prime Minister's Secretariat. His appointment was an ad hoc and temporary one and he was not treated as a permanent Government servant.

4. The initial sums that he brought with him plus his salary and the income from dividends and interest have been found by the Cabinet Secretary to be adequate for the various purchases of payments that he made subsequently and which are referred to in the statements and Bank accounts. It was out of this that he sent remittances from time to time to his relatives.

5. The purchase of a property in the Kulu Valley was made for Rs. 1, 20,000/- by a registered sale deed. He disposed of some of his shares and investments for this purpose. After some time, finding that he could not manage this Kulu property from Delhi, he sold it, for approximately the same amount as the purchase price. He had mentioned this transaction to me both before the purchase and at the time of sale. The Cabinet Secretary finds that there is no evidence of improper use of his official position in this transaction.

6. In regard to the insurance policies that he had taken and the conversion of some of them into annuities, payment was made partly from the money with him and partly from his provident fund which he realised. According to the Cabinet Secretary, there is no evidence of any improper use of his official position in these transactions.

7. As regards the Trust called "The Chechemma Memorial Trust", this was a public charitable Trust formed in August 1956, the original trustees being Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur and Shri M.O. Mathai. The objects of the Trust were Grant of financial assistance for the production of books of historical and educational value, grant of scholarships to students, grant of financial assistance to persons devoted to voluntary social service to hospitals and other public institutions devoted to medical relief and institutions established for the purpose of advancing the welfare of women and children. Subsequently a third trustee was appointed viz. Kumari Padmaja Naidu. There was no single Managing Trustee. Shri M.O. Mathai has stated and Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur has confirmed that all the donations were collected by Rajkumari. Shri M.O. Mathai had nothing to do with approaching donors or collecting donations.

8. At the time of the formation of this Trust, Shri M.O. Mathai mentioned this matter to the Comptroller and Auditor General of India and asked him about the propriety of his becoming a trustee. He was told in reply that there was no objection to it. Shri Mathai however wrote formally to the Ministry of

Home Affairs on this subject. The Home Secretary<sup>296</sup> replied that there was no objection to the proposed course. He had also mentioned the matter to me.

9. The cash donations received by this Trust amounts to Rs.10,12,000/-. In addition, a house at 9 Tees January Marg was given to the Trust on 3 January 1958 by Messrs. Birla Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills, Delhi. The Cabinet Secretary had this valued by the Superintending Surveyor who has reported that the total value of the property, both house and land, is about 1,87,000. Shri B.M. Birla has stated that gift was made at the request of Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur for the purposes of the Trust.

10. Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur has stated that all the donations were collected by her on the understanding that they would be treated as anonymous donations. She was not prepared therefore to make public the names of the donors. As a matter of fact, she showed the names of the donors both to me and the Cabinet Secretary, but on the express understanding that they would not be made public. In this list there are twenty donations mentioned beginning from 14th October 1954 to the 17th December 1958. More than half the money was collected by Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur before the Trust was actually formed.

11. Only Rs. 25,000/- has been spent out of the corpus of the Trust money. The rest is intact, except for the payment of Rs. 73,000/- to the Land Development Officer, Delhi, in consideration of permission to transfer the lease hold of the house in Tees January Marg. Further a sum of Rs. 1798.56 n.p. was paid to the Mills on account of stamp duty and registration charges which had been incurred by the donors. Apart from these payments, the corpus of the Trust money is intact. This is supported by a statement from the Bank. Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur said that she did not wish to spend the money in dribbles but was aiming at collecting enough money so that the trust could function as a foundation for charitable purposes.

12. The Cabinet Secretary states that according to the facts placed before him, Shri Mathai did not abuse his official position in connection with the Trust.

13. As regards the charge that Shri Mathai had undeclared money in foreign banks, there appears to be no truth in it. It appears that some money was sent by the Prime Minister to Shri A.C.N. Nambiar then Ambassador in Western Germany, for a particular purpose. Shri A.C.N. Nambiar having fallen ill later thought it desirable to place the amount in a joint account so as to avoid any difficulties arising later in regard to its withdrawal in the event of his unexpected death. As the money has been sent to him through Shri M.O. Mathai, he had his

296. A. V. Pai.

name added and made this account a joint account. No cheque book was sent to Shri Mathai nor indeed did Shri Mathai deal with this account in any way. On enquiry it was found that there was a balance of Swiss Francs 948.50 in this account.<sup>297</sup>

### 113. In the Rajya Sabha: LIC Inquiry<sup>298</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Chairman,<sup>299</sup> I would like to seek your advice in the matter of the publication of the recent recommendations of the Public Service Commission with regard to the Life Insurance enquiry.<sup>300</sup> The Report of the Vivian Bose Enquiry Committee<sup>301</sup> was sent to the Public Service Commission. Reference was made with regard to two of our officers, Shri H.M. Patel<sup>302</sup> and Shri Kamath.<sup>303</sup> And now the Public and Service Commission have sent their recommendations. A copy of their recommendations reached the Cabinet Secretary just a week ago. I saw it for the first time, because there was just one copy. It had to be printed secretly and all that. The first copy was given to me the day before yesterday afternoon and it has to be considered by the Cabinet naturally. I regret to say I have not read it yet. I have had no time. Now, we have been anxious to place this as early as possible before this House. At the same time we cannot place it before the House before Government have considered it and decided what to do about it, about the steps to be taken. Now, it is not possible for us to place it before the House today or tomorrow. On the other hand, we should not like to delay this till the next Session. So, I should like your advice if it is possible for us to send it to Members, say, within two weeks or so, as soon as Government has considered it and published it. That will allow them time to consider it, instead of waiting for the next Session and then to place it on the Table of the House.

297. Morarji Desai and Ashok Chanda, the Comptroller and Auditor General, endorsed Nehru's opinion. The Cabinet Secretary's report, which was most important to the case, was not placed before Parliament. See Appendix 2 for Morarji Desai's comments on the Cabinet Secretary's note.

298. 7 May 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXV, cols 2196-2201.

299. S. Radhakrisnan.

300. See SWJN/SS/41/pp. 415-416.

301. See SWJN/SS/44/p.355.

302. Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance, and first Chairman of LIC.

303. Chairman of LIC in June 1957.



Mr. Chairman: I think the Members would like to ...

Bhupesh Gupta<sup>304</sup> : Sir, I wish to make a submission in this connection. There are two things said here. One is the Vivian Bose Committee's Report and the other is the Report of the Public Service Commission on the findings of the Committee. As far as the Vivian Bose Committee's Report is concerned, I do not see any reason as to why this should not be circulated to us before we disperse. If possible, it should be laid on the Table of the House tomorrow. I think the Government would be now considering the Report of the Public Service Commission. Personally, I do not see any harm in the Report of the Public Service Commission also being given to us. We and the Government can consider them concurrently. There is no harm in it. Whatever steps the Government take in this matter, they will be in a position (Interruptions).

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Bhupesh Gupta: Just a minute.

Mr. Chairman: Be short. I understand you. The Vivian Bose Committee Report was submitted some months ago. Why should there be any objection to our having it now? That is number one. Number two is, the U.P.S.C.'s recommendations have reached the Government. Let the Government consider. We will consider it this side.

Bhupesh Gupta: Concurrently. Now, the point why I stress this thing is I would ask the Prime Minister to consider the predicament in which we have been placed and they have also been placed.

B.K.P. Sinha:<sup>305</sup> No, predicament.

Bhupesh Gupta: He may not be, but I am in it. (Interruptions).

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Bhupesh Gupta: The position is, on the 27th of April the Government received the Report of the Public Service Commission.

304. CPI, MP from West Bengal.

305. Independent, MP from Bihar.

Mr. Chairman: 29th April, not 27th.

Bhupesh Gupta: I am sorry. Very good correction you have made. Then, on the 1st of May, I think, the report about it appeared in the press. Now, when the Government was in possession, this thing appeared in the press. The Government in the other House did not contradict what had appeared in the press. Therefore, the assumption is, by implication, that it is right. In such a case why should there be hide and seek in this matter? We can have this thing placed before the House.

Mr. Chairman: Anyway, I think, Mr. Prime Minister, I voice the feelings of the House generally that after you take decisions in the Government the two things may be sent to the Members.

H.N. Kunzru:<sup>306</sup> May I also know whether the evidence tendered before the Bose Board will be given to the Members?

JN: I do not think so. Apart from the fact, I believe, it is never done, it would require a very special staff to deal with the mountains of evidence which occupy rooms. It is enormous.

Bhupesh Gupta: Will the evidence be laid on the Table of the House?

JN: No, Sir...

H.D. Rajah:<sup>307</sup> May I know, Sir, what the Members are going to get—whether what has already appeared in the papers or something which is the decision of the Government? What we are going to get, I would like to know.

JN: It is for you to decide what to do with the press in such matters. Government is perhaps blamed. In the other House there were some remarks passed about the Government's negligence in this matter. As a matter of fact, Government had absolutely nothing to do with it. The thing appeared in the press the day after we received it in the evening, the next day, when nobody had seen it. One copy had come. None of us had seen it. Nobody had seen it. In fact, I have not seen it yet. I could have seen it yesterday. That was the earliest I could have

306. Independent, MP from Uttar Pradesh.

307. RPI, MP from Madras State.

seen it. If there was a leakage—as there well might have been—certainly it was physically impossible to have taken place in any Government establishment. I do not say where it took place, because the Public Service Commission is not a Government establishment, because I understand that newspaper men have been after this for weeks and weeks and things have appeared, that is, surmises in the newspapers, for a long time. And I cannot say—I answer the hon. Member Mr. Rajah—whether it is correct or not. I just do not know.

**Bhupesh Gupta:** We are also hungering for the Report. All that I say is you will not, I hope, be provoked against the press in this matter. The point here is, how does the Prime Minister know that it leaked through the Public Service Commission?

**Mr. Chairman:** He does not say that.

**Bhupesh Gupta:** He does not know. We do not know whether it leaked through the Public Service Commission or through the Government.

**JN:** It is very simple for the hon. Member to know certain negative aspects, because it was physically impossible, or if I may put it in mathematical terms 99.9 per cent impossible, for it to go out, because it came to the Home Secretary<sup>368</sup> and nobody else had seen it. The news overnight had appeared on the next day. It was physically impossible. It had not been distributed, it had not been circulated. Whether in the course of its transmission somebody through an X-ray apparatus saw it, I do not know.

**Bhupesh Gupta:** Nobody will use X-ray.

**Mr. Chairman:** There is no doubt that such things have become more and more frequent and they require to be looked into.

**Bhupesh Gupta:** The Prime . . . (Interruptions.) The Prime Minister has accused the press, I was also after the Report.

**Mr. Chairman:** All right. All that I am saying is that these things, Mr. Prime Minister, have been more and more frequent and as I remarked on a previous occasion to the Home Minister, the arrangements will have to be tightened

up. (Turning to the Communist group). You are also responsible for leakages.

JN: May I say, Sir, that I entirely accept your advice in this matter. But I think it is highly improper for the press to publish secret documents. And it may come to this, that some steps will have to be taken, if such a thing is published, against the newspaper that publishes it.

Bhupesh Gupta: It is most unfortunate that over this matter the Prime Minister is threatening the press. There is no need for it.

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Prime Minister, our conclusion is that after the Government have considered this matter and when they come to certain decisions, the U.P.S.C. Report and the Government's decisions will be sent to our Secretary, who will distribute them to the Members.

Bhupesh Gupta: About the evidence . . .

V. Prasad Rao:<sup>309</sup> The Prime Minister said that the evidence is voluminous...

Mr. Chairman: No, no.

JN: I am sorry. Sir, the Table is not big enough for it.

Bhupesh Gupta: If it is not big, I will carry, I volunteer to carry the load to the Library hall.

Mr. Chairman: True, he will walk out and will give the Table to you.

R.B. Gour:<sup>310</sup> Will it be available in the Parliament Library?

Bhupesh Gupta: Somewhere.<sup>311</sup>

309. CPI, MP from Andhra Pradesh.

310. CPI, MP from Andhra Pradesh.

311. See item 114, pp. 347-350.

## 114. In the Lok Sabha: LIC Inquiry<sup>312</sup>

Morarji Desai:<sup>313</sup> May I seek a direction from you on one matter? The report of the Union Public Service Commission on the Bose Board of Enquiry report has been received by Government but it has not yet been considered by the Cabinet, because it was received only on the 29th last. It will soon be considered and the Government's conclusion and the Bose Report and the Union Public Service Commission's report have to be laid before the House. But the House will not then be in session and it will meet after some time, say, two months and a half or so. That will take a long time and until then it is difficult to keep on the reports.

Therefore, if you consider it fit and if the House agrees, as soon as we are ready, we can send out those copies to the hon. Members through you so that it may be considered as having been given to Parliament, and then it can be given to the press, and then, afterwards it can be formally laid on the Table of the House when the House meets.

S.M. Banerjee<sup>314</sup>: Last time also you said that this House is not supposed to become a post-mortem House. When we wanted to know how information leaked out to the press, the reply was, "No, not through Government agency". If it is given to the press, what is the use of discussing it?

Mr. Speaker:<sup>315</sup> It is not sought to be given to the press first. There is a precedent.

T.B. Vittal Rao<sup>316</sup>: I want to make a submission. This report has created much public interest and I do not understand why the Cabinet should delay its consideration by seven days. They got it on the 29th April. They could have considered it by now, and come to some decision on it and we would have had it. This sort of treatment of Parliament—well, I consider that this Parliament is treated with scant respect.

312. 7 May 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXI, cols 15587-15591.

313. Union Finance Minister.

314. Independent, MP from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh.

315. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

316. CPI, MP from Khammam, Andhra Pradesh.

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I say a few words? The hon. Members are misinformed. There has been no delay at all. I received the report the evening before last—a day and a half ago. I have been unable to read it yet.

T.B. Vittal Rao: 29th.

JN: It does not matter. When it was received, one copy was received. It had to be sent to the secret press for copies to be made. They came the day before yesterday afternoon. In fact, it was physically impossible for anybody to look into this report overnight. It cannot be done. Serious things cannot be done like that. There has been absolutely no delay in this particular matter; maybe in other matters there might have been delay, if I may say so. It appeared that some allegations were made about its appearing in the press. I have looked into this matter. It appeared in the press the very next morning. It is physically impossible for it to have gone out, leaked, from Government's possession, that is, from the Home Ministry's possession; nobody had it then; I did not have it; no Minister had it. Only the Home Secretary had it and nobody else, and one copy only. How it leaked out, I do not know. Possibly, it is not a question of the whole thing leaking out. Two weeks before, newspapers had some bits and bits appearing; surmises may be obtained casually from somebody; I do not know. But after the receipt of the report and the appearance of it in the newspapers the next day, I do not think it was physically possible for that copy of the report to have been seen by anybody overnight, simply because people did not see it, except the Home Secretary and I think one other person.

Narayanankutty Menon:<sup>317</sup> How did it leak out?

JN: Personally, I cannot yet say whether what has appeared in the press is correct or not. Of course I have not read the report yet.

Narayanankutty Menon: Two days ago, before the hon. Minister of State informed the House that the report on the conduct of Shri Mathai was received by the Government, on the same day, the news appeared. Yesterday's papers contain almost a verbatim report of the recommendations on the conduct of Shri Mathai. Parliament was told by the hon. Minister of State that the Cabinet would take some time to consider the report. Immediately after that, within 24 hours, the entire contents of the report

317. CPI, MP from Mukundapuram, Kerala.

came in the press. That is another instance. Maybe it has also leaked out from the Government.

Mr. Speaker: That is about the report on the conduct of Shri Mathai and the allegations made.

JN: It is a different matter.

Mr. Speaker: True; the hon. Member wants to quote an instance. That is not relevant here. We do not know what exactly has happened.

Tangamani:<sup>318</sup> It leaked out.

Mr. Speaker: In due course, when it comes to the notice of hon. Members we will see what happens.

So far as this matter is concerned, we have got a precedent for this. The hon. Minister says that he got it only on the 29th and it was sent immediately for printing to the press, and even if it was 29th April, there is not sufficient time. There is no meaning in hustling the Government. We are so busy here. I am exceedingly glad. Far from finding fault with the hon. Finance Minister, on the other hand, I am happy that he has made this announcement here, because, from now and by the time we meet again, a number of people may get just some kind of inkling as to what exactly has happened and then—not the House—but the general public and the press will get to know it. That is exactly what I wanted to avoid. I am glad that the hon. Finance Minister wants to avoid it also. Before issuing the report to the press, he has made a statement that he will send the copies to me, and I shall circulate them to all hon. Members. Thereafter the press will get to know it. That is the course.

On a previous occasion,—there was an instance. I am talking of Shri M.M. Shah<sup>319</sup> with respect to the reports made by the managing directors or the directors to shareholders in a company. Long after they were made public the documents were presented to the House. To avoid it, to give the first opportunity to hon. Members of Parliament, to know what exactly happened, he said he would have copies circulated to Members first and thereafter the public may get to know it. This is a good precedent that whenever it is not possible to place

318. K. T. K. Tangamani, Congress, MP from Madurai, Madras State.

319. Union Minister of State for Commerce and Industry.

the papers on the Table of the House when the House is in session, before sending them to the press officially, copies may be sent to me and I will circulate them to Members. The papers may, however, be laid on the Table formally next session.

When I receive the copies I shall circulate them to the Members, i.e., after the Government has made up its mind and taken a decision in the usual course.

Vajpayee:<sup>320</sup> May I know whether the evidence will be placed on the Table of the House.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I ventured to say in the other House about this matter that the Table here is not quite big enough to receive it.

Narayanankutty Menon: You promised the other day that the Lok Sabha Secretariat will take the responsibility of printing it however big it may be, because it is so important.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It can be placed in the Library. It is a tremendous, needless expenditure—it runs to 10,000 pages!

### **115. In the Lok Sabha: M. O. Mathai Case<sup>321</sup>**

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether the Vishnu Sahai Committee appointed to investigate into the M.O. Mathai affair has submitted its report;
- (b) if not, at what stage it is;
- (c) when the report is likely to be submitted;
- (d) whether the enquiry includes investigation into the Chechamma Memorial Trust; and
- (e) whether a copy of the report will be laid on the Table of the House?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) to (c). The Cabinet Secretary<sup>322</sup> has submitted his report to the Prime Minister who sent it to the Finance Minister and the Comptroller and Auditor-General for their comments. Thereafter, the Prime Minister sent a

320. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Jan Sangh, MP from Balrampur, UP.

321. 8 May 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXI, cols 15784-15791.

322. Vishnu Sahay.



note on this report, together with the comments of the Finance Minister and the Comptroller and Auditor-General, to Mr. Speaker.

(d) Yes.

(e) The reports of departmental enquiries and other investigations are not usually laid on the Table of the House.

S.M. Banerjee:<sup>323</sup> Unfortunately, the report has not been laid.

Mr. Speaker: It has been laid.

S.M. Banerjee: The report.

Mr. Speaker: He means the Secretary's report?

S.M. Banerjee: Yes. I want to know whether it is a fact that Shri Vishnu Sahay has stated in his report that this so-called sum of Rs. 3,90,000 was held in cash for several years right up to 1952 or 1953, and even part of it afterwards, and that, except for Shri Mathai's own statement that he had this money in cash, no proof of the legal possession of this amount could be produced, and Shri Vishnu Sahai has had to rely solely on the statement of the Prime Minister in Parliament that this money was invested in shares, debentures etc.?<sup>324</sup>

JN: It is difficult to grasp all that question, but towards the end of it, the hon. Member said something about my having said that it was invested in shares etc. I do not quite know what the hon. Member is referring to.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is ostensibly referring to some passage in the report alleged to have been made.

JN: I am asking about what I said.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister said with respect to this amount that it had been held in stocks and shares.

JN: No, Sir. That is not my recollection of what I said. There are two things in what I said. One was that when Shri Mathai came here, I gathered from him on

323. Independent, MP from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh.

324. See item 112, pp. 339-342.

enquiry that he had certain assets, about Rs.2 or Rs.3 lakhs. Subsequently—not then, but subsequently—on another occasion, I saw, in fact he gave me, some list of his investments when I enquired about that. That was a little time afterwards. It was not contemporaneous with that.

Renu Chakravarty:<sup>325</sup> In the other House, the Prime Minister had said: “I have an actual account. He gave me an account in writing. Broadly speaking, there were Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 lakhs invested in shares and debentures in various companies.” In view of that we are told that Shri Vishnu Sahai has not been able to prove it except basing himself on the statement made by the Prime Minister in Parliament. In view of its very great importance, could we know whether the Prime Minister will lay this particular paper on the Table of the House so that we may be able to judge which is correct—Shri Mathai’s statement to Shri Vishnu Sahay, or Shri Mathai’s statement in writing to the Prime Minister?

JN: Both are correct, and there is no contradiction.

Prabhat Kar:<sup>326</sup> May I know whether the Vishnu Sahay committee had the power and the authority to verify facts by examining and cross-examining witnesses, and calling for the production of documents; if not, how did the Government expect the people to come and place the facts before this Committee?

JN: Government did not expect any one to come. In fact, they did not think there was anybody who could come, that is to say, otherwise he would have come, but the enquiry was not even what is normally called a departmental enquiry, but an investigation made at my request by the Cabinet Secretary to ascertain the facts so that one might form some idea as to whether one should proceed in this matter or not. Such enquiries are often held before one proceeds, and such enquiries are always treated as confidential because, if they are not so treated, one cannot usually get the evidence that one requires. Evidence is often of fellow officers and others who would confidentially give their views about a subject, but who would hesitate probably to do so if they thought it was going to be published. Therefore, they are treated as confidential, and the hon. Member is quite right in saying that Shri Vishnu Sahai had no authority to compel people to come to him to give evidence.

325. CPI, MP from Basirhat, West Bengal.

326. CPI, MP from Hooghly, West Bengal.

Prabhat Kar: I was asking whether he had the right of examining and cross-examining witnesses, and to ask for the production of documents.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister has said he had no right.

JN: He had no right to do that he could only request people, such people as he wanted to.

H.N. Mukerjee:<sup>327</sup> In view of the Government having restricted the terms of reference of the Vishnu Sahay Committee and made it virtually impossible for it to probe into the facts of the situation, and in view of so many allegations having been bruited about in regard to this matter, may I know whether Government will have a further investigation and ask for evidence to be placed before a proper investigation tribunal and not this kind of semi-departmental or quasi-departmental committee?

JN: It is an odd request, if I may say so. A number of charges are brought forward, chiefly in speeches in Parliament from hon. Members opposite or other Members. When we ask for other information to be placed, practically nothing is placed. The only information that we have had really are the charges in speeches here. Now, the hon. Member suggests that there was a limitation on Shri Vishnu Sahay. There was no limitation at all except the legal limitation that he could not act as a court of law and summon people. Otherwise, he was given the broadest terms of reference to enquire into and ascertain the facts as to whether Shri Mathai had done anything improper during his service in regard to these various charges. Every single charge that was mentioned in this House has been taken up by Shri Vishnu Sahai, and as I mentioned in my note to you, Sir, there were three or four major charges.

The matter first came up because of the trust. Then it came up about the insurance premia and annuities. Then reference was made to certain property purchased in the Kulu Valley and certain remittances sent to his relatives. These are the four heads. He has enquired into them and submitted his report. And I do not understand how we can go on having enquiry after enquiry simply to please the hon. Member opposite.

H.N. Mukerjee: I do not wish to be factious. I want the Prime Minister to understand that personally I have no information in this matter, but I know

327. CPI, MP from Calcutta Central, West Bengal.

that Members of Parliament were disinclined to offer whatever evidence they had to a Committee like the Vishnu Sahay Committee with attenuated functions. But if there was a different kind of tribunal, then surely they would come forward. That is the impression I get. That being so, I would very much like to have an assurance from him that if that is so—he can take me at my word—he will go further into the matter and look into the proper state of things.

Mr. Speaker: It is hypothetical.

JN: I would like to assure the hon. Member that I have paid quite a good deal of attention to this matter. Naturally so. Apart from that, since he was working directly under me, indirectly I was very much interested in this matter. I have paid quite enough attention to this. I am sorry if any hon. Member who had some information was disinclined to produce it. I cannot myself see any such thing, because these are financial matters, bank books and other things. They may of course be there. But I really think it will be odd if hon. Members who have some information would not produce it but would want another Committee before they can do so.

Vajpayee:<sup>328</sup> Rajkumari Amrit Kaur<sup>329</sup> joined this Trust when she was a Cabinet Minister and collected donations, from whom we are not told. In view of this, may I know if Government will consider the desirability of asking the Ministers not to associate themselves with private trusts, particularly of this nature?

JN: Cabinet Ministers, as anybody else, have a perfect right to be trustees of charitable organisations. There is absolutely nothing to prevent them. Whether an organisation is charitable or not is another matter. In fact, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur did not join this Trust. She started it. She was the originator. In fact, she collected money for some two or three years before the Trust was started and then put it in this account (Interruptions). The question was whether I would issue directions to Ministers. Ministers should be careful, but I cannot tell them not to join a charitable trust. It is a very ordinary thing.

Vajpayee: But Ministers should say from whom they get money, from whom they collect donations, Ministers are public servants.

328. Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

329. Former Union Health Minister.

Tangamani: Why are the names not revealed?

Vajpayee: Why anonymous donations?

JN: I really do not understand this question. I can very well accept the statement that Ministers have to be very careful and all that. But why should Ministers not accept anonymous donations? This is the first time I have heard that a person should not accept anonymous donations (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: We are going away from the Mathai case to the Rajkumari 'case'.

Renu Chakravartty: As far as I could make out from the Prime Minister's statement, this Committee had no power of verification. In view of the fact that the investment of Rs. 2-3 lakhs in shares and debentures, which has been stated by the Prime Minister, is of very great importance for coming to a conclusion whether to exonerate Shri Mathai or not, could we ask whether the Prime Minister will be pleased to place on the Table of the House at least that written statement given to him so that we can judge, even if he does not give us the report of the departmental inquiry committee?

JN: I confess I do not understand this approach to this question. In the course of 11 or 12 years of service under me, this gentleman, Shri Mathai, gave me various pieces of information from time to time, sometimes at my instance when I enquired from him, otherwise, I was not interested in his private affairs. When he came to me, I naturally wanted to find out. I told him that I could not afford to pay him any big salary; at the most I could afford a Private Secretary in those days on, say, Rs. 100 or Rs. 150; I could not afford more. He said: 'I have got enough. I have got two or three lakhs which I have earned from various sources'. There the matter ended. I did not enquire further. Then when he asked me for permission to purchase this property in the Kulu Valley, I was interested and asked him: 'What is it going to cost you? Have you got investments?' It was at that time that he gave me that list of investments. Subsequently, again he showed me a list and I looked through it; I was not auditing it; I had a broad glance at it. Subsequently, when something else happened, I think probably when for the first time mention was made to me about this Trust, I asked him. It was on two or three occasions. I refreshed my memory about those things. It is not quite easy for me; there were odd bits of papers. No doubt they are somewhere. But at that time, this question did not arise in this form. It was merely for my satisfaction that I did it.

## 116. To Mulraj Kersondas: Nathdwara Temple Inquiry<sup>330</sup>

New Delhi  
May 8, 1959

My dear Mulraj,

Please refer to your letter of the 16th April, 1959,<sup>331</sup> about the Nathdwara Enquiry.<sup>332</sup> I had sent it on to the Home Minister<sup>333</sup> whose unfortunate illness has delayed matters. I am now sending your letter to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan.<sup>334</sup> I hope you do not mind my doing so.

I think that it is unwise of you to refuse to give evidence before this Commission of Enquiry. Of course, if your health does not permit it, that is another matter.

As for the Mahant being deposed, you will appreciate that we have normally to proceed on the advice of our legal advisers. What the Maharana of Udaipur did previously is not every applicable because the legal system of Udaipur State then was different.<sup>335</sup>

As you know, the Nathdwara Temple Ordinance was promulgated in February last and, later, this was replaced by the Nathdwara Temple Act. This, I believe, is in accordance with your advice.

The Enquiry Committee that has been appointed, is an interim arrangement until a full-fledged Board is appointed under Section 5 of the Nathdwara Act. As you know, I am very anxious to have effective steps taken about Nathdwara and I have been much influenced by what you have told me about it. But it is not possible for me to override legal advice. I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

330. Letter to a leading industrialist from Bombay; Chairman, Elphinston spinning and Weaving Mills Co. Ltd., Bombay. D-15/M Series, JNMF. Also available in JN Collection.

331. See Mulraj Kersondas to Nehru. See Appendix 1.

332. See SWJN/SS/41/pp. 529-530.

333. G. B. Pant.

334. Mohanlal Sukhadia.

335. In 1878 and 1935 two of the predecessors of the present Mahant were deposed by the then rulers of Udaipur State.

**117. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Forged Passports<sup>336</sup>**

May 8, 1959

Dear Mr. Speaker,

On the 5th May there was a question in the Lok Sabha on the subject of forged passports.<sup>337</sup> There were a number of supplementaries also. The information we could give in reply appeared to me rather inadequate. I have had further enquiries made into this matter from the Chief Commissioner of Delhi<sup>338</sup> and police officers of Delhi State. As a result of it, a brief statement has been prepared. Even this does not give very much information on this subject. I am afraid that it will not be possible to give much more information just on the eve of these cases being filed.

However, I am enclosing a copy of this statement. It is not perhaps important enough to be read out in the House. But, should you so wish it, my Deputy Minister will read it out.<sup>339</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**118. To G.B. Pant: Impropriety in Post-Retirement Appointments<sup>340</sup>**

May 27, 1959

My dear Pantji,

It has come to my knowledge that D.P. Bhalla, the old Inspector-General of Police, who subsequently was in charge of Civil Aviation here and retired some years ago, has now been engaged by Shanti Prasad Jain<sup>341</sup> on a salary of Rs. 3,000/- a month. I understand that this was done less than two weeks ago. It seems to me obvious that Bhalla has been engaged by Shanti Prasad Jain because

336. Letter.

337. See item 110, p. 337-338.

338. A.D. Pandit.

339. *The Hindustan Times* of 10 May reported that on 9 May 1959 Lakshmi Menon informed the Lok Sabha of the passport scandal unearthed in Delhi in June 1957. Thirteen persons were to be charged with forging passports, of which six had been taken off various flights. In addition, another two employees a shop were also involved.

340. Letter.

341. Industrialist.

he is supposed to be in a position to influence highly placed people and police etc. in Delhi, and thus help S.P. Jain through those dubious methods.<sup>342</sup>

I think it is very improper for such appointments to be made. Perhaps we cannot prevent them, but it should be made perfectly clear that D.P. Bhalla should have no access to any of our senior officers.

Shanti Prasad Jain has also engaged some other persons obviously with the same object in view. Among these are Jain Bahadur Jain of Dehra Dun and Khan Chand Gautam.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 119. To Vishnu Sahay: LIC Inquiry<sup>343</sup>

Please circulate the following note to all the persons who were present at the Cabinet Meeting when the LIC case was discussed. This includes both Cabinet Ministers and officials.

#### NOTE

“On the 26th of May, Cabinet considered what is called the Life Insurance Case. They considered the reports of the Vivian Bose Committee and the recommendations of the U.P.S.C. The following persons were present:

1. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru
2. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda
3. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri
4. Shri Ajit Prasad Jain
5. Shri V.K. Krishna Menon
6. Shri S.K. Patil
7. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim
8. Shri Asoke Kumar Sen

Secretariat

9. Shri Vishnu Sahay
10. Shri K.P. Mathrani

342. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 379 & 547.

343. Note, 28 May 1959. A. P. Jain Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.



## In Attendance

11. Shri B.N. Jha, Home Secretary
12. Shri V. Viswanathan, Special Secretary, Home.

2. This matter had been under consideration by the Home Ministry and the Prime Minister for many days previously. Various drafts were prepared and subsequently revised. Even the Home Minister who was in a Nursing Home at the time was consulted. During all this period, nothing appeared in the press about these drafts or the consultations that were taking place, even though the press was greatly interested in this matter. It is true that previous to this and just after the U.P.S.C. report was sent to Government, some accounts of it appeared in the press.

3. There was thus no leakage of any kind from the Home Ministry or the Prime Minister's Secretariat or anyone else who was considering this report till the Cabinet Meeting on the 26th May. The Cabinet Meeting was held in the late afternoon on the 26th May and there were certain discussions and decisions were arrived at. Early next morning fairly lengthy reports appeared in the press about these discussions and decisions at the Cabinet Meeting. These reports actually referred quite correctly to remarks which had been made in the course of the discussions in Cabinet. Thus they went beyond the scope of the printed papers which had been circulated (This circulation had been strictly limited). Thus it seems clear that only a person who was present at the Cabinet Meeting on the 26th May could have been the vehicle, deliberately or accidentally, of conveying this news to the press or to someone who gave it to the press.

4. There have sometimes been leakages previously, but this particular leakage was remarkable as it did not relate to any paper that was circulated, but to the actual discussions in the Cabinet. The number of Cabinet Ministers present on that day was fewer than usual. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that one of those present at that meeting, either a Minister or one of the officials, must have managed to convey this information. This is a very serious matter. I have often spoken and written about leakages in Cabinet. It is a matter of the utmost consequence that Cabinet Meetings should be absolutely secret and no hint, direct or indirect, no casual reference should be made as to what transpired there. Otherwise we cannot carry on our work with any dignity or responsibility.

5. I am venturing to send this note to you because I have no other obvious way of dealing with this matter. I would request you to let me know if by any chance you mentioned anything connected with that discussion in the Cabinet on the 26th May to any person, whether belonging to the press or not, that evening. Was this matter even discussed by you in any manner with anyone who was not present at the Cabinet Meeting?

6. I shall be grateful for an early reply.

7. I might say that so far as I am concerned, I did not speak about this to anyone except the Home Secretary that evening.<sup>344</sup>

## 120. To Subimal Dutt: Forged Passports<sup>345</sup>

As you know, some cases are going on in regard to forged passports being used. It appears that this has been a long-standing practice in which quite a number of people are involved, though it is not very easy to get formal proof. As the people involved occupy some kind of status in society, this makes it even more difficult to deal with the matter.

2. So far as I know, most of these passport cases of this type have come from the Punjab and usually from the Jullundur Division of the Punjab. Also I understand there is one travel agency in Delhi, Iyer & Sons, which is usually implicated in such cases or some of their employees are implicated.

3. I also understand that one way of getting the wrong passport is to give all the facts and particulars of an old genuine passport but use them for another person.

4. It is difficult to check this carefully.

5. I want our passport issuing offices to be particularly careful in these matters of the issue of passports to people coming from the Jullundur Division or, in any sense, coming through Iyer & Sons. In fact, Iyer and Sons' activities should be carefully watched in so far as we can do that. Altogether there should be considerable strictness in any such suspected cases.

## 121. To Morarji Desai: Forged Passports<sup>346</sup>

June 10, 1959

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of 10th June about Meharban Singh Dhupia. It is true that I have been interested in this case. I have received a good deal of information about him and Bhai Mohan Singh as well as some others in connection with the large scale issue of forged passports. One of the travel agencies in Delhi which appears to have had some connection with these forged passports is Iyer & Sons, and

344. On 9 June, Nehru wrote to both Krishna Menon and A. P. Jain, asking for a reply to the Note of 28 May, since he had not heard from either of them.

345. Note, 10 June 1959.

346. Letter.

both these gentlemen have been intimately connected with that firm.<sup>347</sup> There is also some information about other matters relating to foreign exchange and fairly big bank accounts elsewhere. Of course, one cannot form any firm opinion about these till they have been fully investigated.

I understand, however, that these gentlemen go abroad very frequently. One of them, I believe, has been abroad about two dozen times in the last ten years or so, that is, about twice a year. This does seem to me odd. He may not take foreign exchange from the Reserve Bank, but there ought to be some satisfactory explanation of these repeated visits, how he functions abroad and where he gets the money from to spend abroad. Altogether, the whole thing appears to me very unsatisfactory. Being Honorary Magistrates and the President or Secretary of many clubs and organisations, they have a large pull with various people and many contacts in high circles.

As for his going abroad now to attend some conference, this appears to be a conference of Automobile Associations. I think that about eight days ago, probably on the 2nd June, a list of those who are going to attend this conference in London was sent to us formally. This list did not include the name of Meharban Singh Dhupia, although it was a fairly long list containing ten names.

All this leads to suspicion, but as I have said above, we should not form a final opinion before further data come to us, as a result of investigation or otherwise. The conference itself, I believe, has been going on for some days and will end on the 14th of this month.

I have given you very briefly some of the facts in our possession. You can consider them and decide as you think best. I shall have no objection to his going abroad if you think that he should do so.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 122. To Sampurnanand: Ministerial Corruption<sup>348</sup>

June 29, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received. I hope you will inquire into this matter and let me have your comments. Whatever the facts may be, the

347. See item 120, p. 360.

348. Letter.

association of the name of the newly appointed Deputy Minister with an alleged transaction of this kind is bad.<sup>349</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (iii) Services and Appointments

#### 123. To B.N. Chakravarty: Qualifications for Appointment<sup>350</sup>

I agree that Major R. Khathing<sup>351</sup> should be placed higher up in the list as recommended,

As for Shri Yusuf Ali,<sup>352</sup> I am not impressed by the arguments of the Home Ministry. I do not think that the rule in regard to the armed forces that we have framed is a very good one. It may be that a member of the armed forces has not got the same educational qualifications as an IAS Candidate. It may also be that he has better general qualifications. However, I do not wish to raise this question at this stage as this might affect large numbers of others.

Even apart from this, I think that Shri Yusuf Ali should be given a higher place, more especially because of the strong recommendation of the Governor<sup>353</sup> who knows him. In fact, from such knowledge as I have of Shri Yusuf Ali, I would have made the same recommendation. In such matters, a fixed rule which may be good generally cannot be applied always rigidly when there is personal knowledge about a man's work and ability. I think, therefore, that Shri Yusuf Ali should be given a higher place as previously suggested.

349. Girja Pat Prasad Singh of Faizabad demanded an inquiry against Jairam Verma, the Deputy Minister, because: (i) he had Nazool land plots in this district transferred to his name; (ii) the Nazool Department had announced 20 June 1959, 9.00 am, for the auction of such land; (iii) Jairam Verma had the time changed to 7.00 am without informing the public, so that only three persons were present for the bidding; (iv) on 17 June another plot was similarly auctioned to them at depressed rates.

350. Note to Special Secretary, MEA, 2 May 1959.

351. Deputy Commissioner, Mokukchung, Naga Hill's, 1953-57.

352. Rashid Yusuf Ali was earlier the Deputy Adviser to the Governor of Assam. See SWJN/SS/29/pp. 129 & 134.

353. Syed Fazl Ali.

## 124. To Sheel Bhadra Yajee: Appointing Non-Service Persons<sup>354</sup>

May 14, 1959

My dear Sheel Bhadrnji,

Your letter of the 13th May. I remember your telling me about Dr. Suresh Chandra and Mahavrata Vidyasankar.

It is very difficult for us to appoint people now to foreign Missions from outside the Services which have been instituted special for Foreign Service. Practically the only time we appoint a non-serviceman is as the Head of a big Mission abroad. We have two Services, the Indian Foreign Service and the Indian Foreign Service (B). The former is the regular Service for diplomats, the latter for people in subordinate positions but who may rise to the senior Service. Both these Services have been fully constituted and have been trained for that purpose. Any intermediate appointment of an outsider creates all manner of difficulties apart from a reference to the U.P.S.C. etc. All the men now in our Foreign Service have to learn foreign languages compulsorily. But apart from foreign languages, they have to go through a very strenuous course in the many other subjects they deal with which are largely organisational and consular. I do not, therefore, see much chance of our being able to appoint Dr. Suresh Chandra.

As for Mahavrata Vidyasankar, we can occasionally use him for Russian translation work although we have got such translators already in our Ministry. Any other appointment will have to go through the U.P.S.C. when there is a vacancy.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 125. To Ministry of Finance: Retaining Tainted Officials<sup>355</sup>

I have seen the letter of the Finance Secretary<sup>356</sup> to my PPS<sup>357</sup> about Shri Shanti Prasad Jain continuing as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Punjab National Bank.<sup>358</sup>

354. Letter to Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar.

355. Note, 28 May 1959.

356. A. K. Roy.

357. Kesho Ram.

358. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 379 & 547 and SWJN/SS/48/p. 348.

2. I do not understand why we should be worried so much about the exact legal position and the powers of the Reserve Bank in issuing a directive. Surely much can be done without any such directive. If the Reserve Bank even informally informs the Punjab National Bank that the continuation as Chairman of the Board of a person who has been punished under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act is undesirable, that should be enough. If, even so, no change is made, there must be ways for the Reserve Bank to withhold some favours from the Punjab National Bank. It seems to me quite amazing that a person who has been punished in this way for a serious breach of our Foreign Exchange Regulations should continue to be in charge of other people's money and to be in a position to influence the policy of a big bank.

3. I think even a clear hint will be enough. There have been Questions in Parliament on this subject, and there will, no doubt, be further Questions. So far as I am concerned, I propose to state in public, whenever an occasion offers itself, even at a press conference, that I think it is highly improper for Shri Shanti Prasad Jain to be continued as Chairman of the Bank after what has happened. It must be clear to the Directors of the Bank that such association will be injurious to the Bank.

## 126. To Ministry of Finance: Nanavati Case<sup>359</sup>

This is a difficult case.<sup>360</sup> On the one hand one sympathises with an officer who has proved his ability in his work. On the other hand there are rules and regulations of Government and the creation of a precedent might not be at all good.

2. I consulted our Secretary General because he is conversant with Service rules. He felt, and I agreed with him, that strictly under the rules this kind of help in a private case would not be justified. Of course, It is open to Government, as a matter of compassion, to help, if it so chooses. If such a case had come up in the Civil Service, he would have suggested that a private fund should be raised for the defence and he himself would have gladly contributed to it.

3. I can well understand the desire of the Defence Minister to come to the help of one of his good officers who has had the misfortune to get entangled in

359. Note, 28 May 1959.

360. On 27 April 1959, Commander K. M. Nanavati (1925-2003) of the Indian Navy murdered Prem Bhagwandas Ahuja, his wife's lover. The jury held him innocent but the Bombay High Court dismissed the verdict and sentenced him to life imprisonment. On 18 March 1964, he was released.

this business. Also in a case like this, more than in other cases, the quality of a lawyer for the defence will count and will make a difference.

4. After having given a good deal of thought to this matter, I feel that we cannot undertake the responsibility for the defence in this case. At the same time we might give some help as a matter of compassion. A suggestion is made in the note above that half the cost of the defence might be borne by the Government. I do not think that this percentage basis would be right. If we give anything, it should be a fixed sum, whatever that might be. That sum again, might be given in either of two ways or both. We may give an outright grant or we may give it as a kind of an advance which we may or may not recover later, subject to developments, or we may do both.

5. The Secretary General had mentioned to me that the only rule he could think of in this connection was the rule which empowered the Government to help in the defence of an indigent person, that is, a Government Servant who is incapable of bearing the burden of defence. This matter really would lie in the purview of the State Government who might take the advice of the Central Government and who might even be reimbursed by the Central Government to some extent. I think that this is a rather round-about way of doing something. If we really want to help, we might do so straightaway.

6. I would, therefore, suggest that we might agree to a grant of Rs.10,000=00NP as a lump sum for the defence or we may agree to an advance up to Rs.15,000=00NP. In the latter case, it will be up to us to see what and how we can recover this. Naturally, this will depend on the result of the case itself. We might write off some part then, if we so chose.

## 127. To Subimal Dutt: Attracting Skilled Foreigners<sup>361</sup>

I find some difficulty in dealing with this case. I have gone through the file. Normally, I do not think that we should be too strict about specialists or really qualified persons, as every expert or specially qualified person is a gain to the country. The fact that he may displace somebody else may sometimes be considered but does not take us very far. In reality, everything depends upon the quality of the person concerned. If that quality is good, then we should be flexible and allow him to stay on. If it is not good, then of course the question of staying on does not arise. I am unable to judge of the quality of Mr Burgers.<sup>362</sup>

361. Note, 10 June 1959.

362. J. A. Burgers, a Dutch national, asked for permission to extend his stay in India.

2. A decision in such cases on noting on files is not very helpful because the personal factor does not come out at all. In the balance, therefore, I think that Mr. Burgers should be allowed to stay on for a fixed period and further enquiries should be made about the quality of his work. The fact that he is prepared to work here in an honorary capacity has certainly some relevance. By itself it is not enough. I repeat that what counts is the type of person and his quality.

## 128. To K.C. Reddi: Injustice in Appointments<sup>363</sup>

June 10, 1959

My dear Reddi,

I happened to see Rana,<sup>364</sup> the Architect, today and I was distressed to learn from him that in spite of his efforts the U.P.S.C. had not agreed to accept him as your Senior Architect. I think it will be a real pity for him to be sent back to the Polytechnic or some other place. I have a high opinion of his ability and also of his enthusiasm for his work. Can we not find some way of keeping him?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 129. To Kesho Ram: Police Inquiries for Appointment<sup>365</sup>

I agree with you. I do not like the instructions which were issued in September 1954. I do not understand why a reference is necessary to the District authorities. Indeed, I think this is objectionable. A reference is to be made only when some kind of suspicion has arisen. I am not aware of any such practice in other countries. The District Magistrate usually refers this matter to some police official and the latter asks a Head Constable to go about and make enquiries. Police records are more or less based on this kind of enquiry. In the case of any real suspicion, a proper enquiry might be made through our Intelligence Bureau, but certainly this kind of thing should not be the practice.

363. Letter to the Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

364. Mansinh M. Rana was a well-known architect who designed many buildings, including the Nehru Memorial Library in New Delhi.

365. Note, 27 June 1959.



2. As for (i), whom exactly does this apply to? What does "every applicant for Government employment" mean? Would a person who has appeared for the I.A.S. Examination and passed have to go through these procedures? I can understand some kind of certificates being necessary. Usually these certificates should come from the educational authority under whom the young person has studied.

3. You may draw the attention of the Home Ministry to this note of mine. I take particular objection to the police being brought into the picture except, as I said, where there is some ground for suspicion, when the Intelligence Bureau should be asked.

#### (iv) Other Matters

### 130. To Khurshed N. Naoroji: Khadi Board<sup>366</sup>

20th May, 1959

Dear Khurshed N. Naoroji

I have just received your letter of the 19th May. I received your previous letter also and was hoping to see you here when you came. In fact, I sent word to Kish to let me know when you came here. Now I am sorry to find that you could not come. If you come later, please let me know.

I have seen the cutting in the *Times of India*. I do not think there is any need to worry about this matter. I do not myself know the facts, but the Public Accounts Committee often points out a large number of small irregularities in accordance with Government rules. Our old workers are not used to such Government rules and sometimes get into difficulties. Anyhow, now that this has been pointed out, the Khadi Board will look into the matter.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

366. Letter to the Granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji.

### 131. To Jagjivan Ram: Ministers Delaying Trains<sup>367</sup>

May 23, 1959

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I enclose copy of a letter I have received.<sup>368</sup> I think it is very improper for our trains to be detained just to suit the convenience of a Minister or any one else. It is about time that strict orders were issued to the effect leaving no discretion to the subordinate staff. It is peculiarly irritating to large numbers of passengers to be told that the train is held up for a Minister.<sup>369</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 132. To Asoke K. Sen: Ministers Attending Foreign Conventions<sup>370</sup>

May 28, 1969

My dear Asoke,

I have given further thought to the invitation you received from the Law Council of Australia to visit that country.

2. I do not attach much importance to your attending this Convention but, on the other hand, I think it is a good thing occasionally for some leading representatives of India to visit Australia. I am not enamoured of the politics and policies of the Government of Australia. I do wish to develop more understanding of the people of Australia. There are many very good people there.

3. Then again, as I pointed out to you, this Convention is largely of judges and lawyers. I do not see the name of any Minister there from outside Australia.

367. Letter to the Union Minister of Railways.

368. K. M. Lodha of University College of Arts and Commerce, Calcutta, complained on 20 May 1959 that a mail train was detained at Itarsi on 13 May for one hour for Panjabrao Deshmukh, Union Minister of State for Cooperation, who was to go to Pipalia, a mere 42 miles from Itarsi, which he could have done by car.

369. On 23 May Nehru rebuked Deshmukh and replied to Lodha expressing his distress and promising an inquiry.

370. Letter to the Union Minister of Law.

This would be an argument in favour of your not attending the Convention.

4. On the whole, I am inclined to think that, if you can spare the time, you might agree to go to this Convention. Your present reply might be a provisional and non-committal one. After thanking them for their invitation, you might say that while you would welcome the opportunity of visiting Australia you are not sure if your work here in the Government would permit your absence from India for any considerable time. If it is possible for you to go there, you will try to avail yourself of their kind invitation.

5. I am returning the letter you gave me.<sup>371</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 133. To Ministry of Home Affairs: Police Harrassment<sup>372</sup>

My attention was drawn to the case of Dr. S.N. Chaudhuri who was employed by the Maulana Azad Medical College in New Delhi, and was previously employed in Calcutta at the Indian Institute of Biochemistry and Experimental Medicine. He had gone for training in the United States also and had received good reports of his work from the Duke University in the U.S.A.

2. It appears that he had been asked to leave service because of some reports against him from the Police. I was interested in this matter, and had enquiries made. These enquiries have shown that all that there was against him was that he had treated some people who had been injured in some raid or other in 1949.

3. It seems to me quite extraordinary that on a Police report of this kind, an eminent scientist should be pushed out of service ten years later. As a doctor, it was his duty to treat people who were injured, and this is certainly not an offence of any kind. Even if it had been an offence and he had committed an error in his youth, to bring it up against him after ten years seems to me quite amazing. In between this period, he had been to America and qualified himself still further and had served in various Government institutions. I have no doubt

371. A copy of this letter was sent to Secretary General, N. R. Pillai and Cabinet Secretary, Vishnu Sahay.

372. Note, 8 June 1959. File No. 42/192/64-Poll I. Also available in JN Collection.

that he must be allowed to continue in his present post and, in fact, should be confirmed in it.

4. But this case raises some important questions of principle. India is not a police State and this kind of pursuit by the police of competent men is highly undesirable. It is evident that this is a continuation of what used to happen in British times. It is about time that all of us realised that we live in an independent country, and these old methods are completely out of date.

5. Apparently some circular was issued by the Home Ministry on the 7th of February 1947. It is in accordance with this circular that this kind of police enquiry is made in every case. The circular was issued before India became independent. It should have automatically lapsed then. Anyhow, it should no longer continue. I should like to have a copy of this circular.<sup>373</sup>

### 134. To Kesho Ram: The Human Touch<sup>374</sup>

I do not wish to interfere with the discretion of the Home Ministry, although I do not think that it takes into consideration human factors. The law is all right but it cannot and should not ignore human factors. The question here is that the aged man and his wife are Indian nationals and live here. His son<sup>375</sup> who apparently is a Pakistani national wants to live with them and look after them. I see no reason why he should not be allowed to do so. He need not be given permanent resettlement facilities but surely it should not be difficult to allow him to remain on for fixed periods without infringing any rule. His parents are aged and not likely to survive for long.

373. This letter was copied to Chief Commissioner of Delhi, A. D. Pandit.

374. Note, 10 June 1959.

375. Abdul Rashid.

**135. To Swami Ananda: Legislating for Sadhus<sup>376</sup>**

June 30, 1959

Dear Swamiji,

Your letter of June 30 about the formation of a committee to consider legislation in regard to sadhus and religious institutions.<sup>377</sup> We would naturally like to have the full cooperation of the Sadhu Samaj in this matter, but I think that the committee or commission should be a small one of jurists. I am sure they can get your full cooperation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**(f) Social Groups****136. To Lowell Thomas: Tibetan Refugees<sup>378</sup>**

Many thanks for your telegram.<sup>379</sup> The Government of India are preparing reception camps for the incoming Tibetan Refugees. A Central Relief Committee has been set up with J.B. Kriplani M.P., as Chairman. Its office is at 25 Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi. A high level representative of this Committee is now in Assam to survey the requirements of the refugees and to see how non-official efforts in India and abroad can be used and coordinated to supplement the arrangements which are being made by Government. We are asking the Central Committee to communicate with you earliest possible and advise you

376. Letter to Joint Secretary, Bharat Sadhu Samaj.

377. Swami Ananda wanted the Bharat Sadhu Samaj to be represented in the commission on religious orders. He claimed it was the "only representative organization of the Sadhus in India" and that it had been devoted to "nation-building."

378. Telegram, 7 May 1959.

379. Response to telegram of 4 May 1959 from Lowell Thomas, Chairman, Emergency committees for Tibetan Refugees (New York) offering to work in coordination with GOI to provide humanitarian assistance to Tibetan refugees. Other members of this committee were William Douglas Joseph, Magnus Gregersen and Walter H. Judd.

how best your Committee can help. Medicines are an essential and immediate requirements.<sup>380</sup>



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 31 MAY 1959)

380. Rajaji urged Nehru to ensure that Tibetan refugees were placed in the hills as the climate would suit them better; he replied on 5 May 1959 agreeing in principle, while pointing out that, given the number, some must spill over into the plains.

## 137. Communal Conflict<sup>381</sup>

### Communal Disturbances

The Working Committee have noted with deep sorrow the recent occurrence of communal disturbances at Sitamarhi and Akhta in Bihar, Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh and Mubarakpur in Uttar Pradesh.<sup>382</sup> Such deplorable occurrences are a sign of uncivilised behaviour utterly opposed to the basic principles of any religion and contrary to the spirit of tolerance for which India has been noted for ages past. They are opposed to the secular policy of the State.<sup>383</sup>

The State Governments must make it their primary duty to promote communal harmony and to make it clear by their policy that impartial justice will be meted out and that those who indulge in spreading communal hatred and violence will not be tolerated. Swift action must be taken whenever it is suspected that relations between different communities have deteriorated, so as to avoid any possible conflict.

Action must be taken against newspapers and other writings which preach communal hatred.<sup>384</sup> It should always be remembered that the protection of minority communities is a sacred trust for the majority community and the State.<sup>385</sup>

The district authorities, both civil and police are primarily responsible for maintaining peace and good order. If peace is disturbed, this responsibility has not been adequately discharged. District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police must, therefore, exercise due vigilance in such matters and prevent any situation from deteriorating by taking adequate action whenever necessary. They must act as impartial guardians of the law and should build up a tradition of their impartiality.

Wherever unfortunately communal violence takes place, every effort should be made to give relief to those who suffer.

381. Draft resolution, 8 May 1959; adopted by the CWC on 9 May 1959, with some changes.  
382. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 280-282, 290-291 and 317.

383. In the final resolution this sentence was replaced as follows: "They are harmful to the nation and distract attention from the great task confronting the country."

384. Here "and violence" added in final version.

385. Sentence deleted in final version.

Congressmen<sup>386</sup> have a special responsibility in such matters. They must always work for the preservation of friendly and neighbourly relations between different communities<sup>387</sup> and, in particular, should protect minority communities. If trouble occurs,<sup>388</sup> they must face this with courage and fortitude and try to end it as rapidly as possible.

### 138. To B.C. Roy: Muslims' Properties in Bengal<sup>389</sup>

May 10, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Reports have reached me that the question of restoration of property to Muslims on the Eastern border is still pending. This relates to the property of Muslims who remained in India. For some odd reason their property was taken possession of by others. They were asked to file cases in law courts, and a very large number of such cases were filed. I am told that thousands of such cases are still pending, even though years have passed, and, where judgements have been given, they are not implemented.

In regard to many other Muslims they just cannot bring civil cases for lack of funds. Also, I suppose, because such cases do not bring any results.

If my facts are correct, could not something be done to help these poor people?

I gather also that smuggling is going on in a big way on the Eastern border.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawahar

386. "The Congress Committees" added.

387. Rest of sentence deleted.

388. "they must go to the spot" added.

389. Letter.



**139. Information of Communal Conflict<sup>390</sup>**

I should like to have information on the following points:-

- (1) As a result of the recent disturbances, how many people were arrested? (Figures separately for Hindus and Muslims.)
- (2) How many of these were released subsequently unconditionally?
- (3) How many were released after realisation of fine? What was the range of fines and how much money was realized in this way?
- (4) How many are still in prison? How many on bail? Against how many is it proposed to institute proceedings in court?
- (All these figures should be given separately for Hindus and Muslims.)
- (5) There was, I believe, a murder of a Muslim. Has anyone been arrested and charged with this murder?
- (6) Are arrests continuing, that is to say, have any arrests been made in the last few days, or is this process over?
- (7) What is the extent of the damage done to the Mosque and other places? What was the loss caused by the looting of shops or private houses? Has any attempt been made to repair the mosque on the part of Government? Has any money been given in relief to people who have suffered in the course of these disturbances?
- (8) How many Muslims are there in the Police Service in Bhopal and also in Madhya Pradesh?
- (9) In the Madhya Pradesh Secretariat in Bhopal, how many Muslims are employed as Gazetted Officers?
- (10) What is broadly the reaction to recent events of
  - (i) the Hindus generally
  - (ii) the Muslims generally,
  - (iii) the Congress people,
  - (iv) the Hindu communal organisations, and
  - (v) any Muslim organisations?
- (11) Among the senior officials and senior Police officials in Bhopal at the time of these disturbances, were there any residents of Bhopal or not? In local disturbances, a great deal depends on local knowledge of individuals, organization, etc. Absence of such knowledge makes an officer rather helpless in dealing with people. Inevitably he has to rely

390. Note [not indicated to whom] on Bhopal disturbances, 12 May 1959. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 290-291.

on somebody else's knowledge of people. In effect, therefore, it is the other person's judgment that prevails.

(12) Did the Civil and Police Officers consult, in the course of these disturbances, Congressmen or Hindu Mahasabha people or any Muslim organisation? It is risky to proceed on the basis of information received from people belonging to communal organisations on such occasions.

(13) Among the people arrested and detained or released on bail, whether Hindu or Muslim, are there any people of recognised position in Bhopal?

(14) Did the Police enter people's houses and drag them out?

These questions are put and this information is required so as to enable me to judge a little more clearly of the situation. So far as I know, this is the first time that a major communal disturbance has taken place in Bhopal, and this has had rather far-reaching consequences. The question arises how far this disturbance was due to outside communal demands and how far to residents of Bhopal itself. Of course, the residents took part in it, but why should they indulge in this misbehaviour when they had not done so in the past? Was it due to outside influences coming into play and exciting people?

2. In dealing with arrested persons or those who are likely to be put on trial, care has to be taken not to proceed on the basis of complaints of communal elements. Indeed, some well known citizens of Bhopal should be informally consulted about the others involved just to find out the general reputation of people.

3. There is no reason why people who are charged with major offences involving violence should be let off. They should be tried, but in such cases it is generally better to try a relatively small number of ringleaders or those guilty of serious offences, and not proceed against large numbers of people.

4. The general policy should be to punish a few guilty ones and to try to soothe the general public. The Police should especially try to function in a manner so as to inspire confidence and to remove any ill-will against them that might exist. In particular, there should be no impression that some kind of revenge is being taken.

5. It should be remembered that Bhopal is not only the Capital of Madhya Pradesh, but is an old city with traditions and an individuality of its own. Therefore, in dealing with people of Bhopal, the help of those who know Bhopal well should always be taken. A purely governmental and official approach is seldom adequate. There has to be a human and understanding approach and an attempt to soothe and conciliate after the fears and tensions of the past.

6. It is from this point of view especially that it is desirable for Government to repair immediately the damage done to the mosque and to give some other

relief to those who have suffered. This is not a question of a legal obligation on Government. It is an obligation but it is nevertheless a duty and a courtesy which creates goodwill.

#### **140. To C.R. Srinivasan: No Apartheid in Sport<sup>391</sup>**

Please reply to this letter and say that I have read it and of course the entire approach to Apartheid is many fold and therefore certainly in sport. I think that this matter should be raised at the meetings of the International Olympic Committee.

2. India is known to have suffered from the caste system for a long time. But the progressive developments of Apartheid in South Africa are much worse than any caste distinctions that we have observed. In sport it is quite absurd for Apartheid to come in. If this idea is tolerated, then international sport will gradually cease to be effective.

3. Tell him that I can't make a statement in the air. If I am asked a question at a Press Conference or otherwise, I can reply to it.<sup>392</sup>

#### **141. To Subimal Dutt: Refugee Year<sup>393</sup>**

I am quite clear that we should not participate in this so-called Refugee Year – an odd name.<sup>394</sup> Nor should we participate in the sale of stamps.<sup>395</sup> I do not quite know what complications might arise if we participated. The term 'refugees' covers a variety of persons and it may well be that this is used not only for humanitarian purposes, but for other and rather political purposes also. Thus there is the idea of helping Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. Then there are White Russian refugees. Who will deal with this fund? If we take any step in this direction, we shall get badly entangled. Therefore, we should keep away from this Refugee Year.

391. Note, 16 May 1959.

392. See item 17, pp. 185-186.

393. Note, 16 May 1959.

394. The United Nations sponsored the World Refugee Year to focus on the issue of European, Middle Eastern Arab, White Russian, and Hong Kong Chinese refugees.

395. The proceeds from the sale of special stamps were to go into a refugee fund.

2. All the world knows about our own refugee problem which has been one of the biggest in the world. Now we have a relatively minor but nevertheless troublesome problem of Tibetan refugees.

3. As for the proposal to transfer the wheat now lying in Tunisia,<sup>396</sup> I am not quite clear. Normally we should not do so. But the fact is that it is actually in Tunisia now. How are we going to get it here? This is a very laborious process, and meanwhile it may deteriorate. What anyhow is the proposal of the Food Ministry about it? Are they going to re-ship it here? It is this fact of the wheat lying in Tunisia at the present moment that produces some confusion. The quantity is not very large. I should like this question to be considered separately. It has nothing to do with the Refugee Year. Meanwhile the Food Ministry should be asked to say what normally is likely to be done to this wheat.

4. It is true that I told Mr. Ferhat Abbas<sup>397</sup> that it might be possible to send some articles from here for refugee relief through non-official agencies. I was not thinking of food at all because we lack food ourselves. I was thinking of medicine and textiles or possibly things like soap etc.<sup>398</sup> I still think that this should be done, presumably through Egypt. We may help the non-official agency to do it.

#### 142. To B.C. Roy: Displaced Persons' Properties<sup>399</sup>

May 18, 1959.

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of May 13th about the restoration of property to the owners who are displaced persons. I realise the difficulty that you have had to face. On the other hand, obviously the difficulties of the persons concerned are much greater.

396. A US wheat ship to India sank off the coast of Tunisia, but 600 tons were salvaged and were lying in Tunisia.

397. First President of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, formed by the FLN. He met Nehru in India in April 1959. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 528-538.

398. Indian contributions to the welfare of Algerian refugees in Morocco and Tunisia had been mooted; one proposal was to gift the wheat lying in Tunisia. It had been suggested that India might hand over this wheat to the UN High Commissioner for refugees for helping the Algerian refugees in Tunisia and Morocco. India had declined to contribute citing financial constraints; eventually the Indian Red Cross Society had sent a consignment of soap worth Rs. 5,000 each to the Red Crescent Societies of Morocco and Tunisia.

399. Letter.

For us as a State to confess that we are helpless in doing justice to some of our citizens is a very weak position and does not do us much credit. I wish therefore that you might explore this matter and try to get something done. Anyhow, things should move forward and not be at a deadlock.

Yours affectionately  
Jawahar

### 143. To Kesho Ram: Racism<sup>400</sup>

Prime Minister Nehru has received your letter of the 19th May. He learnt with a sense of shock of the recent murder of a West Indian in London.<sup>401</sup> He has also followed with concern the development of racialism in some countries of the West. This should certainly be opposed and he is glad to find that large numbers of people in England are opposed to it and have expressed themselves strongly.

While such Incidents are deplorable and are symptoms of a racial disease the most obvious exhibition of this is of course in South Africa where apartheid is the declared policy of the Government. Elsewhere in Africa also racial discrimination is evident.

The Government of India is entirely opposed to any kind of racial discrimination or colonial domination and has expressed itself both publicly and in private dispatches to this effect.

### 144. To Displaced Persons: Punjabi Bagh<sup>402</sup>

#### REQUEST FOR GOVT. AID BY PUBLIC BODIES “NOT A HEALTHY SIGN”: NEHRU’S CRITICISM

New Delhi,  
May 24

Prime Minister Nehru today expressed himself strongly against public organisations asking for monetary aid from Government and said, “It will have a crippling effect on society.”

400. Note, 22 May 1959.

401. Kelso Cochrane, an immigrant from Antigua, was stabbed to death by a white youth in Notting Hill, West London, on 17 May 1959.

402. Speech, 24 May 1959. From *The Hindu*, 25 May 1959.

Mr. Nehru said that he was sick of receiving demands for financial help from all and sundry. "This is not a healthy sign. The more an organisation depends on the Government, the weaker it becomes", he added.

The Prime Minister was laying the foundation-stone of a 600-acre residential colony for displaced persons, about five miles west of Delhi.

It was different, said Mr. Nehru, if the Government helped a social welfare society stand on its own feet. But there was a growing tendency among such societies to stretch their hands for aid even before they were properly constituted. "This tendency is affecting adversely the spirit of self-help and spoiling the atmosphere of the whole country", he pointed out.

The mentality to ask, said Mr. Nehru, was the mentality of the cripple. We did not depend on any Government for help when we struggled for Independence. Rather we were opposing the then Government in power. Yet we shook the whole country. One basic thing which the people must remember was that it was the Government which depended on the country and not the country that depended on the Government", he said.

Stressing the need for refugees to stand on their own feet, Mr. Nehru said that the Government wished to help them rehabilitate themselves, but they could not be helped for all time to come. "It is heartening to note in this connection that a majority of displaced persons coming from Punjab are hardworking and enterprising. Such people are no burden to the country. On the contrary they help the country develop and can, therefore, be counted as assets."

But of the one crore and twenty lakhs of displaced persons who came to India from Pakistan, he said, there were many idlers. "They are like a dead weight around the neck of the country. The earlier they learn to be self-supporting the better both for them and the nation", he added.

Referring to a page from history, Mr. Nehru said that it was the displaced persons from France who helped Britain develop industrially. Those refugees were craftsmen and had to flee France because of religious riots. "I want the displaced persons here also to be self-reliant, and that is why I was opposed to the idea of giving them compensation for the properties left in Pakistan."<sup>403</sup>

The Prime Minister turned to the patterns of new residential colonies and asked planners to keep in mind the requirements of the changing times. The ideas about house-building, he said, had changed. "Big houses built at enormous

403. According to the *National Herald* of 25 May, Nehru disparaged the name "Refugees Cooperative Housing Society" with the question, "Do you intend to go about with this word refugee inscribed on your foreheads all your lives?" Immediately after his speech, the society announced its new name: "Punjabi Bagh Cooperative Society," from which the name of the housing estate, Punjabi Bagh.

costs are out of date and considered undesirable. The bungalow type houses, which are a gift of the British to India, are also not very commendable. They are positively ugly and not well suited to Indian conditions. All these factors must be borne in mind when the blue-print of a new colony is prepared."

In this connection, Mr. Nehru praised the pattern along which Chandigarh had been raised and said that its planners had abandoned the old designs completely and given to the country a new and fresh city.

Delhi, said Mr. Nehru, was fast developing and while it was necessary to check its growing out of proportions it was also essential to relieve it of the present congestion. "In big cities like Delhi, sometimes there is so much rush of traffic that a pedestrian, perhaps, reaches his destination quicker than a person in a car." Any way, the Master Plan for Delhi is expected to be out in June, and I hope it will do some good to the city.

The Prime Minister congratulated the organisers of the new colony on taking up the work on a co-operative basis. Co-operation, he said, was a way of living not confined to the sphere of agriculture or industry alone. Co-operative societies for housing could obviously do much better work than individuals.

The Society has a plan for constructing 2,000 houses for displaced persons here.

The development work on the plot, including the construction of roads, has been completed and it was expected that about 500 houses will be ready for occupation by the end of the current year.

#### **145. To MEA: Jewish Emigration to Israel<sup>404</sup>**

With reference to the attached telegram from Indembassy Cairo, I was not aware of the fact that Jews were still going from India to Israel. We might enquire about it. Some years ago, I learnt that a number of Jews had gone to Israel from India and returned to India. Some others wrote to me from Israel wanting to return.

I think that you might send the following reply to this telegram:

"Your telegram 180 May 24th. We are not aware of any emigration of Jews from India to Israel continuing. Certainly we have not encouraged it in any way. In fact a number of Jews who went to Israel in previous years returned to India. We are enquiring into this matter. It is difficult for us to stop odd individuals or small groups from leaving India."

404. Note to N. R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 25 May 1959.

### 146. To Kesho Ram: Communal Conflict<sup>405</sup>

Shri Masud Ali Madani is a very old colleague. We worked together for many years from 1920 onwards. I would not suspect him of any fear in this or any other matter. But he is bound to be affected by the stories he must have heard. What happened in Mubarakpur was, I think, bad, but the stories made them much worse.<sup>406</sup> It must also be remembered that Mubarakpur is a word with which Shri Masud Ali has been intimately connected. The people in Mubarakpur and round about were an important element in the Congress in the old days.

2. Probably the letter was sent through Maulana Hifzur Rehman<sup>407</sup> because it was thought it would ensure safe delivery.

3. Please write to Masud Ali saying that his letter has reached me and I have read it. I have been greatly distressed by what happened in Mubarakpur and I have expressed myself in strong terms. Nevertheless, I think that many of the accounts that appeared about Mubarakpur were exaggerated. What happened was unfortunate, but this does not mean that we should have all the fears that he has expressed. Something of the old evil remains in the people's mind, but it is being combated effectively.

### 147. To C. Subramaniam: Rehabilitating Refugees from Ceylon<sup>408</sup>

Ootacamund.  
May 31, 1959

My dear Subramaniam,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th May. I think the best course for me to adopt is to forward it to Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.<sup>409</sup>

Towards the end of this letter you suggest that the Ministry of External Affairs should give some kind of a matching grant for the development of the

405. Note, 28 May 1959.

406. See SWJN/SS/48/p. 317.

407. Member of AICC and the Lok Sabha.

408. Letter to the Finance Minister in the Government of Madras.

409. While forwarding this letter to him on the same day, Nehru observed: "the suggestion that the External Affairs Ministry should give a grant is quite out of order. If we have refused to take responsibility for these refugees and if we start giving such grants, it will have a powerful effect on the situation in Ceylon."



area as a part of the programme for the rehabilitation of refugees of Indian origin from Ceylon. This would be a very odd thing for the External Affairs Ministry to do. Apart from this, it would go against all our policy and become an inducement for the people of Indian origin for coming away from Ceylon.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(g) Language

### 148. For A. White : Role of English<sup>410</sup>

Please write the following letter to Mr. White.<sup>411</sup>

“Dear Mr. White,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 1st May.<sup>412</sup> He has asked me to thank you for it and to say that it appears from your letter that you have not quite understood the Government’s policy in regard to the English language. Basically it is laid down in the Constitution. English is certainly the best-known foreign language in India. There is no intention of losing this advantage that we possess. In fact, English is a compulsory second language in the greater part of India. As education is spreading rapidly, it is likely that English will be known by far more persons in future than in the past. Further, it has been laid down in the recent report to Parliament that scientific and technical terms should

410. Note to C.R. Srinivasan, 3 May 1959. File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

411. A. White, a British citizen employed by GOI.

412. Hailing Nehru as a statesman and thinker who would not be led astray by nationalist romanticism, White complained that “your declared policy of replacing English with Hindi in India is out of character and I can assume that you are bowing to the wishes of the ‘nationalists’ in the Congress Party. If this is so, it is to be deplored and for the sake of India should be reconsidered and such a policy revoked.” He stressed the importance of English to India for science and technology; the Herculean and virtually impossible task of translating such knowledge into Hindi; that “English can only be considered a foreign language because of its origin, and that it is the accepted language in which all business is conducted, even between Indians, and I should not be surprised if more people speak it here than in England;” that it was possible to adopt English, without losing national characteristics, as for example the Scots and the Welsh had managed; and that being a socialist “you must deplore the barrier that language can make to the mutual understanding of nations.”

be bodily incorporated in the Indian languages wherever possible, so as to have a common terminology not only in India, but in line with international usage. Thus, English will be encouraged in a variety of ways.

But India happens to have a very large population and our general approach has to be to deal with this vast population. That can only be through their mother-tongues. Hence, English is not likely to continue as a medium of instruction."

### 149. To Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti: Promoting Hindi<sup>413</sup>

अध्यक्ष महोदय, भाइयो, बहनो और बच्चो,  
सब में आगे तो बच्चे ही बैठे हैं वहाँ (हँसी) । आपने अभी थोड़ी देर हुई स्वागताध्यक्ष का भाषण सुना, गोपाल रेड्डी जी का।<sup>414</sup> और उन्होंने अक्सर उसमें बातें कहीं जो आपके विचारणीय हैं। अभी मेरे बाद आप असली भाषण सुनेंगे आज का, हमारे अध्यक्ष का जो कि बहुत ज्ञान से भरा होगा। तो ऐसे मौक़े पर मैं आपका कुछ समय लूँ अधिक, ठीक नहीं है। और एक और मेरे लिए कठिनाई भी है, इस समय कि अब मैं आपसे कहूँ क्या? यहाँ जो भारत के और हिस्सों से डेलीगेट लोग आये हैं, इधर-उधर बैठे हैं, लेकिन मेरे सामने अधिकतर बच्चे बैठे हैं यहाँ। तो मेरी तबीयत भड़क जाती है, भटक जाती है, और कुछ और तरफ़, क्रिस्सि-कहानियों की तरफ़ मेरा ध्यान चला जाता है (हँसी)। तो अब मैं आपसे कुछ कहूँ बुजुर्गों से, कि बच्चों से, कुछ समझ में नहीं आ रहा (हँसी)।

मैं सोच रहा था, यहाँ बैठा हुआ, कि कोई बीस-पच्चीस बरस बाद कोई शाख़ भारत का इतिहास लिखे या हिन्दी का इतिहास लिखे यहाँ, तो आजकल के ज़माने के बारे में क्या लिखेगा? यानी आजकल जो बहसें होती हैं, तरह-तरह की, हिन्दी में और कुछ किसी क्रदर और भारत की भाषाओं में या हिन्दी में, अंग्रेज़ी में, जो ऐसी भाषाओं की बहसें हैं, उसके निस्वत पच्चीस बरस बाद क्या लिखा जायेगा। यानी इस पच्चीस बरस के ज़माने में ये बहसें कुछ छुप जायेंगी, दब जायेंगी, छोटी मालूम होंगी, या कुछ ज़्यादा गहरी होंगी। मेरा विचार है कि उस समय शायद इसकी तरफ़ ध्यान लोगों का बहुत कम जायेगा। आजकल ज़रा उधर उलट-पलट है, उछल-कूद है। वक्त्री बात, लोगों को जोश बढ़ आता है। एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ़ खड़े होते हैं, हरेक कुश्ती लड़ने...भाषाओं की कुश्तियाँ...बड़ी ज़बरदस्त होती हैं। और कभी-कभी भाषाओं की कुश्तियाँ होती हैं, दो भाषाओं की, तीसरी भाषा में। वो सब में अच्छी होती हैं। जैसे अधिकतर पंजाब में अब तक हिन्दी और गुरमुखी की बहस होती है उर्दू भाषा में। तो यही मैंने सोचा कि आजकल जिन बातों पर गरमा-गरमी की बहस होती है, वह असल में इतनी

413. Inauguration speech, New Delhi, 9 May 1959. Original in Hindi.

414. Union Minister of State for Revenue and Civil Expenditure.

गहराई नहीं रखतीं। वक्रत की है, वक्रत का जोश है और वह हट जायेगा। जो बात गहरी है, मज़बूत है, वह यह कि अगर आप हिन्दी को लें, यह बात और भाषाओं पे भी है, कि हिन्दी आगे कैसे बढ़ रही है। कैसे उसकी तरक्की होती है? यह विचार कि एक भाषा दूसरी भाषा को पछाड़ के बढ़ती है, यह निकम्मा विचार है, यह ग़लत विचार है। वो अपनी शक्ति से बढ़ती है। अगर नहीं शक्ति है, तो नहीं बढ़ेगी, अगर है तो बढ़ेगी। और एक भाषा दूसरी भाषा की मदद करती है, सहायता करती है। यह नहीं कि वो दूसरे को आप रोकें तो आप आगे बढ़ जायेंगे। ख़ैर, इन पिछले वर्षों में भी हमने देखा कैसे तेज़ी से हिन्दी बढ़ रही है, सब तरह से बढ़ रही है, अधिक-से-अधिक लोग सीख रहे हैं उसे, जिनकी हिन्दी मातृभाषा नहीं है, और जिनकी है, वो उसको ज़्यादा अच्छी तरह से सीख रहे, पढ़ रहे हैं। और यह बात बढ़ेगी, हमारे स्कूल, कॉलेज, विद्यापीठों में बढ़ेगी तो इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। और यह आजकल की बहसों इसलिए कोई बहुत क्रीमत नहीं रखेंगी बाद में।

एक और तरफ़ मेरा ध्यान जाता है कि भाषा क्या चीज़ है? बहुत चीज़ें हैं, मैं कैसे उसका जवाब दूँ। यह तो कवि लोग बैठे हैं यहाँ, वे जवाब दें इसका। लेकिन भाषा आख़िर कुछ विचारों को पोशाक पहनाती है, रंग-बिरंगी पहनाती है। इसके अन्दर वो असल चीज़ होती है जिसको पोशाक पहनायी। वो विचार, वो कामना, जो कुछ है, वो भावना, ज्ञान, जो कुछ हो, उसको आप कपड़े पहनाते हैं, तरह-तरह के रंगीन, रंग-बिरंगे, सुन्दर या बुरे जैसे हों। तो यहाँ विचार इस बात पर बहुत है, होना ही है कि कोई कैसे पहने। लेकिन कपड़े के अन्दर शरीर क्या हो, जिस्म क्या हो, विचार क्या हो, वो भी एक आवश्यक बात है। ख़ाली कपड़े लकड़ी को भी आप पहना सकते हैं। लेकिन उसके अन्दर क्या है? अब यह जो अन्दर चीज़ भाषा की होती है, वो कोई चीज़ ज़बरदस्ती आप नहीं पैदा कर सकते, पैदा होती है; इल्म, ज्ञान, पैदा हो, उसके लिए वायुमण्डल साफ़ करते हैं कि पैदा हो सके। उसके लिए आप पढ़ाते हैं, लिखाते हैं, लोगों को कि उनको मौक़ा मिले, यह करने का, लेकिन आख़िर में चीज़ वो ही है, अन्दर की, और अगर कोई भाषा प्रसिद्ध हुई है, तो महज़ एक उसके सुन्दर रूप से नहीं, हालाँकि वह भी एक अच्छी चीज़ है, लेकिन वो भाषा के अन्दर क्या है, उससे प्रसिद्ध हुई है, उसी से लोग देखते हैं, पढ़ते हैं। असल में दोनों बातें होनी चाहिएँ। अन्दर-बाहर, दोनों सौन्दर्य होना चाहिए, ठीक है, अकेला काफ़ी नहीं है तो हिन्दी की उन्नति होगी जैसे कि हो रही है, और होवेगी ही। तो इस बात से नहीं कि कितने कोष बने हिन्दी में। कोष की आवश्यकता है, मैं नहीं कहता कि नहीं है। लेकिन कितने उसमें ऊँचे विचार के लोग हुए हिन्दी में लिखने वाले, बोलने वाले उससे हिन्दी बढ़ेगी, उसको मौक़ा देना चाहिए, और होंगे, हो रहे हैं, और ठीक है। और एक और बात है, ऊँचे विचार भी किस ढंग के किस तरफ़ के। जैसे भाषाओं में तो बहुत विषय होते हैं, लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया में जो दुनिया के प्रश्न हैं, जो दुनिया का आजकल का ज्ञान है, उसमें कितने ऊँचे विचार के हुए, क्योंकि लोग उधर दौड़ते हैं सीखने के लिए, विज्ञान को, विज्ञान के जो-जो बच्चे हैं, बहुत सारे, हज़ारों हुए हैं, उसको सीखने को लोग दौड़ते हैं। आजकल की दुनिया उसी की बनी है। तो प्रश्न यह होता है कि इसके ये नये विचार विज्ञान के, या और

जो बातें टेक्नोलॉजी वगैरह वो बातें कहाँ तक उसमें हैं? और यह मेरे माने नहीं है कि उसमें अनुवाद करके, आप किताबों का ज्ञान, स्कूल में पढ़ाई को रख दीजिए। वो तो आसान है, वो तो बात हो ही जायेगी।

लेकिन कहाँ तक नयी बातें, नये विचार इन विषयों पर हिन्दी में निकल रहे हैं, जिसको आवश्यक समझें और दुनिया सीखे। उस ज्ञान को सीखने के लिए, भाषा को सीखेगी, इसलिए कि भाषा में क्या लिखा है, भाषा के लिए खाली नहीं। तो ये बातें हैं, और ये बातें जैसे मैंने आप से कहा, कोष से नहीं हो जाती कि बैठ कर आपने सौ, दो सौ, चार सौ, हजार, एक शब्दावली बनायी, [...] जिसका रंग-रूप हिन्दी का है कुछ, लेकिन जिसके पीछे कोई इतिहास नहीं है, क्योंकि याद रखिए शब्द, किसी भाषा के भी शब्द, एक बड़ी ज़बरदस्त चीज़ हैं। वह एक नक़ली चीज़ नहीं है। वो एक जानदार चीज़ होती है, वो फड़कती हुई चीज़ हो, लेटी हो, जीवित हो, मुर्दा हो, उछलती-कूदती हो, सब शब्दों के होते हैं। और वो ही चीज़ एक आदमी लिख सकता है, ऐसे शब्दों में कि पढ़ने वाला सो जाय पढ़ते-पढ़ते, जी न लगे, परेशान तबीयत हो, वो ही लिखी जा सकती है दूसरी भाषा में, जिसमें जान हो, फड़क हो। लेकिन असल में शब्दों के पीछे क्या जान है? हर शब्द का इतिहास है, और जिन लोगों को शब्दों में दिलचस्पी है, वो अक्सर इतिहास को ढूँढते हैं, कहाँ से आया, कहाँ से शुरू हुआ, क्या उसने रंग बदले, कैसे उसने माने बदले, इस तरह से सैकड़ों बरस में शब्द ढलते हैं। कभी-कभी नक़ली शब्द आप बनायें, काम-चलाऊ शब्द हो जायें, लेकिन बेजान होते हैं, जान नहीं होती। जान आती है, जब उन शब्दों का बहुत प्रयोग हुआ, इस्तेमाल हुआ और हल्के-हल्के उनके साथ विचार बन गये, बहुत सारे हमारे लेखकों ने उनको लिखा अलग-अलग मानों से, तब उनमें जान पड़ने लगती है। तो मुझे यही डर है कि बहुत सारे नक़ली शब्द बनाने से कहीं हिन्दी के ऊपर एक नक़ली छापा न लग जाय। हिन्दी में तो अनेक शब्द हैं, पक्के, कोई नक़ली छापा तो नहीं लग सकता। लेकिन कुछ नये बनते हैं, जो ऐसे अजीब होते हैं कि जिनका कोई इतिहास नहीं पीछे, जिनकी कभी किसी ने आज तक लिखा-पढ़ी भी नहीं की, और अब एकदम से एक नया शब्द उतरा, एक अनुवाद करके किसी तरह से, बगैर इतिहास के कुछ, तो यह काफ़ी एक विचारणीय बात है। खैर, ये छोटी बातें हैं। ये प्रश्न तो उठते ही हैं, उठेंगे और हल होंगे। एक के बाद एक हल होता जायेगा और क्रम बढ़ते जायेंगे। असल चीज़ तो यह है कि एक भाषा के पीछे कितनी जान है, जान है तो खाई-खन्दक पार करके वो आगे बढ़ती है, उछल-कूद के जाती है, ठोकर खा कर गिरती है, तब भी वो उठ के चलती जाती है। नहीं है जान तो हजार कोष उसमें जान नहीं डालेंगे। कोष से नहीं जान आयेगी भाषा में, कोष से आसानी हुई और होने चाहिएँ कोष, वो ठीक है।

तो प्रश्न यह है कि हिन्दी में जान है कि नहीं? इसका आप जवाब दें। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि इस पिछले चन्द वर्षों...पहला छोड़ दीजिए उसका इतिहास, लम्बा-चौड़ा इतिहास...लेकिन पिछले चन्द वर्षों में भी आप देख सकते हैं कि इसमें कितनी जान है एक जीवित चीज़ है, बढ़ रही है, चारों तरफ़ फैलती रही है, फैलेगी। फैलते-फैलते अपना रास्ता ढूँढेगी। यह भी मैं

आपको बताऊँ। आपके और मेरे रास्ता दिखाने से वो नहीं चलने वाली है एक ज़िन्दा जान, एक ज़िन्दा भाषा। वो अपना रास्ता फिर ढूँढने लगती है। कुछ रास्ता आप बनायें, उसके कुछ नहर-वहर बनायें कि उसमें जाय उसका पानी, उसकी नदी का। लेकिन आखिर में जितनी अधिक जान उसमें होगी, उतना ही अपना रास्ता ढूँढेगी। ख़ाली जिस भाषा में अधिक जान नहीं होती, वो ही एक पतली नहर में बहती जाती है। बड़े दरिया फैलते हैं, बाढ़ आती है, सब कुछ आता है। उस तरह से बड़ी भाषाएँ फैलती हैं। और जिसने कोशिश की, उसको एक लगाम लगा के एक पालतू घोड़े की तरह फिराने के लिए, तो भाषा की सेवा नहीं हुई, उसकी आपने जान रोक दी, दबा दी। तो मैं तो समझता हूँ कि हिन्दी में काफ़ी जान है और बढ़ेगी और अपने ढंग से बढ़ेगी, अपने रास्ते ढूँढ के बढ़ेगी। (तालियाँ) और आजकल जो लोग बहुत रास्ता दिखाने की कोशिश करते हैं, नेक सलाह देते हैं, कुछ-न-कुछ उनका आदर करेंगे, लेकिन अपने रास्ते जायेगी, और यही ठीक है। इसी तरह से भाषाएँ बढ़ती हैं, जानदार भाषाएँ।

और आजकल की दुनिया क्या है? आजकल की दुनिया में एक सौ बरस के पहले के मुक़ाबले में, बहुत ज़्यादा लोग यात्रा करते हैं, इधर से उधर जाते हैं, फिरते हैं और भाषाओं के लोग दूसरे देश में जाते हैं, सारी दुनिया का हाल यह है और यह बात बढ़ती जायगी। आना, जाना, आमद-रफ्त। पहले, अगर सौ-सवा सौ बरस पहले लीजिए, आप लोग या किसी देश में भी या भारत में कैसे आप यात्रा करते थे? इस बड़ी यात्रा के लिए आप रथ पर चले जायें, कहीं। आप घोड़े पर चले जायें, हल्के-हल्के जाते थे, हालाँकि हमारे देश में हज़ारों बरस से यात्रा करने वाले बहुत थे, बरसों तक यात्रा करते थे, कहाँ-कहाँ हिमालय की चोटी पर चढ़ते थे कहाँ-कहाँ, रामेश्वर और कहाँ तक। लेकिन वो ही घोड़ा, रथ, गाड़ी, उस पर करते थे। सारी दुनिया का हाल था यही। तो लोगों का, एक-एक देश का दूसरे देश से मिलना-जुलना बहुत कम था। आजकल की दुनिया में बहुत अधिक हो गया है। बढ़ता ही जाता है, मालूम नहीं क्या हो। आजकल भी है और बढ़ेगा, बहुत बढ़ेगा। आसान हो गया, जल्दी हो गया, हवाई जहाज़ पर लाखों आदमी जाते हैं, रेल तो है ही। अच्छा, यह बहुत सारे लोगों का आना-जाना, उसके माने यह होते हैं कि चाहे आप चाहें या न चाहें [...] अलग-अलग भाषाओं का मिलन हो जाता है, हो ही जायेगा, होता ही है, जब लोग मिलते हैं, जब लोग इस तरह से मिलें और उनकी भाषा का असर आता है, उनकी पुस्तकें आती हैं, उनके विचार आते हैं। यह आजकल हो ही रहा है। तो इसका बड़ा असर हर भाषा पर पड़ता है। एक-दूसरे पर असर डालते हैं। वो भी पड़ेगा, तो ये सब बातें होंगी, और उससे हिन्दी और हमारी और देश की भाषाएँ फलेंगी, फूलेंगी और बढ़ेंगी, खुद और दूसरे की भाषाओं पर यक्रीनन अपना असर डालेंगी, ये सब बातें होंगी। तो इस ढंग से मैं आगे बीस, पच्चीस, तीस, चालीस बरस से देखता हूँ और अधिक बढ़ता ही जायगा। ख़ैर, हमें तो इस समय रहना है, बीस-पच्चीस बरस बाद में मैं तो होऊँगा नहीं देखने के लिए, क्या हुआ। आप लोग होंगे तो आप देखेंगे। लेकिन हमें तो आजकल, आजकल के ज़माने में जो कुछ हम सेवा इसकी कर सकते हैं, वो करें, और वो सेवा एक बात में आपसे कहूँ, वो सेवा दूसरी भाषा के मुक़ाबले की सेवा नहीं है। आप उसे अपनी भाषा की सेवा नहीं

कहेंगे। अपनी भाषा को बढ़ाइए, उन्नति कीजिए, फैलाइए, हर तरह से, और दूसरी भाषा के मुक़ाबले में पड़ गये तो आपकी शक्ति इसको बढ़ाने से हट जाती है, दूसरे की शक्ति रोकने में आती है, और दोनों का समय नष्ट होता है, भाषा की भी हानि होती है। तो बढ़ाइए। इसमें मैं देखता हूँ कि आपकी राष्ट्रभाषा समिति या दक्षिण भारत की हिन्दी प्रचार समिति जिस तरह से उन्होंने पिछले वर्षों में काम किया, वो आश्चर्यजनक है। (तालियाँ) कितना उन्होंने खामोशी से बिलकुल चुपचाप काम किया। न कोई लड़ाई, न कुछ। हल्के-हल्के उसकी सेवा करना, बढ़ाना उसको, और उसका नतीजा हम आजकल देखते हैं।

मैं तो हैरान होता हूँ, पढ़ता हूँ, मैं कभी सुनता भी हूँ। कहीं-कहीं मद्रास के देश में कुछ हमारे भाई हिन्दी के विरोध में आवाज़ उठाते हैं। लेकिन मद्रास जाता हूँ, तो मैं देखता हूँ कि बड़े ज़ोरों से हिन्दी सीख रहे हैं लोग, अजीब हालत है। और अधिक-से-अधिक सीख रहे हैं, और अच्छी सीख रहे हैं। और मैं आपको कह देता हूँ, आगाह कर देता हूँ कि थोड़े ही दिन हैं, बहुत अधिक दिन नहीं हैं, दस-पन्द्रह बरस में, आप हिन्दी भारत के हिन्दी बोलने वाले हिस्से में रहते हैं, आप पीछे हो जायेंगे और प्रान्तों में हिन्दी बोलने वाले अधिक हो जायेंगे, लिखने वाले। और क्यों? मैं क्यों कह रहा हूँ यह? इसलिए कि आप अपनी सुस्ती में कि हम तो हैं ही हिन्दी जानने वाले, आप पड़े रहेंगे वहाँ, क्योंकि आप बोल-चाल सकते हैं, लिख देते हैं, और वहाँ के लोग मेहनत करके सीख के आगे बढ़ जायेंगे आपसे। यह बात होने वाली है। तो ख़ैर, ठीक है। तो ग़रज़ कि मैं आपको, राष्ट्रभाषा समिति को और उसके कार्यकर्ताओं को और जिन लोगों ने इस काम को बढ़ाया, उनको अपनी बधाई देता हूँ और हालाँकि यह कहने की कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है कि आइन्दा क्या होगा, क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि उनका काम बड़े ज़ोरों से बढ़ेगा।

[Translation begins:

Well, I see that it is the children who are sitting right in front here. (Laughter). You have heard the welcome address by Gopal Reddy<sup>415</sup> a short while ago. There are many things for you to ponder over in what he said. After me you will hear the real speech of value in today's programme, the speech of our Chairman which will be full of wisdom. So it would not be proper for me to take up too much of your time. Moreover, I have a problem in deciding what to say to you. Delegates are present here from various parts of India but are scattered here and there and it is mostly children that I see before me and that makes my mind wander to storytelling, etc. (Laughter). Now, I am not able to decide whether I should speak to the grown-ups or to the children. (Laughter).

415. See fn 414 in this section.

I was sitting here and thinking what will be written about the present if someone sits down to write the history of India or the history of Hindi. What will be written twenty-five years hence about the debates and arguments which are taking place today over the question of languages in Hindi, English and the other languages of India? What I wonder is, will these issues disappear in twenty-five years time, go away or seem trivial, or will they become more divisive and aggressive? I personally feel that by then people will stop paying much attention to these issues. Today these issues are at the forefront and generating too much heat, people are getting very agitated. They are taking sides against one another and jumping into the arena—the wrestling match between languages is becoming very aggressive. And when there is a tussle between two languages, it is the third which gains ground. For instance, in Punjab, most of the time the arguments and debates over Hindi versus Gurmukhi take place in Urdu. That is why I feel that the issues over which there is such heated debate today cannot really have too much depth. It is of momentary importance which will go away. The issue that is of real consequence is how Hindi or for that matter other languages, too, are growing and developing. It is absolutely useless to think that one language can go ahead only by hitting at another language. Each language grows due to its own vitality, and it cannot develop if it lacks that vitality. And each language helps the others. One language cannot grow by blocking another. Anyhow, we have seen how rapidly Hindi has developed and evolved over the last few years. It is growing in all directions; a very large number of people are learning the language, even those whose mother-tongue is not Hindi. So, this will go on and there is no doubt that it will grow in schools and colleges and the arguments that are raging for and against today will not have much relevance later.

Another thought that comes to mind is, what is language? It is many things, what can I say? Perhaps the poets sitting here may be able to tell us. But language ultimately does clothe ideas in colourful hues. Beneath that lies the real substance which is clothed.

It is the idea, the desire, the emotion and the wisdom which we clothe in different hues, beautiful or ugly. Therefore we have to think about how we go about it. But it is equally important to discuss what lies underneath—the reality, the physical form, the idea. We can clothe even a piece of wood but will it have any substance? We cannot artificially create vitality in a language by force. It comes when there is knowledge, wisdom and the atmosphere is cleared to generate that. That is why you teach people so that they may get an opportunity to do it. But ultimately it comes down to the inner vitality of a language. If a language becomes famous, it is not merely due to its beauty but because people learn it and read it. In fact, both are essential—inner and outer beauty—one will not suffice.

Hindi will progress as it is already doing. Its progress does not depend on how many dictionaries we have in Hindi. I do not say dictionaries are not necessary. But Hindi will progress by the writings of intellectuals, by the number of people who speak and write Hindi. So we should promote that and give an opportunity to people to learn the language. Then there is one more thing—the intellectual content. Many subjects are written about in languages, but in the world of today, it is science, scientific knowledge, which people want to acquire and children in thousands are eager to acquire that knowledge. The modern world is moulded by science. So the question is, how far Hindi has writings on science and technology and ideas. I do not mean that these books should merely be translated into Hindi and taught in schools. That would be easy and can be done any time. I mean original research in these subjects and if that is available in Hindi and if new ideas necessary to grasp the world of today are sprouting in the language. People would learn Hindi to get new knowledge, not merely for the sake of language. So as I said, all this cannot be achieved by making a dictionary of a few hundred or thousand words in Hindi but without any real content or history behind it, because you must bear in mind that the words in any language are powerful tools. They cannot be coined artificially. Words need to have vitality, they have to be bouncing, lively, alive, because only an individual can write such words. The same thing can be written by a person in words which put the reader to sleep or bore him or agitate him and the same thing may be written in another language which has life and vitality. But where does such vitality come from in reality? Every word has a history and those who are interested in words often search for their history, how they originated and changed over time. Words evolve over hundreds of years. You may coin words artificially but they will be lifeless. Words gain vitality when they have been in use for a long time and gradually they get associated with ideas. When a large number of writers use them in different ways, they acquire a life of their own. Therefore, I am afraid that by coining a large number of words artificially, Hindi should not get a stamp of artificiality. Hindi of course has a proper vocabulary which cannot be marked as artificial. But nowadays new words are being coined which have no history behind them, words which have not been in usage ever. Suddenly, new words are being translated from elsewhere—this is something which needs to be thought about. Anyhow, these are minor matters. Such issues will arise and be solved one by one and there will be progress. The important thing is how much vitality there is in a language and if there is life, a language will leap and forge ahead, and even if it stumbles and falls, it will pick itself up and go forward. If it lacks vitality, even a thousand dictionaries cannot make up for it. Dictionaries can only facilitate in learning a language, they cannot put life into a language.



So, the question is whether there is vitality in Hindi or not. I want you to answer this. I think that in the last few years—even if we leave aside its long history—Hindi is brimming with vitality and life and spreading far and wide. It will find a new path for itself. You may dig canals to divert the flow of a river but ultimately, a lively river will find its own path. Only the language which does not have much vitality becomes a thin trickle. Big rivers flow and even get flooded—this is how important languages spread. And anyone who tries to rein in a language and trot it around like a pet horse will not do any service to it. It will stifle and suppress the language. So I think Hindi has a great deal of vitality and therefore, it will grow and evolve in its own way and find its own path (Applause). Those who try to channelise a language and steer its path by giving good advice may get some respect, but it will go its own way which is as it should be. This is how vital languages will grow.

What is the world like today? Compared to even a century ago, people are travelling far more today, to different countries speaking different languages. This is the situation all over the world and it will continue to increase. Just a century or so ago, what were the means of travel, in India or anywhere else? You could travel long distances, by chariot, or on horse back—travel was very slow. Though for thousands of years Indians have been great travellers, from Rameswaram to Kanyakumari. But the mode of travel remained the same. That was so in the rest of the world, too. Therefore, it was difficult for people of one country to meet people in other countries. Today, international travel has become very common. It is on the increase and will continue to do so. Travel has become very easy and very fast; people speaking different languages get to meet one another. When such meetings take place, their languages and books and ideas have an impact. This is happening. As a result of all this, Hindi and our other Indian languages will be enriched and they will certainly have an impact on other languages as well.

When I look ahead twenty-five, thirty, forty years, I see all this happening more and more. Your generation will witness this. But, today, we must strive to serve our languages to the best of our ability. And I would like to tell you that you do not do any service by being competitive with other languages. We must help our own language to grow, improve and spread. But if you get into conflict with other languages you would only be dissipating your energy and instead of improving your own, you will waste your energy in obstructing other languages, which means a waste of time and will cause harm to one's language too. I have observed that the work being done by the Rashtrabhasha Samiti or the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Samiti is amazing. (Applause). They have been working quietly, with no fuss or fighting, to serve this language and improve it, and we can see the result today.

I am puzzled when I read or learn about the protests against Hindi in Madras. But when I go there, I find people learning Hindi with gusto. So, it is a strange situation. They are learning the language in very large numbers and learning it well. I shall warn you that in a very short time, in ten or fifteen years, those of you who live in the Hindi belt will lag behind and the number of people speaking Hindi in other states will grow. Why am I saying this? It is because you will be apathetic towards your own language and the people in other states who are working hard to learn Hindi will outstrip you by far. This is bound to happen. Well, I congratulate all of you in the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti for your excellent work. I do not have to say that I am sure their work will progress by leaps and bounds. (Applause)

Translation ends.]

### (h) Representative Institutions

#### 150. To Vidya Charan Shukla: Publishing Parliamentary Committee Proceedings<sup>416</sup>

June 7, 1959

Dear Vidya Charan,

I have your letter of June 2 as also your previous letter of April 11. You suggest that the proceedings of the Parliamentary Consultative Committees should be considered as Secret and any publication should be made a breach of Parliamentary privilege. This is a matter for the speaker to consider and decide. Perhaps the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs<sup>417</sup> might discuss this with the Speaker.<sup>418</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

416. Letter to the Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Baloda Bazar, Madhya Pradesh.

417. Satya Narayan Sinha.

418. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

## (i) Judiciary

**151. To Vivian Bose: Apology to Vivian Bose<sup>419</sup>**

June 26, 1959

Dear Shri Vivian Bose,

I have been constantly on the move during the last many days. It was my intention to write to you earlier in regard to some remarks I had made at a press conference<sup>420</sup> but because of my travelling about, I could not do so.

A few days ago when I was in Trivandrum, I received a letter from the Honorary Secretary of the Calcutta Bar Library Club<sup>421</sup> with which he forwarded a resolution passed at a meeting of the Calcutta Bar disapproving of some remarks I had made about you. As soon as I received this letter, I sent a reply to the Secretary of the Calcutta Bar Library Club. I enclose a copy of this.<sup>422</sup>

I should like to express personally to you my deep regret at the remarks I made in this connection at the press conference I addressed in Delhi earlier this month. I realise fully that those remarks were improper and I should not have allowed myself to utter them. I was taken rather unawares by the questions put to me and I was thinking of many other things at that time also.<sup>423</sup>

I trust you will be good enough to accept my apology for this impropriety which I have committed.<sup>424</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

419. Letter to Bose, the Ad hoc Judge of the Supreme Court of India.

420. See item 18, pp. 205-210.

421. S. R. Das Gupta.

422. On 23 June Nehru wrote from Trivandram to S. R. Das Gupta expressing his regret. He permitted the Bar Library Club to publish his letter and on 30 June informed Asoke Kumar Sen, the Law Minister.

423. Nehru wrote on 26 June to S. R. Das, the Chief Justice of India, in the same vein, adding "that was an impropriety which I regret greatly as I have always believed that the judiciary and, more especially, the judges of our Supreme Court deserve the highest consideration and respect."

424. Vivian Bose replied to Nehru on 29 June 1959 that he had not taken his (Nehru) remarks to heart and that he was not in the least worried or upset. "All I regret," Vivian Bose writes, "is that I should have been the cause of so much public controversy."

152. To B.V. Keskar: Corruption in the Media<sup>425</sup>

May 7, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,<sup>426</sup>

I am sorry I was not able to see you today. Tomorrow, there is the Working Committee<sup>427</sup> and a debate on Tibet.<sup>428</sup> All my day is taken up, so also the day after. Perhaps, you could catch me for a while, while the debate on Tibet is in progress tomorrow.

I had a visit today from C.K. Bhattacharyya,<sup>429</sup> and Ansar Harvani.<sup>430</sup> What they told me is repeated in a letter which Harvani gave me and which I enclose.

The treatment accorded to Bhattacharyya by the *Hindusthan Standard* people does seem to me rather shocking. I have known him for a considerable time and I always took him to be one of the biggest pillars of the *Hindusthan Standard* with which he was connected for a long time. It does appear that some newspapers are progressively dismissing every old hand so as to avoid having to pay them any arrears under the new rules etc. I do not know what we can do about it, but I do feel that this is gross injustice.

It was pointed out to me that the *Hindusthan Standard* and some other newspapers were misusing provident funds. In fact, a very large sum was mentioned to me in connection with the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*.

Then again, I was told that a great deal of money is being made by selling newsprint in the black market. Much bigger quotas are given to newspapers than they can use, and this excess is sold. Reference was made to the case of *Ananda Bazar Patrika*. Reels of paper were found there which were totally unsuited for their machines. They were selling it. The Controller of Imports<sup>431</sup> recommended that the licence of import newsprint should be taken away from them, but, for some odd reason, this was not done.

Then, there is this process of fragmentation or dividing up the chains of newspapers so as to avoid certain consequences of the news rules. I am not in

425. Letter. File No. 43(103)/57-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

426. Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.

427. It met on 8 and 9 May 1959.

428. See item 293, pp. 556-568.

429. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from West Dinajpur, West Bengal.

430. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Fatehpur, UP.

431. S. N. Bilgrami.

favour of chains of newspapers, but what is being done is obviously a trick to bypass the rules.

Cannot something be done about these matters? Could we have some kind of a brief enquiry about (1) provident fund, (2) newsprint, (3) how the working journalists are faring under the new rules, and (4) how this fragmentation has taken place and for what purpose.

I am sending copies of this letter to Gulzarilal Nanda<sup>432</sup> and Lal Bahadur Shastri.<sup>433</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 153. To C.R. Srinivasan: No Restrictions on Journalists<sup>434</sup>

Please reply to this letter as follows:

“The Prime Minister has received your letter of May 8<sup>435</sup> and is surprised to learn that restrictions are going to be placed on Journalists at Press Conferences held by him. There is no question of restrictions. When he was consulted, he said that it would be desirable to give opportunities to as many people as possible to put questions to him. Sometimes, a number of people do not get a chance. This is not a restriction, but a better arrangement.

“Also, he suggested that questioners might mention their newspaper or agency, which is obviously desirable. There is thus no desire to shut out any question but to get the best out of the conference in the limited time available.”

2. Send a copy of this to Secretary, I & B. Ministry.<sup>436</sup>

432. Union Minister of Labour, Employment and Planning.

433. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

434. Note, 8 May 1959. File No. 43(31)/56-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

435. A. J. George, Secretary of the Press Association, feared that restrictions would mar the spontaneity and charm of press conferences and constrain correspondents. “We are yet to learn whether this step is being taken in consonance with your desire or not,” he added.

436. R. K. Ramadhyani.

154. To Mahavir Tyagi: Partisan Politics<sup>437</sup>

14 May, 1959

My dear Mahavir,

I have your letter of May 13<sup>438</sup> with which you have sent me a copy of Goenka's<sup>439</sup> letter to Nandaji. I have read all these papers.

I have no personal knowledge of the affairs of the *Indian Express*. But a number of complaints have come to me about the behaviour of some Calcutta newspaper proprietors in regard to their staff. Prima facie, this behaviour appeared to me reprehensible and deserving of some enquiry. It may be true that some of the working journalists are under Communist influence, but there are certainly a number of important persons among them who have nothing to do with the Communist Party. One of them is a Congress MP,<sup>440</sup> associated with a Calcutta paper for almost a generation and was an Editor for many years. He was dismissed at a week's notice.<sup>441</sup>

It is perfectly true that, as you say, continuous conflict between the proprietors and the working staff can only lead to disaster. I do not quite know what I can do in this matter. The policy that Government pursued was largely based on the recommendations of the Press Commission. As a matter of fact, even those recommendations were somewhat whittled down. The attitude of the proprietors during the last few years has been to obstruct, in every way, the carrying out of that policy. It has naturally resulted in a great deal of frustration among the working journalists.<sup>442</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

437. Letter to the Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Dehradun, UP ( now Uttarakhand. File no. 43(103)/57-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

438. See Appendix 8(b), Extract from Mahavir Tyagi to Nehru, 13 May 1959.

439. See Appendix 8 (a), Extract from R. N. Goenka to Mahavir Tyagi, 11 May 1959.

440. C.K. Bhattacharyya.

441. See item 152, pp. 394-395.

442. On 29 June 1959, GOI accepted the recommendations of the Wage Committee for Working Journalists.

**155. To A.M. Khwaja: Scurrilous Writing<sup>443</sup>**

May 27, 1959

My dear Khwaja,

Your letter of the 22nd May about the scurrilous propaganda in the "*Organiser*".<sup>444</sup> I am sorry to hear of this, and yet not surprised. The "*Organiser*" is full of such stuff and I am often the victim of it. I am having your letter sent to the Home Ministry so that they might inquire into this. But, our law being what it is, it is no easy matter to get a conviction, while the Ministry will examine this, it might be worthwhile for the University to issue a categorical denial of some of the so-called facts mentioned.<sup>445</sup>

Love

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal**156. To B.R. Medhi: Condolence Message on Kasturi Srinivasan's Death<sup>446</sup>**

I shall be grateful if you will convey my deep sorrow and sympathy to family of Shri Kasturi Srinivasan, Editor of *Hindu*, at his passing away.<sup>447</sup> The death of such a distinguished journalist is a loss not only to the *Hindu*, but also the Press generally and to public life.

443. Letter to a contemporary of Nehru at Cambridge and a lawyer at Aligarh. A.M. Khwaja Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

444. The *Organiser* of 11 May accused the AMU of being both a Pakistani fifth column and a den of communists.

445. Nehru wrote to the MHA on 27 May 1959 as follows: "I am sending you some papers about some articles in the '*Organiser*' making wild charges against the Muslim University, Aligarh, and its Vice-Chancellor. I think we should do something in this matter."

446. Telegram to the Governor of Madras, 23 June 1959. File No. 10/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

447. Died on 22 June 1959.

## 157. To Vishnu Sahay: Publishing Government Papers<sup>448</sup>

I enclose a letter from the Minister of I&B.<sup>449</sup> Also a letter from the Federation of Workers of the Government of India Press.

2. It appears to me that there is a great deal of lack of coordination in printing work. Apart from printing strictly official papers and reports, our publication work has been expanding greatly. There are periodicals, numerous development publications, books etc. A part of this work was done by private presses. It was, therefore, suggested some years back that a thoroughly up-to-date press should be put up for specialised printing, such as the books etc. and that this should be placed at the disposal of the Publications Division of the I&B Ministry. The idea was that the material should normally be supplied by the Ministry concerned but the actual technical work of printing should be done by the Publications Division. There may be some exceptions to this, more especially in regard to Finance and Defence. Possibly also Tourist Publications. But, broadly, the I&B Publications Division should do the actual printing under the directions of the Ministry concerned. This would have brought about a certain coordination and higher efficiency.

3. I find that this is not being done. After a great deal of difficulty an up-to-date press was put up at Faridabad. Apparently this is still under the direction of the WH&S Ministry. It is said that the work done there is of poor quality and the quantity also is not great, although the machine is very good.

4. I should like you to go into this matter and confer with the Ministries concerned so that we might evolve a suitable method for coordination and efficient working.

448. Note, 26 June 1959. File No. 43(27)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

449. B. V. Keskar.



### III. DEVELOPMENT

#### (a) Economy

#### 158. To Henry A. Wallace<sup>1</sup>

May 8, 1959

Dear Mr. Wallace,

Thank you for your letter of May 1st, 1959. I well remember meeting you when I went to the United States ten years or more ago.<sup>2</sup> It is very good of you to write to me and I appreciate what you said to President Eisenhower.

We are facing very difficult problems. But I have no doubt that we shall solve them progressively. Ultimately, I suppose, it is the quality of the people that counts, even more than money. I have great faith in my people and so I think that we shall win.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 159. To AICC—<sup>3</sup>

#### PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF COOPERATIVE ORGANISATION: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Nagpur resolutions have set in motion a dynamic process.<sup>4</sup> They have done great service to the country as well as to the Congress organisation, provided always that we move up and act up to the spurt that they have given to the cooperative movement.

It is a patent fact that there is no alternative to cooperative farming. What we are discussing now has already been settled. Now we have only to give

1. (1888-1965); Secretary of Agriculture, USA, 1933-40; Vice-President of USA, 1941-45; Secretary of Commerce, 1945-46; fought 1948 presidential election unsuccessfully as Progressive Party candidate.
2. October-November 1949, see SWJN/SS/13/pp. 295-394.
3. Speech, New Delhi, 10 May 1959. From *AICC Economic Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1959, pp. 35.
4. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 164-170 & 173-174.

attention to hammering out details as to how to implement it fully. We have now to discuss and finalise the practical aspects of cooperation.

We are discussing this subject from various points of view. Now I suppose it will be admitted that there is no further necessity for us to discuss the philosophy or the main principles underlying it. In fact, to my thinking, there never was any real need for this because the thing is so obvious.

### **A Welcome Resolution**

After the Nagpur resolution there was some opposition. It was not very much, but it was in a loud key and therefore attracted attention. It was a good thing, because otherwise most people take things for granted. After two or three months that matter was also settled.

We are discussing now the practical aspect of cooperative farming, not its theory or philosophy. It has been said that since the Nagpur session the Congress organisation has received a great fillip. This is an interesting point because possibly quite a number of important Congressmen were rather apprehensive that this resolution might have a bad reception from the peasantry, at least from certain sections of them.

As a matter of fact the reception has been on the whole good. It is true that there are some doubts in the minds of some farmers, but the broad reception has been entirely in its favour.

The criticism has been confined to joint cultivation and not to other aspects, the other major aspects having apparently been accepted fully.

### **Approach Firm, Not Rigid**

Our approach to this problem though firm is not rigid. I am not going to say very much about joint cultivation, though in our original resolution we laid stress on that as an objective to be achieved. At the same time, we said that for the moment we should lay stress on service co-operatives. That has been interpreted in two rather conflicting ways. Some people are surprised that this means postponement for three years, others are thinking that it is coming right now and bringing red ruin with it.

Both, I think, are not correct. It would not be a practical approach for us to think that for three years we should concentrate on service co-operatives and then go over to joint cultivation. You cannot do these things in separate compartments. We have to get the entire picture. Though immediate stress is on service co-operatives, where conditions are ripe we have to go in for the other.

### **A Voluntary Movement**

The essence of the movement is its voluntary character. We have to convince people by experiments. We have therefore to make an approach in regard to joint cultivation also during these years in some limited way. We have to show people how successful it can be. We must not isolate joint farming from service co-operatives.

### **Credit Problems**

One speaker had raised the question of credit and by various calculations has tried to show that a colossal sum of money would be required to launch the programme. Well, that is obvious. If one took the population of the country, the number of farmers and the credit that would be required, it would come to a huge figure. They only seem to think of all sorts of consumers of credit who do not produce anything.

In some ways the present system is not even as satisfactory as the old bania. Though the bania might seize the land of a farmer and was a bad social phenomenon, nevertheless he was available to the little man, when he needed his service. He could get help from him, though at the time of harvest he might take full advantage of his position. Under the present system, one has to go round and round so that by the time one gets the loan it is too late. At present the bigger farmer is much more likely to get credit and does sometimes get more than he wants because he can give bigger security. How are we to get credit to the poor farmer who has no security to offer and yet it is he who requires help to produce more. He constitutes the great majority in India.

### **Link Credit with Production**

One principle to be kept in mind always is to link credit with production. So far as I know, credit has been given on the basis of security with the result that it reaches only a relatively few people.

There is a tendency among farmers, the small ones especially, to be improvident. The credit you give may be spent in some other way and not on productive schemes. I think it is therefore essential that credit should always be linked with production. That is the only way you can get it back.

### **Agricultural Departments Most Important**

All our Five-Year Plans would be a failure, everything would be a failure unless

agricultural production is raised, because it is basic to everything we are doing. I think everyone realises that now. It was not realised till recently, with the result that the agriculture departments in the States were normally considered subsidiary and secondary and rather unimportant.

An agriculture department may well be considered today in the difficult problems that we have to face the most important department of the State Government.

Today agricultural production is the important fundamental issue before us. All these things should be judged from that point of view. Now we have got good experts and officers in our agriculture departments, but I am often led to think that, good as they are, they are good in yesterday's sense of the word and not in today's much less in tomorrow's.

They are thinking in the set terms of yesterday and they are apprehensive about new ways. They think round and round in accordance with the old methods, and this is not quite good enough. We have to be conservative in our thinking, we cannot launch wild schemes but we cannot be too conservative either. The whole idea of progress is to change and go ahead and to keep pace with the remarkable things that are being done to increase agricultural production in the world.

### **Mechanised Agriculture Not Suitable**

Looking it from another aspect the problem before us is to make our agriculture scientific. When I say scientific, I am not thinking in terms of mechanised agriculture. I am not opposed to mechanised agriculture, but I do not think it is suited to India with its huge population.

You cannot think of mechanising Indian agriculture for a long time. Till you absorb a great part of the population in industry you cannot think of it. Nevertheless, while I do not think in terms of mechanized agriculture, I do not think in terms of scientific agriculture.

I have been distressed to see the equipment of small farmers. There are so many ways of dealing with agriculture – small machines, better ploughs, better seeds, better fertilizers, green manure – not in terms of big farms or big persons doing it but small agriculturists getting to know something about scientific agriculture.

### **Indian Farmers Remarkably Good and Adjustable**

I do not see any inherent difficulty in making our common farmer, the small farmer, understand scientific agriculture. The Indian farmer, if properly

approached, is a remarkably good person. He is conservative certainly but is not so conservative as not to change if properly approached. As a human being, he is as good a farmer as anywhere.

Surprisingly enough, the recommendations of the Rural Credit Survey Committee started with certain assumptions that our village folk were so backward or quarrelsome or engaged in fighting with each other that you cannot rely upon them. Therefore, they were opposed to small co-operatives and wanted big co-operatives. The whole approach seemed to be based on the distrust of the farmers and on the belief that they were incompetent people who could not be trusted. If the Indian farmer is that, it does not matter whatever the schemes you evolve for they will fail. I do not accept that. We have got to make our farmer more scientific in his agriculture and to the extent he becomes more scientific, he will succeed and we can succeed.

### **Cooperatives—The Only Choice**

How are we to do it? Training is important. Giving him facilities. These things can be managed more easily through organisations like co-operatives and I cannot think of any other approach.

That again makes it essential to have co-operatives. Co-operatives are a higher form of social organisation. There is no choice. I cannot understand any person not realising this patent and obvious fact. I have asked what is the alternative, and the critics have no answer. They have always some vague idea of red ruin. It is difficult to argue with that type of persons.

### **Training of Workers**

The Working Committee wants to train 100 people to become centres of training elsewhere. We expect the various States and the Central Government to train a vast number of people. We want to do this as part of our organisation. We do not want to rely upon Government alone for this. No party should do this, otherwise we become mere appendages or hangers-on. It is not a good thing even for an organisation which runs the Government.

It is important to introduce co-operation as a subject in our high schools in a simple form so that they may get their basic training.

At present half of 1,20,000 co-operatives do not function. The other half functions in ways that will have to be changed. The existing position is not so weak that we cannot progress. Even if there are 50,000 societies they would be fairly adequate to start our work. I would not mind if not a single new society is started in 1959 though I would like them to be started.

This period could be utilised in making people understand the importance of co-operatives. Every peasant household should be made to understand their significance. The present progress is not quick enough because of lack of trained personnel, not because of reluctance of the people.

It is essential for the State Governments and the Central Government to undertake training schemes. The Congress should also take it up from its own point of view. Unless we take up and train our workers, their minds will not fit into the scheme and they will be left high and dry. We should encourage Mandal people to go to official training camps. Co-operatives should be based on single village, though in case of small villages and in backward areas two to three villages could be grouped together.

A question is sometimes raised whether anyone who joined a joint cultivation co-operative would be allowed to withdraw from it. There is no difficulty about such a person going out, subject to two or three conditions.

One, of course, is that no one should be permitted to go in and out of a co-operative whenever a whim seizes him. There must be some period of a minimum of three years before anyone could leave a co-operative.

Secondly, there will be no difficulty if he wants to go out by being compensated for it.

### *Rejuvenation*



*The Congress Working Committee and AICC meetings in Delhi emphasize the urgency the Party feels about establishment of cooperatives.—Report.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 10 MAY 1959)

The difficulty will arise when he wants his land back. It might be conceivable that land may be given to him at the fringe of the co-operative and not in its very heart, that is, a piece of land in the middle of the co-operative area. I am not prepared to give a rigid answer. We do not want to be rigid. A man who wants to go out should be allowed to go on the best possible terms. But he could not be allowed to become a nuisance and a mischief-maker.

## 160. To AICC—II<sup>5</sup>

### STEPS TO INCREASE PRODUCTION TEMPO SHOULD NOT BE SLACKENED: NEHRU'S WARNING TRIBUTE TO ACHIEVEMENTS OF PUBLIC SECTOR

May 11, 1959

A note of warning that the country cannot afford to slacken in any way the tempo of production and if they did so, it would be like "trying to take rest while swimming across a big stream", was made by Prime Minister Nehru when he intervened to address the AICC session here today.

Pointing out that it had been calculated that if they increased production by two per cent they "will be just able to keep their heads above water", Mr. Nehru said that if they increased it by six per cent they would be able to provide the basic amenities for all the people taking into account the increasing population. Though the percentage was small it was a big job. But if they slowed down their pace they would have to "extend the period of the country's agony".

Expression satisfaction at the way in which they had set up big industries like the iron and steel industry, Mr. Nehru said they had not yet reached the stage of benefiting by the dividends and till these big industries started producing on a large scale the country would have to pass through a period of strain.

Reiterating his conviction that they would not succeed in industrialisation till they actually manufactured the machinery required to manufacture machines in the country itself, Mr. Nehru cited the example of Japan and Russia where they never imported the same type of machinery twice. Once they imported a machine they were able to copy and manufacture it themselves.

Mr. Nehru said that the basis of industrialisation was iron and steel, power, coal, atomic energy and the most important of all, machine-making industries and trained manpower.

5. Report of speech, New Delhi. From *The Hindu*, 12 May 1959.

The Prime Minister said all this gigantic work had to be done in the public sector through planning. "Leaving all these things to private enterprise is not possible. They have no conception of planning, no conception of looking at things in an integrated way."

Mr. Nehru said that the "great captains" of industry in India had not "terribly impressed" him.

These captains of industry may do a job themselves and may make good money out of it or not as the case may be. They get protection and come out as great captains of industry. I fear, having come across many captains of industry, I am not terribly impressed by their captainship. They want everything from the Government. They borrow money from the Government and they get it and they become great captains of industry. It is amazing how they spread the idea in our Parliament and elsewhere that these great captains of industry are some geniuses, while public concerns are not run properly. As a matter of fact, our big public concerns in India, those that have been completed, have been remarkably successful, very successful, from any point of view, from any yardstick that you may apply. They are making a good deal of profits and production is increasing beyond all targets.

Mr. Nehru spoke with some warmth and said that public enterprises had recorded great progress. Sindri, Chittaranjan, the machine-tools factory at Bangalore, the Hindustan Aircraft, the penicillin factory at Pimpri and a number of other plants, which were well established, had all made tremendous progress. "I am not including iron and steel because they are still being made. Our experience of big public plants has been very good."

The Prime Minister made a special mention of the machine-tool industry at Bangalore, and said. "So long as the factory was managed by foreign expert, it did not do anything good. But since the foreigners went away and some of our competent men took charge, it is making amazing progress."

Referring to the "inherent weaknesses" in the capitalist structure in India to develop fully, Mr. Nehru said that even though the first steel plant in India was set up more than 50 years ago, by Jamshetji Tata, a man of foresight, yet India could not make a steel plant of her own. "This is amazing and ridiculous. The Japanese and the Russians had adopted the practice of getting a plant from outside, America or Germany, but the next plant they made it themselves; they copied it. They seldom got a thing twice from a foreign country. Now for 50 years, we just go on depending on imported things and do not think of the basic thing of manufacturing a plant ourselves."

Mr. Nehru said that it was only now after three steel plants were being set up, that India was thinking in terms of "building the greater parts of our next steel plant in India ourselves."



Mr. Nehru said: "I do wish to remove from the minds of the public any impression that public ventures have not succeeded. They have succeeded remarkably well. Of course, they all depend on the quality of workers, managers and all others."

The Prime Minister said amidst cheers that an Indian, given the chance, could be a very good worker, as a highly qualified engineer or manager. An Indian worker probably learnt in less time a technical job than almost any man anywhere in the world. "They have been that, they are that, and they will be that. So the quality is there."

Mr. Nehru began by saying that planning today was in theory relatively an easy matter. But he said, in actual practice it was very complicated. The people inevitably had to share great burdens in the initial stages. The great part of this had to be borne by the vast masses of people. There was no escape from it. This was so because considerably higher standards of living were to be introduced for all. This could be achieved by greater production and equitable distribution.

### **Increase in Population**

Mr. Nehru added: "Whether we produce or not, one thing inevitably is producing and reproducing itself, that is the population of India. In other words according to present estimates, the population was increasing by two per cent annually. The increase was due not so much to births having gone up, but largely to deaths having gone down because of better health services. Deaths will go down more and more as health conditions improved. This two per cent increase in population meant that if production increased by two per cent, the country would remain where it was. If the increase in production is less than two per cent, then we go down. Therefore, producing only two per cent more per annum does not mean any progress. We just manage to keep our heads above water."

Mr. Nehru said that production, therefore, had to be increased more than two per cent annually. How much more it should be was a matter of planning. The vast majority of people today lacked even the barest facilities of life. In many areas, even pure clean drinking water was not available. "In order to give these barest necessities of life to our people, let us say we want another two per cent extra production, that is, two plus two equals four per cent increase in production annually. But even then all that is not enough. All that leads you where you are except that a slight degree of comfort goes to some people. But the comfort is very slight. You do not really progress. Therefore, you want something more than four per cent (annual increase in production). These are hypothetical figures.

Say you want another two per cent rise, this additional two per cent representing an element of future progress and investment in future progress so we get two plus two plus two, six per cent. Now if you sit down to calculate what it means to get this six per cent increase in production per annum, you will find that it is a big job. Now if you say "no, that is too difficult and we shall slow down our pace a little", then this would mean sharpening the country's agony.

Mr. Nehru said that while there was a difference between Capitalist and Communist countries in the world, the more important and real difference was between industrially developed countries and undeveloped and industrially backward countries. That was the basic difference, whatever the policies that any country might follow. "Now, therefore, we arrive at this conclusion that if we have to catch up (with others) and increase production at a fairly rapid pace, we have to go at a certain pace. Slowing down would mean that we may not reach our goal at all. It is not a question of real choice in the matter."

The Prime Minister said that there was an element of choice in deciding whether the annual increase in production should be five, six or seven per cent. But there was no choice about the minimum increase of four per cent. Some industrial magnates had said that since India had passed through difficult times in the course of the two Five-Year Plans, the pace of progress should be slowed down and "they should have some rest." Now these industrial magnates who said this had evidently no conception of planning or what "we are doing or what we ought to do." They showed an utter absence of understanding of the problems of the country.

### **Production of Food**

Mr. Nehru said that the first essential, of course, was to increase the production food and cash crops. They would provide the much-needed surplus required for investment in developing agriculture and industry. The experience of the whole world had shown that only through industrialisation and the use of science and technology nations had prospered. The unemployment problem could be tackled effectively only through industrialisation. It was true that machines displaced people and caused some unemployment. This should be avoided wherever possible. But only through big industry could vast employment opportunities be opened for the people. In fact, India suffered in the 19th century, because the former British rulers destroyed the manufacturing industries and forced people to fall back on land. This was the exact reverse of the process taking place in Europe where people were migrating from the villages to the cities in search of industrial employment.

"The basic point is that we must industrialise. First of all, we must have

scientific agriculture. I do not mean big tractors in our fields. Nevertheless, we should have scientific agriculture and scientific industry. We have to industrialise in a big way.”

“While considering the size of the Third Plan apart from domestic resources, external resources and many other things we will have also to think of the capacity of our people for hard work”, Mr. Nehru said. “I regret to say that we are not essentially a hard-working race. Often enough we sleep. Our holidays are colossal. It is astonishing that demands for more and more holidays come.”

He welcomed the Punjab Government’s decisions to cut down the number of holidays and to increase the daily hours of work in the Secretariat. This was an excellent thing to do and he congratulated the Punjab Government on the decision. About an hour of extra work every day would mean a lot.

### **Foreign Aid**

Mr. Nehru said that statistical calculations about the Plan were relatively simple matters but the real question was to what extent the people were prepared to carry the burden. However great a burden they were prepared to carry, getting foreign help at the initial stages was inevitable. Every country had received foreign help, even the United States of America had taken tremendous help from the continent of Europe in the 19th century. “But”, he added, “if we do not get help from abroad certainly it does not mean that we are going to give up all hope. It may mean that we will have to go inevitably slow but normally it makes a tremendous difference if we get help. And help does not mean gift.”

Mr. Nehru referred to the comparisons often made between the progress made by India with China and other countries. It was good to compare and learn from others and “yet to work according to our own ways. But it seems to me very odd that on the one side Chinese production has gone up, according to reports, on a tremendous scale. On the other side, so say reports, the rations had gone down. That may mean many things. That need not necessarily mean that the figures of production they give are false but it does mean that they are trying to create and collect as much surplus as possible. Even when they have abundance of food they cut down consumption and would rather export and get something in return. Of course, they can do it but we cannot do that. It is quite impossible for us to introduce short rations in order to build up surplus. Only a Government of that type can do that but certainly there is a lesson for us to follow.”

There was no way except to go through “this valley of hard work” and austerity.

Mr. Nehru then praised the engineers and the scientists in the country and

said that their quality was of the highest order. "With the greatest respect I would say that they are far more important than the legislators." (Laughter)

Mr. N. Sanyal interrupted to remark, "Scrap the Upper Houses."

Mr. Nehru retorted that he did not quite understand what effect the scrapping of the Upper House had on the Five-Year Plan. As a Matter of fact so far as the Rajya Sabha was concerned, "it is a good House and a competent House. I am not a member of the Rajya Sabha. I am only a member of the Lok Sabha. But I know that the Rajya Sabha has some very able men in it and they have been very helpful in considering all the measures."

Mr. Nehru asked the delegates to consider and decide upon the approaches to planning. There were different approaches, institutional approaches and psychological approaches. As between the capitalist and socialist approaches. Mr. Nehru rejected the former saying that its basic motive is the profit motive and acquisitiveness. This profit motive is not essential now. It is not a good thing to encourage. I think it is losing its value and the hold it had in olden times in the world."

But whatever approach was adopted, he emphasised, "we should try to give it certain colour which is ours and which is India's." They should see to it that they held to the values they cherished. If these values collapsed then everything they had built-up would collapse and they would have nothing to stick to and would become "pale copies of other countries and suffer."<sup>6</sup>

## 161. To Swaran Singh: Soviet Aid for the Third Plan<sup>7</sup>

May 24, 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,

We have been getting brief accounts about your activities in the Soviet Union. We had a fairly full account about your talk with Khrushchev.<sup>8</sup> You must be kept fairly busy.

I do not know the impressions you have got about the possible help that we might receive from the Soviet Union for our Third Plan. Probably Khrushchev or his people will not be very definite at this stage, but will generally promise

6. *The Hindu* sharply criticised Nehru for these comments on the private sector, in an editorial, "An Unnecessary Controversy," 13 May 1959. There was no reaction from *The Statesman*, *The Times of India*, or *The Hindustan Times*.
7. Letter to the Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel. File No. 17(214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
8. See K. P. S. Menon to Nehru, 19 May 1959. Appendix 13 (b).

help. Anyhow we shall be able to form some opinion after you come back and tell us what the position is.

After your present talks there, I think the next stage should be for our detailed and specific talks on the official level, that is, through B. K. Nehru.<sup>9</sup> As B. K. is dealing with this matter in the United States and elsewhere, it will be best for him to deal with it in Moscow also, so that similar approaches can be made and various efforts coordinated. B.K. Nehru is returning to Washington via Paris and London day after tomorrow. He thinks that we should be ready with our definite proposals by the end of September or early October to enable the U.S. people to deal with them more precisely and according to their procedures. He is anxious that no hint should be given to anyone about the quantum of help that we might get from the Soviets. The fact that the Soviets will help us will certainly be known and should be known, but no figure should be mentioned or even hinted at as this may come in his way elsewhere.

I hope you and your team are keeping well and profiting by your new experiences. Here in Delhi we are in the grip of the hot weather. Pantji returned this afternoon to his house from the Willingdon Nursing Home.<sup>10</sup> He is keeping really well. Of course he will have to take absolute rest at his house for some considerable time more.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 162. To K.P.S. Menon: Soviet Aid for the Third Plan<sup>11</sup>

May 24, 1959

My dear K.P.S.,

I enclose a letter to Sardar Swaran Singh which please deliver to him.<sup>12</sup>

We had your report of the talks Sardar Swaran Singh had with Khrushchev.<sup>13</sup> I think all this is to the good. I see that later you and Mahalanobis<sup>14</sup> met some

9. Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs to handle India's external financial relations.

10. G. B. Pant suffered a mild heart attack on 21 April 1959.

11. Letter to the Indian Ambassador to the USSR. File No. 17(124)/56-57- PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

12. See item 161, pp. 410-411.

13. See item 161, fn 8.

14. P. C. Mahalanobis.

members of the Planning Commission there. These explanations of our future Plan will be helpful, but in so far as definite proposals are to be made about the help to be given by the Soviet to us for our Third Plan, I think that the next stage should be on the official level, that is, B.K. Nehru should deal with it, as he is dealing with the Western side. The approaches on both sides have to be similar and coordinated. B.K. is now returning to Washington from Delhi via Paris and London. He thinks that we shall have to come to close quarters with this subject of aid from the U.S. by the end of September or early October so as to give them time to go through their various processes, which are fairly complicated. That means that we shall have to have some skeleton plan by then with even some details worked out.

It is all to the good that it is known that the Soviet might help us for our Third Plan, but it is important that no hint should be given about the quantum of help that the Soviet will give us. If this is known, on the American side, it may affect our talks there. Therefore, this should be kept completely secret.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **163. To Mohan Lal Saksena: Birla House for the Dalai Lama<sup>15</sup>**

May 28, 1959

My dear Mohan Lal,  
Your letter of May 25th.

We are not meeting at Ooty to consider the special question of cooperatives. We are discussing the approach to the Third Five Year Plan.<sup>16</sup>

You refer to Birla House being engaged for the Dalai Lama and his party. You seem to think that we had a large choice for houses and we should have chosen some other so as to avoid giving publicity to the Birlas. I do not see where publicity comes in this particular matter. It was after examining what possibilities there were that we took the Birla House as suitable for the purpose. It is not merely a question of the house, but where it is situated and how far security arrangements could be made there.

The Planning Commission has not prepared any final paper on resources for the Third Plan. There are innumerable papers being prepared from day to

15. Letter to Saksena, Congressman from UP and former Union Minister for Rehabilitation.

16. See item 164, pp. 413-422.

day and, more especially, each Division is carrying out very special and detailed studies.

We were all very happy to have had your wife and children in our house the other day.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 164. To Ootacamund Seminar<sup>17</sup>

We have met here at this delectable spot<sup>18</sup> to carry on some work that we had been doing and which was started at the instance of Shri Dhebarbhai, when he was Congress President. As you know, he is still in charge of it and is conducting the work of the Planning Committee. I think it was a very happy idea of his to have the Seminar here because, inevitably, meeting for a day or two in Delhi usually with so many other activities, it is difficult to concentrate one's mind continuously for any period. Now we meet here and we shall no doubt discuss various aspects of the problems before us. I hope that, progressively, we shall deal more with the practical aspects rather than with the theoretical. I do not, by any means, think that the theoretical approach can be by-passed. It is important that we should have clear ideas but the fact remains that there is a tendency always for theorising, for being rather idealistic in the things to be said. What is perhaps more important is the practical thing to be done and, if I may say so, to be done in relatively short and fixed periods of time. What I mean is, so far as the distant goal is concerned, I really do not know how the wisest man in the world can put down any distant goal for his country or his people. The world changes so rapidly and, in my own life time, it has changed so tremendously and not politically so much but for other reasons, for other things. Almost every word that I heard in my boyhood has changed its context and its meaning today. All the text book economics of the 19th century, good as they might have been, have only a historic importance today, because not only the people's thinking has grown but facts have outpaced them. You may describe

17. Inaugural address, Planning Committee Seminar, Ootacamund (Ooty), 30 May 1959. File No. G-36, AICC Papers, NMML.

18. The seminar was held in the ballroom of the Arranmore Palace, now "Tamizhagam."

the facts as you like but it is a good thing to refer to the change of these facts by the tremendous bang of the atom bomb, the energy behind it and all that. It is good to realise that entirely new forces have been let loose and are at man's disposal, which necessarily make a difference to our thinking. Therefore, any firm fixed approach, which does not take into consideration these dynamic changes that are taking place, leads us to blind alleys. I am not personally so constituted as to make a doctrinaire approach to almost any problem. My approach is almost pragmatic, apart from certain basic assumptions, certain basic objectives that one has to strive for. This is more especially so in the present age of tremendous change.

### **Content of Socialism**

Now, we discuss what are the contents of a socialistic society. It is a very important thing to discuss. Yet my mind does not function that way. Broadly, of course, we know we want a society in which everybody has equal opportunity, everybody can go ahead, everybody has a rising standard of living, where power is not concentrated and so on and so forth. But the moment you go much further than that – in theory you may – you are trying to imprison your system for the future. We do not know what other things we will have, what are the forces at our disposal. What the world will be? What our neighbours will be? We are apt, in our thinking, to assume that the world will continue as it is. Now that is not necessarily a correct assumption. When we think about the context of the socialistic society, we should give some framework to our thinking. But we should immediately come down to specific things. How are we to raise the standard of living of our people as rapidly as we can? How are we to approach this objective of everybody having the same opportunity etc.? Why I say this is this. In effect, we may be thinking the same thing but we must think in practical and not in emotional terms. We tend immediately to get into an emotional approach to the problem – emotions are good – but then you start arguing about emotions or the emotional approach instead of practical things. How, today, it is patent that there can be no approach to either socialist society or to any other advanced society without certain material progress being made in India, without our production going up tremendously and being utilised rightly, without – in the final analysis, if I may say so – our food production going up. It is amazing how at the present moment in India the vital, basic importance of agricultural production and, more specially food production, is the one firm thing on which everything has to rest. But it does not mean that other things are not important. They are very important. But the other things do not come into the picture. Therefore, while we should discuss all these matters in all their aspects, we



should try to come to grips with the immediate problems that we have to face.

### **Approach to Third Plan**

We talk about the approach to the Third Five-Year Plan which is very important of course, and we have been thinking about it now, say, for about a year at least, if not more. Now, that approach necessarily has something to do obviously with the objectives we aim at. But, I suppose, if you put down the objectives broadly, nobody here and very few people outside will disagree with the broader objectives, though not with the details about it. The differences come in as to what exactly we should do in the practical approach and what priorities we are to give. As the President just said, if we list and insist on doing a hundred things, the chances are that our thinking and activities will be spread out. Everybody will try to do everything. We have to concentrate if we want to achieve anything—one or two of them—and so we draw up the five-year plan which has necessarily to be more definite, more precise and which deals with the actual things to be done. In our First Five-Year Plan and our Second Plan, the general directions given about the future were, I think, quite good. We should add to them, if necessary. But the fact remains that the work of the Third Five-Year Plan will be not so much in the generalisation of that Plan, which of course should be there—naturally we have to generalise—but in the specific, coordinated plan that is placed before the country and before the world. Obviously, the Plan means something that is developing, growing, resources growing, the implementation of our objectives coming up and so on.

### **Resources**

When we think of our resources, we have to think not of the resources as they are today but as they develop from day to day as the Plan progresses. If our Plan does not increase our resources, the Plan fails, the Plan is futile, however good it may be. The main purpose of the Plan is to develop our resources and thereby help us to achieve certain objectives. So the Third Plan will have to be a more precisely dovetailed instrument of what we have to do and how we have to develop the resources and build up the foundations. That is, it will have to be something which looks a little far ahead. It might be called Perspective Planning. When you deal with these things, a five-year period has no particular meaning. We have to look further ahead—not in details—but we have to look ahead, 10 years, 15 years, whatever it may be, then come back to the five years and then come back not to the five years but to one year and to know what to do in the next years and try to do it to the best of our ability. Otherwise, we will be

spreading ourselves out and possibly not getting the full benefit of the time and energy spent by us. Now, we come to whatever we may discuss and decide. Ultimately the specific things, which you can say, have to be done in the next 12 months, in the 12 months afterwards and so on and so forth.

### Preparation for the Plan

Before the five-year plan, the preparation of it does not emerge out of somebody's head like Minerva or something out of the head of Zeus. It is the natural resultant of what we have done. We act up to it. If we do not go up to that stage, then we cannot jump over it, we will remain where we are. Therefore we have to build up from today for the five-year plan of our conception and every step has to be linked on to it. Everything has to be thought of in practical terms, apart from theory. Now many people are sitting here, Chief Ministers, the Deputy Chairman

*Counting the Chicks*



*The Congress's Plan Seminar at Ooty arrived at a third Plan outlay of Rs. 10,000 crores yielding an additional 6% national income.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 14 JUNE 1959)

of the Planning Commission<sup>19</sup> and others on whom the burden will fall of giving it practical shape. It will not be enough for me or for them to deliver a speech on the ideals and theories but they have to carry it out practically and they have to carry it out in a way, naturally, which is broadly acceptable to the people. There are limits beyond which you cannot force the people under our Constitution. I do not want to force them, of course. Therefore, we have to think of all these aspects.

### **Major Considerations**

There are two or three major considerations we have to keep in mind. One is, naturally that we have to face a situation where fairly rapid advance had not become a matter of choice for us, but is thrown upon us by circumstances and by the compulsion of events. If we do not do that, well, we simply run the risk or danger of sinking in midstream. That aspect has to be borne in mind. It is not a choice so much of going at three miles an hour or four miles an hour or five miles an hour. If I may put it in that way, unless you go at a certain speed, something overtakes you and overwhelms you. If you are trying to escape, let us say, from the incoming tide, you have to go at a certain pace. Otherwise, the incoming tide overwhelms you. If you say, "I will go in a leisurely way", it does not help. The tide is coming. Therefore there is a certain element of speed and compulsion of events about this. The compulsion comes from various factors, partly from the growth of the population; partly from the very legitimate desires of the people to get rid of their sufferings and poverty and their disabilities, but partly also from social factors, economic factors, population factors etc. The compulsion is there. Well, how are we to do it? After all, there are, whatever the compulsions may be, certain other obvious compulsions or limitations. We cannot indulge in wishful thinking. That is where I suppose the essence of planning comes in. How far we can do it and give practical shape to these wishes and so on. That requires a certain background in the country, preparation of the people who are trained to do it, and resources and all that.

### **The Trained Human Being**

In the final analysis, I believe, in any country the only basic resource is the trained human being. Almost everything follows from that. Of course other resources are necessary. But the trained human being is the basic thing in a

19. V. T. Krishnamachari.

country. We see countries which have been devastated in war being built up in a short time because of this trained human being and hard work put by these groups of human beings. And training is a thing which takes time – especially the training of the specific individuals who have to perform trained tasks. Looking at it from that point of view, the most important thing becomes education at all grades and at all stages.

We should get trained men to do the job. If I have to say in one word what is wrong with agriculture in India, I would say it is the complete lack of anything that might be called scientific agriculture. When I say that, I do not mean big tractors and all that, not at all, and not high mechanisation too. I say it is the lack of our people utilising the simplest forms of scientific agriculture. That means training all over becomes essential. You can give priority to it, if you like.

### **Giving Relief**

Planning will mean trying to make out what are first and second steps leading to certain goals upto the point where the process becomes more or less automatic, self-generating etc. Now while we do all these, we have to think of the people generally. What I mean is, both from the point of view of what we do—being right in itself—and from the point of view of the feelings of the people, you have to give them relief. Relief where? What are the essential things in which you can give them relief so that they may have a sensation of their conditions being bettered, of their going ahead. You cannot ignore that and while you should see that you have to go through a period of difficulty, austerity, abstinence—call it what you like—in order to build for the future. It is rather odd for us to go to a poor man who has always lived at the margin of subsistence and talk to him about austerity. It looks very odd. We have to give him something. We can't give him much till we make good in other fields. But something we have to give. What are those minimum requirements that we should supply to him? That is important. I think that these matters should be calculated precisely, not in a general way, of course, because everybody can calculate in a general way. All these things require that we state precisely what in the next twelve months, what in the next 24 months we should try to do. What I suggest is that before the Third Plan begins we prepare far in advance of the Third Plan what the Third Plan should provide as the minimum of things required by the people in this country. Therefore, if I may respectfully suggest to you having covered the grounds of idealistic approach to these problems which are important, you should immediately get down to the practical problems, and what we ought to do within fixed periods of time.

### **Definite Targets**

The next question of course is the preparation for the Five-Year Plan, which is going on in various ways and which has made, I believe, some progress, that is, in so far as a coordinated approach to the various aspects—industry, agriculture and all the rest, transport, education and trained human beings etc.—is concerned; we have to see the entire picture; probably, I am afraid, we are not in a position to see the entire picture of it. Then the other most important thing is, I repeat, those precise things that, within a period of time we should do. In the Five-Year Plan, too, I think it will be important that definite targets should be laid down for every twelve months. In regard to the facilities and conveniences that we give to the public, we should try to give to the public the achievements in various stages. There is no difference of opinion about many important and basic things. The difficulty comes in implementing those things about which we agree.

### **Spirit of Work**

Take agriculture. Surely, everybody knows what should be done to agriculture. I am not at the moment going into the cooperatives etc., which, of course, are important. But I would say how to treat the land. Everybody knows, how the yield per acre can increase, whether it is proper regulated water-supply or better seeds or contour-bunding or fertilizer or green manure or compost, if you make a list of it. You are all making a list again and again. Everybody can do it. There is the entire 100 per cent agreement. We know what should be done. Then the discussion part comes in. How to get things done? It can only be done not by exhortations from above, but by doing it and by the farmer realising or knowing what to do and by somehow doing away with the gap that exists between the administrative apparatus and the agriculturist or the apparatus of those who give good advice and those who do it. There is that gap between those who give good advice, whether they are in the administration or outside the administration and the farmer who does it. The farmer can be helped in many ways. But I feel the best way to help the farmer is to do the job oneself, before his eyes, with him or without him, for him to see. When I come back to this, the whole success and failure of all our planning hangs by that single thread of our agricultural production and, specially, food production. I have no doubt in my mind that agricultural production and food production are going to go up very fast and I am convinced about it. I feel I am convinced that these things are going to happen I cannot say in percentages. But in fact, for a variety of reasons, I say this that at long last, our government apparatus has realised this. The top

officials did not concentrate on it as they should have done. Officials and others did their day's work without the spirit of doing it. Whether it is day or night, they have to do it. They have to work all night if necessary. They have to do it with that kind of spirit. Then the farmer, I think, is realising it too. That is much more important. He is realising it and so, on both sides, this realisation having come, there is also a third thing. The gap that I talked about between the advising apparatus, the exhorting apparatus and the functioning apparatus, is lessening. That too is an important factor. I think that whatever the failings that we have seen—they are many—in the Community Development organisation, it has done a very big job of work, a very big piece of work. But taking all in all, it has done a very big job of work in awakening the spirit of the farmer, not in the building of roads. I say so with definite qualifications. But, nevertheless, it has done a big job and it is coming to grips. There again it depends on the human factor, not on our resolutions or my decision. It depends on the human factor. How does the Block Development Officer function, how does the Gram Sevak function: these are the lynch-pins, not the top persons issuing orders or circulars and questionnaires.

Now we come to what the Nagpur Session put forward and which no doubt you have considered.

### **Nagpur Resolutions**

Now we come to what the Nagpur session put forward and which no doubt you have considered.

The first resolution is, of course, about giving a great direction about planning, which shows the way in which you should think and go. Quite rightly, again without dogmatising, without a doctrinaire approach, without making a rigid approach, it has nevertheless indicated the broad line of approach. Then there is the second major resolution which was about the land reform, cooperatives and the like, which is of very great importance. And we have to go ahead with it. Now we talk about cooperatives and discuss them in various ways. Again we come to the basic point of trained human material. Unless that training is given our experiment may not succeed. No such experiment succeeds by itself. It is the human beings who work it, who have to be trained for it, apart from the basic conditions of character and all that, which we seek to give through educational processes. Now, take these cooperatives. The position, I understand, is this: There are only two States at present and may be, two and a half States, if I may use that word, which are relatively advanced in this matter—Madras, Bombay and half Andhra, which used to be Madras. (Laughter) The cooperative

movement has got a firm foundation only in these States. I have no doubt they may be good. What about the others? I do not know. The first thing that others have to do is to train people in cooperation. No amount of propaganda will do good. It is only by example that we can convince others. Therefore, it becomes a question of setting up these cooperatives, widely distributed over the country. The farmer can see how they are functioning. Not one or two. There will have to be a large number, at least one in each Block in the country. Concentrate on that, concentrate in the right way, not in the official way; but the people have to choose good areas, good blocks, good group of villages and so on. Anyhow what I am venturing to suggest is that this Seminar will have to come to grips with specific things that can be done in the space of one year, two years and three years and give them that priority. Something has to be done. Suppose we want to train men for cooperatives, it has to be done. And the State that does not do it fails in that measure. May be, I am not, in that sense, very practical. But I have no sensation, or very little sensation, of having to face an impossible task. I don't have that sensation. I think it is a difficult task, but a task that can be faced with some confidence of achievement. I think we can achieve and I think we will achieve it, if we try hard enough naturally and if we pull our weight. Our attention is diverted so much to the minor issues, important as they may be. Nevertheless they are minor issues. We cannot concentrate our thinking on everything. It would be, I take it, one of the tasks of this Seminar to concentrate on the major things and not on too many other things. Now one aspect we have decided; we have firmly resolved to encourage the cooperative movement in this country and to have service cooperatives leading up ultimately to joint farming in those cooperatives and ceilings etc., just one aspect about this. We do this not only because we think that this is a better way of organising, a more just and equitable way, but also because, finally, it produces more. That is the test. We cannot get over it. That is the final test. Now, inevitably, we have to realise that normally any changeover for the moment may cause a setback in production. It is an important factor to remember. If you fail by that test, we have a setback not only for the practical reason that a setback is harmful. Even for psychological reasons, it is still more harmful. That aspect has to be considered carefully, namely, that the steps taken do not force a set back in production. There may be forces—there are forces—which will work for such set backs just to show that the new policy one is pursuing is wrong. There may be forces which may come just to show that the new policy ought to fail. We have to face that too. But anyhow, we have to keep in view that a purely rigid approach in any of these matters does not lead to even a temporary set-back which will rather produce bad results. I trust and hope that our labours will be

productive of helpful thinking and take all of us forward in the direction in which we should go.<sup>20</sup>

## 165. Interview<sup>21</sup>

### MEASURES TO AUGMENT FOOD OUTPUT NEHRU STRESSES VALUE OF NEW METHODS & CO-OP. FARMING

London,  
May 31

Mr. Nehru today expressed confidence that India's critical food situation could be saved by co-operative farming and new methods. In an interview with the left-wing Sunday newspaper, *Reynolds News*, he said, he supported the recommendations of the recent Ford Foundation report on Indian agriculture that large-scale credit to farmers be extended through co-operatives instead of through money-lenders.

"The (Ford Foundation) report calls for a target of 110 million tons of food by 1965, when we are likely to have 480 million people", Mr. Nehru was quoted as saying. "Already, our principal activity in India today is in the agricultural field. We are giving it top priority. We are approaching each farmer with offers of good seeds and knowledge of new methods. Our developing irrigation schemes will help."

The Prime Minister said: "We have not utilised our resources properly. The water in the new canals has not been fully used because channels have not been dug to the villages."

20. In a discussion on 30 May, Pitambar Pant, argued that industrial production was the priority, as surpluses generated in that sector alone could finance expansion in health and education. Nehru objected: "For productive enterprise, you want trained men. The whole point is that sometimes people seem to think that you can step up the production enterprise at the expense of education." Following a desultory debate on savings, Santhanam questioned the profitability of the public sector. Nehru came back with his usual claims that "the public enterprises are far more economic than private enterprise in India"; that "all our major industries, almost everyone of them is making a profit"; that "Pimpri gives a crore of rupees"; "It is astounding how the private enterprise works, how wasteful it is, how inefficient it is"; that there could be gestation period of about two or three years when a plant may not produce, but no negative inferences should be drawn from that. Subramaniam backed up Nehru fully thus: "For example, our electricity production schemes are all in the public sector. They are yielding a surplus and quite a large surplus too."

21. Interview to *Reynolds News*, 31 May 1959. Report from *The Hindu*, 1 June 1959.



### Encouragement of Small Industries

He also said: "Every village should have a multi-purpose cooperative. I have no doubt it could provide fair-price shops, first stocking basic essentials such as seeds and fertilizers. The next step would be for these shops to deal in other goods too. Almost all our land is private. Most of our industries are private and we want to encourage private ownership in every way with regard to small industries.

"Only big basic industries—steel, power machines, machine tools, transport—these must be publicly owned", Mr. Nehru said.

### Population Control

In the *Sunday Times* of London, Sir Julian Huxley,<sup>22</sup> praised the steps now being taken to curb India's vast population increases.

In a signed article, he said: "It is urgent for India to cope with her double problem of population and economic development, not merely for her own sake but for that of the world at large. World population is increasing faster than ever before—the rate is now 1.6 per cent a year—and will certainly double itself within a mere 50 years.

"The faster the increase, the more explosively dangerous will be its economic and social repercussions. Anything that gives a hope of any sort of control of this runaway reproduction will be exceedingly important. India's failure will be discouraging to the world at large, and for herself will mean increasing poverty and frustration and eventually a trend of totalitarianism; success will give her leadership in Asia, and will encourage other underdeveloped countries, such as Indonesia and Ceylon, to follow a similar course."

Sir Julian Huxley also said: "Of course, determined efforts should also be made to increase food and industrial production and to raise the level of health and education; but these efforts should be directed not at the hopeless aim of winning a never-ending race with population, but at achieving a proper balance between human numbers and economic and social development, a moving equilibrium between resources and the satisfaction of the people who enjoy them."

22. Biologist and Fellow of the Royal Society.

He praised the “brilliant commendatory speech” made by Mr. Nehru before the sixth International Planned Parenthood Conference earlier this year.<sup>23</sup> He also commended Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President, for his “equally encouraging closing address” on the problem.

## 166. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Cotton Trade with Egypt and Sudan<sup>24</sup>

8th June, 1959

My dear Lal Bahadur,  
Madan Mohan Ruia<sup>25</sup> came to see me today and told me about his troubles abroad and, more especially, about the position that had arisen in Egypt. He said that the Egyptian Government was prepared to sell their cotton to us in exchange for our goods which means our non-conventional goods. This would involve no foreign exchange element for us. This would mean really a continuation of our deal of last year.

Your Ministry, however, apparently does not approve of this; the reason given being that Sudan might be annoyed if we take more cotton from Egypt, than we do from Sudan. Of course, in the case of Sudan we have to pay in foreign exchange.

I have not gone into this matter closely, but prima facie my reaction is that we should enter into this agreement with Egypt. You will, of course, be seeing Ruia yourself and you can tell me how you feel about this.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 519-525.

24. Letter.

25. President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, 1959, and the International Chamber of Commerce, India, 1956 and 1959-60.

## 167. American Retail Trade in India<sup>26</sup>

I have received a note from the Planning Commission on the subject of marketing facilities for village and small industries.<sup>27</sup> Apparently, there is a proposal of an American firm to set up departmental stores and to stimulate manufacture by local small entrepreneurs.

2. I do not remember having seen this proposal previously. But, *prima facie*, the proposal seems to me quite extraordinary from our point of view. The idea that an American firm should set up departmental stores in India is very odd indeed. I hope that no commitment will be made in this matter till it is more fully discussed at a meeting of the Planning Commission.<sup>28</sup>

## 168. To MEA: Soviet Aid for the Third Plan<sup>29</sup>

The new Soviet Ambassador, Mr I.A. Benediktov,<sup>30</sup> has just been to see me. He gave me a letter from Mr Khrushchev which I am sending you in original and an English translation.

2. In this letter reference is made to the help that the Soviet Government propose to give us for our Third Five Year Plan.<sup>31</sup> I have not fully grasped the significance of these figures. They will have to be examined more fully. Meanwhile I am sending copies of this letter to the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel.<sup>32</sup>

26. Note, 9 June 1959. File No. 17(139)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
27. Nehru copied this Note to the Minister of Commerce and Industry, calling the proposal "strange"; he copied it also to Subimal Dutt the same day, with the sharper comment: "I dislike entirely this proposal."
28. Vishnu Sahay noted on 10 June "(This was the view taken here also)", implying the Planning Commission. For Summary Record of Planning Commission meeting, 2 June 1959. See Appendix 19.
29. Note to N. R. Pillai, the Secretary General and Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 27 June 1959.
30. (b. 1902); Peoples's Commissar of Agriculture, 1938-43, 1946-47; Chairman, All-Union Agriculture Exhibition, 1938-53; Minister of Agriculture, 1947-53, 1953-55; Ambassador to India, 1953, 1959-67, to Yugoslavia, 1967-71; Minister of State Farms, 1955-57; Deputy Chairman, State Planning Committee, 1957-59; Member, Central Committee of CPSU, 1952.
31. For N. Khrushchev to Nehru, 15 June 1959, see Appendix 23 (a).
32. The three Ministers were, respectively, G. B. Pant, Morarji Desai, and Swaran Singh.

3. The Ambassador told me that Mr Khrushchev will have no objection to the publication of his letter to me at any time that I may consider this necessary.

4. I think you might send a copy of this letter to our Ambassador in Moscow.<sup>33</sup> I shall send an answer to it after we have fully considered its contents.

5. As for publication, I am not sure if this will be advisable at present. I remember Shri B.K. Nehru telling us that we should not give any publicity to the quantum of help that we might receive from the Soviet Union as this might interfere with his own negotiations in the United States and elsewhere.

6. A copy of this letter might also be sent to Shri B.K. Nehru and his own advice sought about publication.

### **169. To Gamal Abdel Nasser: Explaining the Third Plan to Nasser<sup>34</sup>**

June 28, 1959

My dear President Nasser,

As you know, our Ambassador in Cairo, R.K. Nehru, had come to India owing to the sad death of his father. As he is now returning to Cairo, I am giving him this message of greeting and good wishes to you.

During our Ambassador's stay here, I have had occasion to have some talks with him about various matters of common concern to the United Arab Republic and India. He has told us that you are greatly interested in planning. This is a subject which has occupied our minds very greatly, more especially during the past year. We are in the middle of our Second Five Year Plan, and the Third Plan will not even begin till 1961. But we have been thinking of the Third Plan and considering all aspects of it. Planning inevitably leads to looking at the country's development in some perspective. We have to be clear, without being rigid, about the objective aimed at, the kind of society we wish to create, and gradually work towards it. This, of course, is a long distance affair and will require several Five Year Plans. We realise that our approach should be flexible and adaptable to changing circumstances. We therefore avoid rigidity, but at the same time there has to be some clarity of outlook. We have to keep in mind always the rapidly growing population of our country. This population is probably over four hundred million now, and by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, that is, about seven years from now, it may well approach four hundred and eighty millions. We have thus to provide for this vast population.

33. K.P.S. Menon.

34. Letter to the President of the United Arab Republic.

We are convinced that any real development resulting in a marked increase of national wealth and noticeable higher standards of living can only be brought about by rapid industrialisation. This again leads to the conclusion that basic industries have to be organised because it is only then that other industries can develop with some rapidity. Thus we are laying stress on the development of iron & steel, big machine building, power and chemical and electronic industries. Transport naturally is important.

While we are laying stress on the industrial side, we realise that even more important is the development of agriculture and, more especially, of food production. We can make no adequate progress except on a sound agricultural basis and on producing enough food for our people. Therefore, the first stress today is on agricultural development and food production.

The objective aimed at is to break through the static economy of an under developed country and to develop a dynamic and, to a large extent, self-reliant and self-feeding economy. That will, no doubt, take some time, but we hope that by the end of the Third Plan we shall have made good progress towards this, and by the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan, we shall have largely achieved it.

We have studied these questions both from the physical and the financial points of view. Always we have had to keep in view the employment aspect because any large scale unemployment, as we have today, creates difficult social problems. Our Planning Commission and especially its Division of Perspective Planning has produced a large number of studies and papers as well as statistical analyses. Some of these have been given to our Ambassador as they might interest your Planning Department.

For the development of our agriculture, we have some major irrigation schemes, but we are really laying more stress now on a large number of minor schemes spread out all over the country. Our Community Development Movement, which covers now about 60 per cent of our villages, that is, over 300,000 villages, is directing all its energy towards better agriculture and more food production as well as small industries, in the rural areas.

We are also now aiming at a new structure of our rural economy. This is essentially meant to decentralise. Each village is to have a panchayat or a village council with considerable powers. This will deal with the administrative side of the village. The economic side will be dealt with by the village cooperative. Previously our cooperatives were meant for credit purposes only, but now we are making them multi-purpose so that they can deal with various services to help our farmers. Our present programme is to have these service cooperatives in every village. Where the village is a small one, two or three villages might be joined together. But generally we would prefer small cooperatives to large ones

as this brings about greater cohesion and sense of responsibility in the villagers.

Our ultimate aim is to have joint cultivation in the village, but I should like to make it clear that we are opposed to collectives. We aim at cooperative farming with the consent of the farmers. There is going to be no compulsion. In this cooperative farming, the ownership of land will remain with the farmers, even though the cultivation might be joint. They will share in the produce both on the basis of the land they possess and the labour they put in. We feel that this cooperative farming will not only develop our agriculture but will also help in developing village and small industries in the rural areas. One of the principal reasons for our wishing to encourage cooperative farming is because our average holding is a small one, between one and two acres. No progress is possible with such small holdings, but if they join together, then avenues for development open out.

Although we are in favour of this joint cooperative farming, for the present we are laying stress on service cooperatives. It is only where the farmers themselves desire joint cultivation that we encourage them to do so.

All these various avenues of development require higher standards of education. Therefore, we are faced with the problem of large scale development of primary and secondary education and of technical education.

I venture to indicate the lines of our thinking as perhaps they might interest you. The tasks that confront us are colossal, but we face them with a measure of confidence, realising however that we shall have to work very hard.

Ever since we learnt that there was a possibility of your coming to India this year, we have been looking forward to this visit. I realise that you have been heavily engaged and that the responsibilities you carry are great. I hope, however, that it will be possible for you to visit us some time this year. You will be very welcome.

I hope you are keeping good health.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**170. To Manubhai Shah: Soviet Aid for the Third Plan<sup>35</sup>**

June 28, 1959

My dear Manubhai,<sup>36</sup>

Thank you for your letter of June 25<sup>37</sup> and the note attached to it on the utilisation of long-term credits.<sup>38</sup> You have raised a number of points and it is rather difficult for me to deal adequately with each one of them. But I agree with your broad approach. I think that we should vary somewhat our present methods of global tenders, not only to save time which is important, but because of the nature of credits we are getting. In the case of U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, etc., it is clear that we cannot utilise their credits on global tenders.

In regard to Soviet collaboration, the projects you have mentioned are obviously of high importance. There is no reason why we should not take them up as early as possible. As a matter of fact, I have just had a letter from Mr. Khrushchev suggesting the amount of credit they can give us for the Third Plan. This amount is lesser than we had hoped for, but we were given to understand at one stage that this need not be considered a final amount and it would be added to later.

I understand that we are aiming at having some skeleton picture of the Third Plan ready in the next two months or so. In fact, without this picture, it is difficult to proceed with the business of getting credit. That should help us greatly in proceeding on the lines you suggest. But, even without this skeleton picture, we are pretty sure about some matters and we might well go ahead with them.

It would be a good thing for the cabinet to consider the broad approach that you have indicated and then have a small committee as you suggest.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. Letter. File No. 17(214)/56-57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

36. Union Minister of State for Commerce and Industry.

37. See Manubhai Shah to Nehru. Appendix 27.

38. It underlined that the main obstacle in the way of a speedier use of credits and consequent acceleration of the pace of industrial development of the country was the belief, that the most economic way to set about the establishment of a project was to invite tenders on a world-wise basis. Manubhai Shah argued that it was not always a correct and appropriate approach at a time when the availability of different types of foreign exchange was not the same and the time was of utmost importance.

## (b) Community Development, Cooperation, and Social Welfare

### 171. In the Central Hall of Parliament<sup>39</sup>

#### No Hesitant Approach to Cooperative Farming

New Delhi

May 3

Prime Minister Nehru today ruled out any "experimental or hesitant approach" to cooperative farming and called for going ahead full steam with the idea.

Pandit Nehru, who was speaking at the seminar on co-operative farming in the Central Hall of Parliament, said that while the approach to the question of cooperative farming had to be an "objective, scientific and flexible" one, there should be no thinking and rethinking on the question of introducing this system of farming.

"If you are approaching it in a hesitant, apologetic way, it is better not to approach it at all" he said, adding: "The world is not meant for the half-hearted and the weakened. It is better to be wrong and go full steam ahead than to be always thinking whether it is right or wrong."

The Prime Minister stressed the need for an "integrated approach" to land reforms, the population problems and the availability of land in the country.

The Nagpur resolution of the Congress, he said, was a resolution on land reforms and not on cooperative farming. "The idea is to evolve a higher form of social organization in rural areas which will help raise all round production and bring about general uplift of the masses", he said.

Referring to replacement of primitive methods of agriculture by modern methods, the Prime Minister said that to work singly was also a primitive method. "When you join hands and cooperate, the yield will be doubled and trebled."

#### Waste of land

He said that the broad approach to cooperative farming was now accepted by almost everybody. The doubts came on whether the cultivator would accept it and whether it would not take away the incentive from him.

"Whether the peasant would accept it or not", said Pandit Nehru, "would depend on how you put it to him and what the results of co-operative farming

39. Report of speech, 3 May 1959. From *National Herald*, 4 May 1959.



are. This would be the final test for the peasant. If the results are good, he will certainly accept it."

Pandit Nehru drew a line of demarcation between co-operative farming and collective farming and said that cooperation did not mean collectivisation. "We are not thinking in terms of huge mechanised farms. There are small mechanisation which can be fruitfully utilised by the farmers in India. If these mechanisations have to be used then there must be some institutional framework to adopt them."

The cooperative system of farming provided that framework, he added.

Pandit Nehru deplored the wastage of land in India and said that if figures were collected the total land wastage here would run into millions of acres. "We are a very wasteful people. When we travel by train we find lot of land lying on both sides of the railway line unused. This sort of thing does not happen in other countries."

The wastage of land in marking boundaries, he said, was also considerable. One of the advantages of cooperative farming would be that this wastage would be eliminated."

The only alternative to co-operative farming, said Pandit Nehru, was big landlordism. "Since we have ruled out the latter, we are naturally left only with the course of cooperation."

Co-operative farming had the various advantages of small ownership and at the same time the advantages of a larger area to work on, he added.

### **National Pattern**

Speaking at the Seminar, Mr. Shriman Narayan, member of the Planning Commission, said that cooperation must be made the national pattern in India, "It should be taken out of party politics and everyone should join in making it a national undertaking on a national plane."

Mr. T.N. Singh, MP said that reactionary elements were trying to retard the progress of agrarian reforms and some sort of a "counter revolution in the agricultural sphere is being attempted."

If co-operation in India failed, the entire economy of the country would fail, he said.

Mrs. Sushila Nayar, said that the cultivator should be first given the ownership of land and then offered the system of cooperative farming so that he could feel that the land belonged to him. She also pleaded for giving the option to kisans to withdraw from the cooperatives.

Other members of Parliament who spoke at the seminar included Mr. R.K. Khadilkar, Mr. U.C. Patnaik and Mr. P.J. Thomas.

## 172. To Cooperators<sup>40</sup>

### SERVICE CO-OPS. NEHRU FAVOURS SMALL UNITS STEP TO ENSURE EFFICIENCY

New Delhi,  
May 5.

Prime Minister Nehru today favoured smaller units for service cooperatives in which the village community could organise its economic life with full participation of all members and a full sense of mutual obligation.

Mr. Nehru who was addressing here a batch of cooperative instructors attending a basic training course in cooperation organised by the All India Cooperative Union at Chandranagar in Gurgaon district, said that the small village society with membership composed of persons who knew each other and who understood and appreciated each other's needs would be able to function effectively as a service cooperative. It was the idea of the Congress that in as short a time as possible the whole country might be covered by such service cooperatives.

The Prime Minister said that while a large-sized society may have certain advantages, the future pattern of organisation should be on the basis of the smaller area comprising a village, where people knew each other and could work together as a homogenous group for common economic and social purposes. Certain exceptions may have to be made in respect of tribal areas or in areas where people were economically backward. Where societies with a larger area than a village were working successfully they might be allowed to continue to do so.

#### Unions of Service Co-ops.

Mr. Nehru said that large size might have the economies arising from the scale of operation; but this, he felt, would be at the sacrifice of basic co-operative principles. It was in order to preserve the advantages of large scale operation as well as the benefits of working together in smaller coherent groups that the suggestion had been made that village societies, ten or fifteen in number, might join to form a union for various purposes requiring large scale operation.

The Prime Minister said that the service co-operatives to be formed in the country had in the long run to keep in view the ultimate goal of joint farming.

40. Report of speech at Gurgaon, 5 May 1959. From *The Hindu*, 6 May 1959.

This was of course to be purely on a voluntary basis. Joint farming did not mean liquidation of individual ownership; but ownership would be in the form of a share in the society on which a dividend would be paid.

The Prime Minister said that in the past, the cooperative departments were too rigid and wooden in their attitude to the cooperative movement and this had retarded the development of the movement along right lines in the last 50 years. If cooperation was to function as a people's movement there had to be a complete change in the mental attitude and the manner in which the cooperative movement had been sought to be spread among the people till now.

### 173. To Bimalchandra Sinha: Explaining the Nagpur Resolution on Cooperatives<sup>41</sup>

May 8, 1959,

Dear Bimalchandrajji,

I am sorry for the little delay in answering your letter of April 27th.<sup>42</sup> I have been very busy during these last days of our present Parliament Session.

The Nagpur Resolution of the Congress laid down the broad principles.<sup>43</sup> It could not enter into minor details. These are being worked out in various ways by the Planning Commission and the State Governments and separately by the Congress organisation. Indeed, in the A.I.C.C. which is going to take place in Delhi in two days' time, this will be one of the subjects for discussion.

While broad principles are laid down, no rigid framework is sought to be established. There has to be flexibility in dealing with differing conditions in various parts of India.

The broad approach is of service cooperatives which, we hope, will progressively lead to cooperative farming. So far as service cooperatives are concerned, this is a well recognised method practised by progressive farmers all over the world. Joint cultivation is only one step further.

The very essence of cooperatives is their voluntary character. Compulsion and cooperation are contraries. But, of course, we have every right to explain and even give some inducements. While service cooperatives are desirable in all conditions, they become quite essential where the holdings are small. A small farmer or agriculturist is economically and otherwise too weak to make

41. Letter to the Revenue Minister, West Bengal.

42. As reported in *The Hindu* of 19 May and in the *National Herald* of 20 May 1959, Bimalchandra argued that these cooperatives would not benefit landless labourers."

43. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 173-74.

any progress. What our agriculture requires today are better methods of cultivation. Ultimately, these can only come by widespread education and knowledge of these better methods. Unless we adopt these new methods, our agriculture will remain utterly backward, as it is today.

When I say better methods, I do not mean tractors and too much mechanical equipment. I am not opposed to tractors, but, in the nature of things, they will be used only in a limited way. What we require are better ploughs and small farming implements, better seeds, fertilisers, manure, etc. on the one hand and proper credit and marketing facilities on the other. Small farms cannot easily avail themselves of this. A cooperative can. Thus, service cooperatives are inevitable for greater production and, therefore, a greater income of the farmer. In addition, we raise our farming to a higher social as well as technical level.

In service cooperatives, the holdings remain as they are, that is, there is no merger. Not only the ownership, but the separateness continues.

In the case of joint cultivation, the boundaries between fields disappear, thus adding to the cultivated area. The ownership of the land still remains, but it is in the nature of a certain share in the total land in the village cooperative. The farmer gets paid in two ways, one, his share as an owner, and two, by the work he does on the land. If he is not working on the land, then he will only get the former. Probably all or nearly all the farmers will be self-cultivating and there will be no need for others to be taken in. But if there is need for a non-owning person, he will be given the normal wage according to work done.

If a farmer who has joined a joint cultivation cooperative, wishes to leave it, this may be allowed subject to certain considerations. He may be allowed to leave it, let us say, after three years, because it would be rather absurd for people coming and going at frequent periods and, secondly, he should be given compensation for the land he had there. It might even be possible for him to be given the same quantity of land as he owned, though it will be difficult to give identical land.

If as a result of ceilings, there is surplus land, this will vest in the Panchayats, but, in actual practice, I suppose, the farmers who cultivate it will profit by it. In effect, it will be in charge of the cooperative. This can be treated in any convenient way; that would depend on the quantity. Under joint cultivation, there will be no difficulty whatever. Even otherwise, that land may be jointly treated and shared in.

There is no particular conflict in having a part of the land in joint cultivation and a part not.

The Panchayat would only be a kind of trustee. It will not actually manage the lands. That will be the business of the cooperative.

I am writing rather briefly and in a hurry, and I am sure I have not covered

every aspect of the problem. The point is that the main principles should be kept in view and adapted to changing circumstances. For the present, we are laying stress on service cooperatives.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**174. To S. K. Dey : Working Group on Cooperation<sup>44</sup>**

May 16, 1959

My dear Dey,

Your letter of May 15th suggesting the formation of a Working Group to study cooperative farming. If you think such a group is necessary now, you may have it. I would have preferred a somewhat smaller group, but you are the best judge of this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**175. To Sudhir Ghosh: No Fragmentation<sup>45</sup>**

May 24, 1959

Dear Sudhir,

I have your letter of the 24th May and have read your note on Cooperatives. The various activities you have mentioned appear to me desirable.<sup>46</sup> But you seem to suggest that we should have a multitude of separate cooperatives for each activity. I should have thought that a multi-purpose cooperative in a village

44. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Community Development. File No. 31(93)/59-70-PMS.

45. Letter. Sudhir Ghosh Papers. Also available in JN Collection.

46. Sudhir Ghosh suggested multiple cooperative societies embracing 500 to 1000 villages each, both to demonstrate effectiveness on a large enough scale, and to generate local leaderships as Gandhi had visualised. These would be for: (i) tube wells to irrigate five to ten lakh acres for two crops a year; (ii) seed farms; (iii) small fertilizer factories; (iv) cattle breeding farms; (v) forestation; (vi) small factories for agricultural equipment; (vii) small industries; (viii) artisanal training through small engineering works; (ix) rural housing; (x) drinking water; (xi) health care; (xii) schooling; and (xiii) the promotion of local culture.

will be better though some separate functional cooperatives will no doubt be desirable.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 176. To Choudhuri Lahri Singh: No Coercion in Cooperation<sup>47</sup>

June 30, 1959

My dear Choudhuri Lahri Singh,<sup>48</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 18th June and the note on joint farming cooperatives which you have sent. I have read this note with interest. I am sending it on to our Minister for Cooperation, Shri S.K. Dey. We shall welcome further ideas from you and a more detailed scheme. You can send this directly to S.K. Dey with a copy to me.

Right at the beginning of your note, you say that formerly food production exceeded the country's requirements. I do not quite know what you mean by "formerly". But, some time before the Partition, I think we had to import a good deal of rice from Burma.

You say that the principle of cooperative farming is a novel one. This is, to some extent, true, but there have been and are instances of such cooperative farming in India. The people who are opposing us today in that matter are deliberately or unconsciously perverting what we are proposing. They talk about compulsory collectives. First of all, we have no intention of having collective farming. I am opposed to it in the conditions in India. Secondly, there is no question of compulsion. I am sure that if we applied compulsion, that would be bad and lead to failure. Thirdly, we are not taking away property rights. It is true that these rights will become a share in a cooperative farm, but the right will remain. There may even be rules regulating a member of the cooperative farm leaving it. This cannot be permitted easily as people could then play about, come in and go out just as they like. But, subject to various considerations, this can be permitted.

I agree that we should put forward well thought out schemes for the education of the public and an intensive campaign should be carried out. This

47. Letter. File No. 31(93)/59-70-PMS.

48. (1901-81); Bhartiya Jan Sangh politician from Punjab; MLA Punjab, 1946-61; Minister in Punjab Government, 1946-55; Lok Sabha MP, 1962-67.

in fact is being attempted to be done. I do not think it is absolutely necessary for a uniform system everywhere, we should allow flexibility.

I have laid stress everywhere on the importance of training people for cooperation.

You suggest that a cooperative farm should cover not more than 100 to 150 acres and not the whole village. This is not a matter of principle but of convenience. I do not think that we should insist on a village having only one cooperative farm. It may have more than one if the village is a large one. But I am inclined to think that there is a certain advantage in a village being considered as a unit. That would depend upon the size of the village. Most of the villages are rather small.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (c) Food and Agriculture

#### 177. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Cheddi Jagan's Rice for Namboodiripad<sup>49</sup>

May 3, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,

Some days ago I received your letter of the 22nd April with which you sent me some correspondence that had passed between you and Cheddi Jagan of British Guiana.<sup>50</sup> I referred this matter to our Food Minister.<sup>51</sup> He tells me that there is no point in your getting 5,000 tons of rice from British Guiana. Normally we get our rice from Burma. This is both cheaper and more easily available. Burma has had a very good crop this year and is anxious to sell it to us. Our own crop position has been very favourable. In any event, we shall stick to our traditional source of supply, that is, Burma. If we go out to another country, this will create misunderstanding with Burma.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

49. Letter. File No. 31(30/56-61-PMS). Also available in JN collection.

50. Minister of Trade and Industry in British Guiana (Guyana from 1966).

51. Ajit Prasad Jain.

**178. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Green Manure<sup>52</sup>**

May 8, 1959

My dear Ajit,

An M.S. Sivaraman, Adviser to the Planning Commission, who is an expert in green manures, has sent a letter to my Secretary.<sup>53</sup> He has marked it strictly confidential, but I like his writing because it shows his great enthusiasm for his special subject. He has done very fine work in Madras and I think that he should be encouraged in every way and we should try to follow his advice. I enclose a copy of his letter.<sup>54</sup> With this letter he has sent a note prepared by him for the Planning Commission dated 28th April. I suppose you have already got it, or else you can get it from the Planning Commission.<sup>55</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**179. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Southern Rice Zone<sup>56</sup>**

May 14, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I am sorry to learn that you have been unwell. I hope nothing serious is the matter with you.

I have received a note from Thakur Phool Singh. I am sending it to you.

I wanted to find out from you what the result of your talks with the Madras Ministers was. Did you suggest to them the proposal we had considered, that is, while the Southern Zone should continue, Madras should be excluded from

52. Letter. File No. 17(335)/59-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

53. C. R. Srinivasan.

54. For M. S. Sivaraman's letter to C. R. Srinivasan, 8 May 1959, see Appendix 5.

55. Although Sivaraman had not written to Nehru, Nehru wrote to him the same day: "I have read your letter of the 8th May addressed to my Secretary. I am glad you have written and I like your enthusiasm. I shall certainly read the note you have sent. Broadly I agree with you and I think we should try to act up to your advice." He also copied the letter and note to U. N. Dhebar.

56. Letter. File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.



it, but Madras should guarantee the supply of a certain quantity of Paddy or rice. I should like to know if you mentioned this to them and what their response was.<sup>57</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 180. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Reclaiming Waste Land<sup>58</sup>

May 15, 1959

My dear Ajit,

Your letter of May 15 in which you suggest that a Committee might be appointed to consider the question of reclamation of waste lands. It has apparently been suggested that there should be an All India enquiry by this Committee. I confess that I am a little allergic to this sort of all-India enquiry which takes a mighty long time and costs a good deal of money.

Is it necessary to have this all India enquiry at this stage? If it is true that a certain type of saline usar land can easily and without much expense be converted into cultivable land, then this process of reclamation should start over the known lands. As far as I have been able to understand, Kailas Nath Kaul<sup>59</sup> has met with considerable success in this work and your own experts as well as others have examined it and said so.<sup>60</sup> There can also be no doubt that there is plenty of land of this type which can immediately come into operation. Why not start this process immediately, instead of finding out in a long-term survey how much such land there is and what should be done to it? This will tie up some of your best officers for a year at least, according to your letter.

57. Ajit Prasad Jain reported Kamaraj as warning that if Madras were to guarantee a fixed supply of paddy from Madras, high prices would persist. He added that Madras wanted to be constituted as a separate zone, that Mysore was agreeable to its exit from the Southern Zone, and he that he believed Kerala also would accept. But, on hearing of the possible exit of Madras, Thimma Reddi of Andhra Pradesh called to suggest that Andhra Pradesh also become a separate zone. In short, if Madras were to exit, the Southern Zone would dissolve. This would be a "serious matter", and GOI "must be prepared to import from abroad rice to meet the needs of Kerala in case sufficient quantities are not made available from Madras and Andhra."

58. Letter.

59. Director, National Botanical Gardens, Lucknow.

60. See SWJN/SS/42/p.160.

My point is that if it is known, as I think it is, that something can be done immediately, this should be done and should not wait for elaborate surveys all over India. In any event, since Kailas Nath Kaul has dealt with this matter and shown success, his opinion should be taken.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 181. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Reclaiming Waste Land<sup>61</sup>

May 16, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I wrote to you last night<sup>62</sup> in answer to your letter in regard to a proposal to appoint an expert committee to survey India for waste land etc. I have been thinking about this. Perhaps, before we take any such step, would it not be advisable to collect such information as you can from (1) State Governments and (2) our Community Development movement whose special function it should be to know this or find it out? I realise that the information you will get may not generally be scientifically accurate, but it will go some way to tell us how things are. Also, in some States there have been soil surveys. That should be a little more accurate.

If we collect this information and analyse it, then we will be in a better position to proceed with this survey. Perhaps, this could be taken up in some part of India. That will give us some results for that part and it will also enable us to know how best to proceed in this matter. One of your experts could be appointed in charge of this, that is, not a committee. This man could do this collection work from the State Governments, soil survey reports, community development blocks, etc. I am suggesting this to you for your consideration so that the next step may become easier.

Professor Thacker of the Council of Scientific & Industrial Research<sup>63</sup> saw me this afternoon. He said that there are a number of things that his Council was working at which were of interest and importance to the Food Ministry because they concerned the production of food, directly or indirectly. Therefore,

61. Letter. File No. 31(95)/59-61-PMS.

62. See item 180, pp. 439-440.

63. M. S. Thacker was the Director-General, CSIR and Secretary in the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

he said that a small board, say of five or six persons, consisting of representatives of the CSIR and the Food & Agriculture Ministry might be constituted to coordinate these various activities and to carry further the application of such results in research as have been obtained. The board would only, of course, meet in Delhi and will not be supposed to be a touring board.

Among the things he mentioned which were under some kind of investigation by the CSIR were.

(1) Preventing evaporation of water: This as you perhaps know, has been much investigated in Australia where it is a great problem. Some results have been obtained though I do not know how far we can use them in India as anything upto thirty per cent of water is supposed to evaporate. The prevention or diminution of such evaporation would make a great difference.

I understand that there is even now a small committee on evaporation in which there is a representative of the Food & Agriculture Ministry.

- (2) Sprinkle Irrigation: This again not only saves water, but utilises it to such better advantage, thus giving far better results.
- 3) Use of bacteriological fertilisers: This has been done in Russia and in Israel and we might well experiment with it here.
- 4) You might remember my sending a small note from Kailas Nath Kaul about some common wild plant which is supposed to grow almost everywhere. He had said that he had experimented with this and it had turned out to be a very good fertiliser. I do not know if you have had any investigation made. Anyhow, this is one of the things worth investigating.
- 5) Kailas Nath Kaul's new method of reclaiming saline waste land as at Mathura.

These and like steps might be entrusted to this proposed coordinating board. Thacker mentioned also the profitable use of tube wells. I do not quite know what he meant by it. The whole point is that there should be close cooperation between the Food & Agriculture Ministry and the CSIR in regard to important techniques in food production and connected subjects. There is also the CSIR's Food laboratory in Mysore which produces various types of useful foods including substitute foods. In this also the cooperation of the Food & Agriculture Ministry will, no doubt produce good results.

I am passing on these suggestions to you for your consideration. Perhaps, your Secretary<sup>64</sup> or someone of your experts might discuss this matter with Thacker.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 182. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Reclaiming Waste Land<sup>65</sup>

New Delhi,  
May 21, 1959

My dear Ajit,

There is a very interesting man from Israel. He has been in India for the last five or six months. His name is Divon<sup>66</sup> and he is connected with the office of the Prime Minister of Israel as an Adviser. He has wandered about all over India in every State and lived in the villages there. He is an able and observing man and he has come to know a great deal about our village life and agricultural conditions. I have had long talks with him and found him very interesting.

His experience of farming and cooperatives in Israel is instructive. He has told us how completely infertile and saline areas were converted into cultivable land. How even they blew up hill tops, etc., to get land for cultivation and progressed a great deal of advanced cooperative system there. He made the odd proposal that some Indian farmers (real ordinary farmers; should go and spend a year or two in Israel and some Israeli farmers should come and stay for a year or so in some Indian village. I rather doubt if this is feasible in the way he put it. But I think it would be a good thing for some smart young farmers to visit there for a brief period, say three months.

This man Divon has been in close touch with the Community Development Ministry. He, in fact, was taken to various places. He has also lived with the peasants. He has also marched some days with Vinobaji. He met Kailas Nath Kaul also and discussed methods of reclaiming alkaline or saline land. There was much in common with their approach and both agreed that it was possible to make any land, however bad it might be, cultivable by certain treatment. In fact, in Israel they had succeeded remarkably.

64. B. B. Ghosh.

65. Letter. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS.

66. Dr. Divon, agricultural economist from Israel, met Nehru on 21 May 1959.

The method of reclamation used by Kaul at Banthra has aroused considerable interest outside India also. A letter that Kaul wrote in answer to an enquiry from America interested me and might interest you. I am, therefore, enclosing a copy of it.

Did you get your agricultural experts to examine the sample of fertiliser made from a common weed which I had sent you?<sup>67</sup> I am having this weed collected for use in my garden. I think, however, that this experiment should be done on a bigger scale through the Community Development Movement. The weed is a common one all over India and all that is necessary apparently is to dry it, powder it and keep it for use.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 183. To Partap Singh Kairon

23 May, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I have just received your letter of the 19th May in which you have discussed the food situation in the Punjab and made some suggestions. In the main, you have suggested that Delhi should be taken out of the Punjab zone. Also that restrictions should be placed on gram going out of the zone. There are other suggestions too.

These are, of course, important matters which concern all of us, but most of all our Food Minister. I see that you have sent him a copy of your letter. I shall discuss this matter with him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

67. A. P. Jain replied on 25 May 1959 with a copy of the report by the Indian Council of Agriculture Research on the sample of powder of the weed, *argemone mexicana*, sent by K. N. Kaul. It was to be despatched to the Indian Agriculture Research Institute for testing its value for reclamation of "usar soil".

## 184. To B.C. Roy: Using the Bhagirathi<sup>68</sup>

May 25, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

I have just seen a note from our Ministry of Irrigation and Power. In this note it is suggested that certain improvements might immediately be made in the conditions governing the offtake of the Bhagirathi. The proposals made appear to be technically fairly simple and inexpensive and likely to bring some immediate good results. This of course has nothing to do with the Ganga Barrage scheme which we must proceed with anyhow. Therefore, we must not think of this as any kind of an alternative procedure to be adopted, but rather something that will bring beneficial results almost immediately, while we proceed with the Ganga Barrage scheme separately.

In the papers I have seen, it is stated that the river course has greatly changed from the course of the previous years, the Nurpur offtake being now no longer favourable (as it was last year) but having a very wide 'char' between the Ganga and the Bhagirathi. The offtake of the Bhagirathi would have been under most favourable conditions at Biswanathpur. The Ganga at present flows in a curve, which would place an offtake for the Bhagirathi at this site on the outside of the concave curve, excluding sand and tapping off the silt free surface flow of the river by Nature's way. There has been intensive and extensive erosion of the Ganga right bank at Biswanathpur during the falling flood last season. This erosion has placed the deep-water channel of the Ganga immediately adjacent to the bank at Biswanathpur, thus offering excellent prospects of early and late supplies and of increasing the duration of flow into the Bhagirathi with an offtake of the Bhagirathi suitably located at this point. It is said that more ideal conditions for the Bhagirathi take-off from the Ganga can hardly be expected.

The proposal made is to take the necessary measure to avail of the promising Biswanathpur head as the offtake for the coming season. The work required is simple and inexpensive and can do no conceivable harm. A short approach channel from the edge of the Ganga at Biswanathpur to its junction with the Bhagirathi has to be excavated to a depth and a width designed to draw off the required discharge at the predetermined river-stage in accordance with well-known channel design formulae. A bund will be left at the head which will be cut at the proper time.

In discussing this matter, it was pointed out at first that this proposal might cause an avulsion into the Bhagirathi, the bulk of the Ganga diverting itself

68. Letter. File No. 17(356)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

from the Padma into the Bhagirathi, with consequent risk of floods in Bengal. In answer to this, it was pointed out that there was no such danger and any remote hazards can be totally avoided, as the quantum of draw-off could be previously limited by the hydraulic design characteristics imposed on the approach channel and those already obtaining on the Bhagirathi. The slope, bed width and depth of the approach channel and the section of the bund could be designed to ensure the draw-off of just the level and quantity of early Ganga supplies that are desired, while for subsequent flood conditions no more than what Nature and the Bhagirathi will permit will be drawn by Biswanathpur, whether an approach channel is cut or not.

This proposal, it is said, carries great possibilities of improvement of the Bhagirathi-Hooghly which otherwise is fast deteriorating. The matter is urgent. The cut is required principally to give an early start. If there is delay, then we shall lose a whole year and no one can be sure whether conditions next year will continue to be as favourable as now. I understand that the Commissioners of the port of Calcutta have also approved of the scheme which promises quite substantial and rapid results and which also prevents further deterioration. There will be a prolongation of the duration of flow of the Bhagirathi. This will check the creep-up of the salinity towards the Palta Water Works and will thus improve the drinking water supply for the city and the industrial zone.

Having read these papers, it seems to me that the proposal made is not only very desirable but of urgency. I understand that Shivshankar,<sup>69</sup> Secretary of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, is now in Calcutta. May I suggest that you might meet him and discuss this matter with him. If once you pass orders, the matter can be dealt with great expedition.

I would repeat that this has nothing to do with the Ganga Barrage project which of course is very important and we must take up.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

69. Tumkur Sivasankar.

**185. To Partap Singh Kairon: Delhi and the Punjab Zone<sup>70</sup>**

May 25, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

You wrote to me about the wheat situation in the Punjab and suggested that Delhi might be taken out of the Punjab zone. I have had a talk with Ajit Prasad Jain who has consulted Pantji also.

Apart from other reasons, the proposal to take Delhi out of the Punjab zone is not very practicable or feasible. Are we going to guard all this vague border between Delhi State and Punjab? I do not think we can do it. The result will be a good deal of smuggling, a good deal of dissatisfaction and complaint and finally no much good achieved in any other direction. After all Delhi does not take very much of Punjab wheat. I forget the exact quantity but it seemed to me rather small. Delhi mills are supplied with foreign wheat for milling purposes.

I think that if you examine the practical difficulties you will agree with me that they are considerable. And again, you must remember that in many ways Delhi is an extension of the Punjab. Indeed a very great part of its population is from Punjab. If we are to separate Delhi, where do we put it? Does it just remain as a pure consuming centre more or less in the air with no supply area attached to it.

I am told that there has been some marked improvement recently in the Punjab in wheat deliveries in the Mandis.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**186. To Bhimsen Sachar: Southern Food Zone<sup>71</sup>**

May 25 1959

My dear Sachar,

I have read your letter addressed to the President dated 20th May.<sup>72</sup> In this you deal with the Andhra food situation at some length. I have read what you have written carefully.

70. Letter. File No. 31(85)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

71. Letter to the Governor of Andhra Pradesh. File No. (31)/56-61-PMS.

72. For Sachar's letter to Rajendra Prasad, 20 May 1959, see Appendix 14 (Extracts of Paragraph 3).



I am afraid I am not in full agreement with you when you say that the State Government have been anxious to cooperate with the Centre in this matter. For the last many months or more, the question of Andhra Government's attitude to our food policy has come up before us. I have written to Sanjiva Reddy on several occasions. The Food Minister of the Andhra Pradesh Government has almost openly come in the way of our policy being implemented. How then do you expect me to believe that that State Government is anxious to cooperate? It seems to me that the Andhra Pradesh Government thinks much more of the interests of its millers than of India.

Indeed the policy which has been pursued by the Andhra Pradesh Government in regard to foodgrains is likely to do much harm not only to India as a whole, but ultimately to Andhra Pradesh also. It is a very narrow policy which neither looks around nor ahead. The officials of the Food Ministry who go to Andhra often get very curt treatment instead of cooperation. No steps whatever are taken to enforce the orders they themselves pass and the millers and the like can get away with anything.

A very simple proposal has been made by our Food Ministry to them: Let the millers give 50%. Of this let the Andhra Government take 20% and the Centre 30%. Obviously, two separate procuring agencies, namely, the Centre and the State, working independently of each other are not desirable. To leave this matter entirely to the State Government after the experience we have had practically means that we shall be at the mercy of the millers there. But what we have suggested is quite fair to the State Government and to all concerned.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 187. To Various Ministers and Planning Commission: Green Manure<sup>73</sup>

I am sending you a note of a talk I had with a farmer of a biggish farm in Meerut District today. Some of the points he made were striking.<sup>74</sup> In particular, how his own farm had suffered when he took to fertilizers in a big way. Now he has gone back completely to compost and green manure. I asked him why other people didn't use green manure and compost more. He said the holdings were too small and they dared not, making them yield less by using green manure. According to Mr Puech, there should be a rule or law compelling ten per cent of the land to be set aside for green manure.

2. He said that the fertiliser distributed was often sold in the market and not always used.

3. What he said about pedigree seeds is also disturbing.<sup>75</sup>

### 188. Green Manure<sup>76</sup>

A farmer from Meerut District came to see me this morning. His name is G.E. Puech. His farm is 26 miles from Delhi and 4 miles from Baghpat up the Meerut road. He has had this farm for about forty years. There are 225 acres in the farm which grows sugar cane, wheat, fruit, etc. It is connected with the UP electric grid with power pumps. There is one tractor, but there is mixed farming.

73. Note to A. P. Jain, G. B. Pant and S. K. Dey, 26 May 1959.

74. G. E. Puech made the following points: (i) absence of reliable agricultural statistics and enormous falsification in the patwari's records and reports; (ii) a bloated, venal, and sycophantic bureaucracy which falsified data and diverted funds; (iii) agricultural deficits were due to a combination of unseasonal rain and the use of chemical fertilizer, especially, ammonium sulphate, instead of natural manure. He made the following recommendations and observations: (i) "agmark" fertilizers to be varied according to the crop; (ii) reserving one-tenth of every field for green manure; (iii) ensuring reliable water supply to irrigated areas; (iv) cooperative farms, which "could fan out like a military sortie from an established bridge-head;" (v) mechanised farms and plantations; (vi) land ceilings would not release significant stretches of land; (vii) until a new agricultural income tax is devised, the existing land revenue should be doubled; (viii) levies of Re 1.00 per newborn, Rs 5.00 per team of oxen; Rs 10 per buffalo, and rebates for mechanisation or cooperatives; and (ix) "No scheme of any description will work if those who work it regard it as more an opportunity for their own advancement than dedication to a national cause."

75. See item 188, pp. 448-450.

76. Note, 26 May 1959.

2. He told me that uptill 1948 his yield per acre was 22 to 25 maunds of wheat. He used no fertilisers then relied on green manure and compost. The farm was not mechanised and he had 22 teams of cattle.

3. In 1948 he mechanised the farm to some extent and reduced the number of cattle used to 4 teams. Instead of compost and green manure, he used fertiliser (ammonium sulphate). This resulted in a sudden drop in the yield per acre to 11 maunds. This forced them to come to the decision to give up fertilisers completely and to revert to green manure and compost. Since then the yield has been climbing back progressively and last year the yield was 19 maund per acre.

4. The available fertiliser is ammonium sulphate. This benefits the crop a little, but does grave injury to the soil by destroying the nitrogen in it. Thus the fertility of the soil is affected and it demands more and more fertiliser every year. According to Shri Puech, the biggest factor in yield going down in the country is the use of ammonium sulphate by itself. Another factor is the unseasonal rain in October because it delayed sowing.

5. Pedigree seeds are not multiplying at all because they are sold in the market. There is no control. He knew of a case when a man with 2 acres of land was given 75 maunds of good seeds which he promptly sold in the market.

6. A man can buy ordinary seeds in the open market and take it to the seed store and sell it as pedigree seed if he is prepared to share the profit with others.<sup>77</sup>

### SMALL SAVINGS

7. There is often a great push in the Small Savings Campaign in February or March, up to 31st March. Then suddenly it peters out and indeed much of the money collected previously is withdrawn. The money is collected on the assurance that it can be withdrawn soon after.

8. I was shown a cutting from the Statesman of the 20th May, 1959, which stated that Rs. 90 lakhs had been collected in Patiala for Small Savings. Of this Rs.75 lakhs have been withdrawn soon after.

### IRRIGATION

9. It is often stated that more and more fields are getting water from the canals or irrigation channels. This seldom means that really more water is being

77. See also item 187, p. 448.

used. The same quantity of water is spread out over the new fields with the result that the old fields get much less water and suffer.

### 189. To Kailas Nath Kaul: Reclaiming Waste Land<sup>78</sup>

May 27, 1959

My dear Kailas,

I have your letter of the 25th May with which you have sent me a copy of a letter you have sent to Shri Mohan Lal Gautam.<sup>79</sup> I do not understand the argument that has arisen and why you should delay or stop work waiting for clarification. There is nothing much to clarify about it and if there is, the clarification can come later. Work should not stop.

As a matter of fact, I have given you a large sum of money and presumably that has not been exhausted and that can anyhow be treated as a rolling fund in addition to what the U.P. Government might give you.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 190. To Mohan Lal Gautam: Reclaiming Waste Land<sup>80</sup>

May 27, 1959

My dear Gautam,<sup>81</sup>

You know that I have been deeply interested in the reclamation of Usar lands on the lines practised at the Banthra farm near Lucknow by Kailas Nath Kaul. I must have written about this many times to the Chief Minister of the Uttar Pradesh and to the Food Minister here in Delhi. I have mentioned this in the National Development Council and have written to all the Chief Ministers about

78. Letter. File No. 31/73/56-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

79. K. N. Kaul informed Mohan Lal Gautam, the Minister of Cooperation and Agriculture in UP, that he was stopping work on usar land reclamation until it was made clear to him whether the grant of Rs 50,000 for the work was a rolling fund or not. When he received it in February, he assumed it was a rolling fund, but the Agriculture Secretary, Talwar, informed him that it was not. Without such a rolling grant of Rs 50,000, he would not be able to continue the work.

80. Letter. File No. 31/73/56-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

81. Minister of Cooperation and Agriculture in UP.

it. It has been a matter of great distress to me that the U.P. Government took a mighty long time to get a move on any such vital matter. Because the U.P. Government did not do anything, I supplied some considerable funds to Kailas Nath Kaul to go ahead with the work.<sup>82</sup> Sampurnanandji told me repeatedly that the U.P. Government will take it up.

Apparently, at last some money was sanctioned for this by the U.P. Government. But now I learn that there is some argument as to how this money is to be used. The proposal was that it should be used as a rolling fund, but some officer of yours thinks otherwise.<sup>83</sup> I am a little tired at the ways of some of your officers. Instead of doing some solid work, they are constantly finding ways and methods of delaying work and obstructing it if others do it. I am almost inclined to think that some fairly effective steps should be taken to change your officers if they cannot do their job properly.

If the U.P. Government cannot take effective steps in this matter, we shall take it over completely and do it ourselves.

Will you please let me know what the position is now?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 191. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Soviet Aid for Suratgarh<sup>84</sup>

May 28, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I have sent you a separate paper today about a visit of the Soviet Chargé Affaires to me. However, I repeat what he conveyed to me. He said that the Soviet Government had asked him to convey the following message:

“In connection with conversation of Prime Minister with the Soviet Government Delegation, the Soviet Government is ready to supply free of charge in 1959-60 years equipment and instruments for tractor and agricultural machinery repairing workshop of the State Mechanized Farm in Suratgarh, provided this supply is still necessary. If the Indian side desires, the Soviet Government could send a group of Soviet specialists to the Farm for assembling the equipment of the workshop, for organising technological process of complete

82. See item 189, p. 450.

83. Talwar, the Agriculture Secretary in Uttar Pradesh.

84. Letter. File No. 31(23)/56-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

overhaul of machinery and for rendering practical help in organising work at the farm.”

I told him that I would consult you and send a reply. Meanwhile I thanked him. As you were not here, I sent for Damle<sup>85</sup> and enquired from him what the position was. Damle said that it was true that we had suggested to the Delegation that we would like to have some complementary machinery and some spare parts, etc., for the Suratgarh Farm. Our present difficulty was that we had no buildings to keep these machines. The CPWD had promised to set up the buildings by the end of this year for these machines. We shall naturally welcome the Soviet offer of repair workshop for agricultural machinery at Suratgarh. But he said that it will be more convenient for us to get this by January next when we shall have the buildings to house them.

I should like to have your advice in regard to this matter and as to what reply I should send to the Soviet Government. It seems to me that we have to accept their offer with thanks. We may indicate what will be the time when we would like to have them.<sup>86</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 192. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Reclaiming Waste Land<sup>87</sup>

May 28, 1959

My dear Ajit,

Some evil fate seems to be pursuing our efforts to teach and spread the methods of reclaiming Usar land as practised at the Banthra Farm. You know how many times I have written about it to the U.P. Government, to you and in my Fortnightly letters. I have spoken about it at the meetings of the National Development Council. In fact, I have tried to boost it as much as I could because I think it very important.

In spite of every effort of mine, the U.P. Government showed little interest although Sampurnanand wrote to me that he would take it up. Nothing happened. Then, when you and I were at Lucknow, we talked about this with the U.P.

85. K. R. Damle, the Agriculture Secretary in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

86. From Ootacamund on 30 May Nehru asked Subimal Dutt to inform K. P. S. Menon and Swaran Singh.

87. Letter. File No. 31/73/56-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

people. You promised then to place a certain sum of money at the disposal of K.N. Kaul and said that you would enable people from other states to come for a course of training in it at Banthra. All seemed to have been settled satisfactorily.

I now learn that we are still where we were, and the U.P. Government is still indifferent. It is said that some order has been passed by the U.P. Government for the payment of some money, but that has not taken effect. Meanwhile, some U.P. official has said, that that money should be spent in a particular way and not in the way Kaul had suggested.<sup>88</sup>

What is one to do in these circumstances? It is astonishing how helpless we are. I am not particularly interested in the Banthra Farm. I am interested in it because of its enormous potential. Here is a cheap and effective way of reclaiming Usar land. Here is something which, without great expenditure, may bring us a gift of millions of acres. What more could the Gods give?

We have hundreds of thousands of persons sitting in our offices, experts and others writing long notes, criticising each other, talking, going on long tours and visiting seminars, conferences, etc. What is the net result of all this? I wish you could measure our work from this point of view.

But, however that might be, it is almost past belief that we have not taken full advantage of what had been done at Banthra.

K.N. Kaul has just gone to London from there he will go to Canada. He is attending various conferences, etc. He will be away three months. I suppose that even in his absence something could be done.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 193. In Coimbatore: Scientific Farming<sup>89</sup>

TRAINING FARMERS IN SCIENTIFIC METHODS  
NEHRU: EVERYTHING CAN WAIT; NOT AGRICULTURE

Coimbatore  
May 29.

Prime Minister declared today that nothing was more important in the country than better agriculture. "Everything may wait, but agriculture cannot wait," he said.

88. See items 189 & 190, pp. 450-451.

89. Report of speech, 29 May 1959. From *National Herald*, 30 May 1959.

Pandit Nehru said the nation had lagged behind on the agricultural front because what had been done did not reach down to the farmers.

Pandit Nehru, who was declaring open the golden jubilee block and laying the foundation-stone of the library building of the Agriculture College and Research Institute here, said the good work done in agricultural institutions in the country had not percolated to the peasantry.

He emphasised the need for translating into practice what was being done in these institutions and for training the farmer in scientific methods of cultivation. He did not think that it was desirable to think in terms only of mechanisation, the basic problem being how to make mechanisation more scientific.

Pandit Nehru said no land could be condemned not good enough for cultivation because given proper treatment and plenty of water any land could be made cultivable.

Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam,<sup>90</sup> welcoming the Prime Minister, said the seven-lakh-rupee jubilee block and the three-lakh-rupee library building marked two steps forward in the growth of the institution.

Pandit Nehru said that he was surprised to note sometimes good students generally did not crowd into agricultural colleges but rather went into other colleges.

They should remember that progressive agriculture and science and its application today are of primary, first class, basic and essential importance. Everything else, however important, comes afterwards."

Pandit Nehru said that when the nation advanced it did not advance only in one front. It should advance in many directions. But he wanted to emphasise the agricultural front because in that front the nation had lagged behind. They had lagged behind essentially not because good work was not being done in the agricultural institutes and colleges in the country but because what had been done did not reach down to the farmers.

It is beginning to reach them. But there is a gap and break between what is done at the top and the man in the field he said.

The Prime Minister said science had to be brought to the farmer to the extent necessary. He should be taught scientific methods of working. Agricultural experts would be judged by the way they conveyed the scientific method to the farmers. Essentially the problem of Indian agriculture was to make it more scientific. When I say so I am not meaning to make it mechanised. Taking India as a whole, we are not just in a position, and I do not think it is desirable to

90. Home Minister of Madras State.



think in terms of mechanisation. Apart from mechanisation to make it more scientific, that is the problem basically.”

Speaking on the importance of green manure in increasing production, Pandit Nehru said green manure in the ultimate analysis was more important than all the fertilisers.

At the same time, however, he advocated the use of some mixture of green manure, fertilisers and compost and said a Delhi farmer who had mechanised his land and used only green manure and ammonium sulphate had seen production go down. Fertilisers, he said would do good only if it was used along with green manure and compost. He, however, made it clear that he was not against the use of fertilisers, but said fertilisers must rank third, green manure and compost having the first two places.

Pandit Nehru said that there were large areas in India which were supposed to be not good enough for cultivation. As a layman he said he would venture to lay down the principle that no land could be placed in that category for the fact that ultimately given proper treatment and plenty of water every land was cultivable. There were millions of acres of land in India which could be brought under cultivation almost by the touch of the magic wand of good treatment.

He recalled the days of the freedom struggle to point out how the determination of the people could achieve good results.

#### 194. To Jack G. Beale: Ford Foundation Warning on Food Crisis<sup>91</sup>

Ootacamund

June 1, 1959

Dear Beale,<sup>92</sup>

Thank you for your letter of May 27th.

The warning given by the Ford Foundation Mission about the food position in India is perhaps good, though I think it is rather exaggerated. You will notice that the date they have given for a possible grave crisis is 1965, that is, six years from now.

I can assure you that we are fully alive to the food position in India and, in fact, are now treating it as one of first priority. The whole country is fully aware of the situation. Our Community Development Blocks—which cover nearly

91. Letter. MLA. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

92. Australian engineer and politician.

300,000 villages in India—have been told to make this their first objective. In fact, our labours have already begun to yield substantial fruit.<sup>93</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**195. To Y.B. Chavan: Food Reserves and PL 480<sup>94</sup>**

June 10, 1959

My dear Chavan,<sup>95</sup>

Your letter of the 8th June. I have read this with some surprise because it seems to proceed on the assumption that we are following some other policy. We attach the greatest importance to building up, a big reserve of foodgrains and we are getting foodgrains through PL 480 programme and large quantities from the US. I do not think we can do anything more on that account.

What has been a disappointment to us this year has been the inability of State Governments, more especially the surplus States, to procure adequate quantities. Our production has been remarkably good this year. The country is full of foodgrains. We have just learnt that the figure for production for this year is about 73 million tons. This is over 11 million tons more than last year's figure and several million tons more than the highest recorded figure. Our production is increasing rapidly.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

93. This letter was copied to Ajit Prasad Jain.

94. Letter. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

95. Chief Minister of Bombay.

## 196. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Rice Trade in Bengal and Orissa<sup>96</sup>

June 20, 1959.

My dear Ajit,

Your letter of June 19.<sup>97</sup> I met Ghosh<sup>98</sup> today also.

Ghosh has informed Dr.B.C. Roy by telephone that we agree to the lifting of price control, and levy orders and to supply two lakh tons of rice during the remaining part of the calendar year.

As for joining Orissa with West Bengal, I agree with you that we should proceed with a little caution. We need not rule this out or, at any rate, we need not give a categorical negative reply to Dr. Roy. The matter might be considered further.

I spoke to Dr. Roy also on the telephone and told him that it would be unwise even to hint at the joining of Orissa with West Bengal in the matter of a free movement zone for rice. Any such hint now would lead to consequences and prices would go up in Orissa and make it difficult to procure rice from there. At the same time I said that this matter might be examined more fully. He agreed.

I see that in the Calcutta press much is said about anti-social hoarding etc. and the West Bengal Government is condemned for not taking adequate steps against these hoarders. Ghosh tells me that the real hoarders are the producers. I think this matter should be gone into a little more by the West Bengal Government. I enclose a cutting from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* where it is stated that Dr. P.C. Ghosh<sup>99</sup> claimed knowledge of wholesale dealers with large underground & stocks.

96. Letter. File No. 31(47)/57-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

97. A. P. Jain informed Nehru that the food question in West Bengal as discussed with G. B. Pant concerned: (i) lifting price control and levy orders; (ii) supply of two lakh tons of rice by the Centre to the State Government; (iii) merging Orissa with West Bengal as a free movement zone; (iv) introducing total rationing in Calcutta. On the first two issues, all agreed. On the third question, some believed merger could lower prices, while others felt it could compound the problem by expanding the area; in any case, all agreed that Harekrushna Mahtab, the Chief Minister of Orissa, had to be consulted. On the fourth issue they noted that while Calcutta sucked in supplies from its environs, it would be psychologically damaging to have it as the only city in India to have rationing. In any case there would be extensive smuggling and people would flood into Calcutta. It would be best to seek the advice of the West Bengal Government first.

98. B. B. Ghosh was the Secretary of Food in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

99. Leader of Praja Socialist Party.

I have asked Ghosh to convene a meeting of the informal Food Committee of Parliament for the 3rd July at 11 A.M.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 197. To S.R. Sen: Communes in Yugoslavia<sup>100</sup>

I have read our Ambassador's<sup>101</sup> note on Communes in Yugoslavia. I think that it would be worthwhile for this note to be circulated to the members of the Cabinet. We are at present giving much thought to decentralisation. It is true that our methods are different from those of Yugoslavia or other countries. Nevertheless, it is always helpful to know what others are doing. Therefore, please send copies of the Ambassador's note to:-

- (1) All members of the Cabinet.
- (2) Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.
- (3) Shri Shriman Narayan. Member, Planning Commission
- (4) Shri T.N. Singh, Member, Planning Commission.
- (5) Shri S.K. Dey, Minister of Community Development.
- (6) Congress President (Shrimati Indira Gandhi).
- (7) Shri U.N. Dhebar, AICC, Office.

2. Also send a copy to Shri Asoka Mehta, MP. This might be sent with a letter for him that I am sending.

3. In sending copies of the note to the various persons mentioned above, the following note from me should be attached :-

"I am sending you a report we have received from our Ambassador in Belgrade. Shri Ali Yavar Jung, on 'Communes in Yugoslavia'. Some time ago Shri Asoka Mehta, MP, wrote on this subject, after a brief visit to Yugoslavia.<sup>102</sup> His conclusions were somewhat different from those of our Ambassador. Shri Asoka Mehta had stated that the Yugoslav system was integrating agriculture and Industry. According to our Ambassador, this is not a correct interpretation.

The Yugoslav system is, of course, very different from our own, but their attempts to decentralise are interesting and we may be able to learn something from them."

4. Please mark the Ambassador's note as "confidential."

100. Note to Sen, the Joint Secretary in the Planning Commission, 30 June 1959.

101. Ali Yavar Jung.

102. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 785-787.

## (d) Industry and Labour

**198. To Morarji Desai: Soviet Technology for Oil Exploration<sup>103</sup>**

Thank you for sending me this note. So far as the setting up of a Government Oil Distribution Organisation is concerned, this matter presumably will be considered by the Planning Commission and, later, by the Cabinet.

2. As for the purchase of Russian drills, I think it would be desirable for us to consider various aspects of this matter before the Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel<sup>104</sup> leaves for Moscow, so that he may have authority to deal with this in Russia. He will, of course, try to get the best terms possible.

3. It is difficult to judge of prices because the articles apparently differ considerably. We can make an attempt to do so with the help of experts. In such a matter, finally the experts' view has to prevail. There is another aspect of this. This whole programme of oil exploration is being done largely with the advice and active assistance of the Soviet Government and their experts. My own impression is that they have done a fine piece of work of training our men and they have supplied some of their equipment previously at a relatively low price. Because of their help, we have made great progress in training large numbers of our young men. The recent Goodwill Delegation from Russia included people particularly interested in oil work, and they promised to help us still further and expedite delivery of drills etc.

4. It will probably not be advisable for us to get a few drills from the United States or some other country, when all the other equipment is from the Soviet Union and the Engineers who are training us, are also from the Soviet Union. The two will not fit in.

5. There is a possibility of our asking the Soviet people to do this work on a hire-purchase system. I do not know how this will work out, but it might be examined.

6. Anyhow, we should be in a position to give authority to the Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel to deal with this matter when he goes to Moscow.<sup>105</sup>

103. Note, 2 May 1959.

104. Sardar Swaran Singh.

105. Note copied to Swaran Singh.

**199. To Swaran Singh: Self Sufficiency<sup>106</sup>**

May 3, 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,

I have mentioned to you rather casually once or twice about what I have heard about Durgapur and the new Kaiser Extensions at Jamshedpur. The reports I had in South India from a competent person, as well as some other vague reports that I have received, have been a weight on my mind. Quite apart from these individual undertakings, what I have been thinking about is our way of approach to these matters which lands us so often in difficulties, in bad work, in delay and in great and unnecessary expense. I think of what the Japanese did in the early days of industrialisation, of what the Russians did and of what the Chinese have recently done. Conditions were different, of course, and we have to go by our own conditions and experience. But I have wondered if our basic approach has been right.

Our approach, broadly speaking, is to rely on outsiders. We get our Project Reports from them, we appoint them as Consultants, and we also sometimes give the whole job to them to do. They may do this job tolerably well, or they may not, as in the case of Durgapur. Or, take the case of Kaisers in Jamshedpur. My own information is that they have not done the job particularly well and anyhow they have done it at frightful cost. But the major thought in my mind is how far all this is a stepping stone to our doing the job completely ourselves and building up the apparatus to do it. It is an easy way to ask a big firm in America or Germany or Russia to do the job for us. There is, of course, a difference between Russia and America or Germany because in the Russian case conditions are different. Still, in the main we do not pay adequate attention to a rapid building up of our own apparatus, personnel, etc. to do the next job, as they did in Japan and Russia in the early days of their industrialization. In China, from all accounts, they have made remarkable progress. They have got a tremendous deal of help from the Soviet Union in equipment. But even in the last few years, they have built up an enormous organisation of their own to do the job themselves as well as to manufacture the machinery and equipment needed. In all these cases, they have relied very largely on their own personnel and trained them. The outsiders they have brought have been chiefly as advisers, the responsibility being their own. Of course, this was fairly easy in their case

106. Letter. File No. 17(325)58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

as they were dealing with the Soviet Government and not with individual private firms. But the fact is that they have succeeded in building up this great organisation and becoming largely self-reliant.

How do we proceed? We are constantly relying on outsiders. We get their advice, their Project Reports; we appoint them as Consultants, who naturally advise us according to their own viewpoint which is seldom that of ours. This is not merely a technical matter, but there are various other considerations involved. Naturally all this is much more costly and there are probably greater delays. But the main thing is that we do not build up our own apparatus and personnel.

In science we are making pretty good progress and building up scientists of all kinds. We are making progress also in producing engineers from our institutes. But the real approach should be to put responsibility on our men and to rely on their advice much more than that of outsiders. It may be that we might make a mistake here and there. I am sure we would never make the kind of mistake that has been committed in Durgapur, or waste large sums of money as with Kaisers in Jamshedpur.

Tata's Iron & Steel Works of Jamshedpur has been in existence now far over half a century. In some ways they are a creditable concern. But after half a century at this, we have not built up any of our own people for designing, constructing, etc. and we have to go to German, Russian, British and American firms to put up a new Steel Plant and have to get hundreds and possibly thousands of foreign technical personnel to do the job for us. This itself shows how wrong was the approach of Tatas in this matter and we encouraged them in that approach. Conditions were no doubt different then. I believe they have made some marked progress after Bhilai and Rourkela. And, so, it has surprised me that we have to import many people from outside for these plants. In China, I understand, relatively few persons from Russia were brought for their biggest plants and even these came as Advisers, the responsibility remaining with the Chinese. Now they are thinking of big Plants in the Third Plan. Even so, we seem to rely on outsiders and cannot even produce a Project Report or the necessary designs for it.

I remember some foreign experts from America telling us with some disdain that it will take us over twenty years to build up any big plant ourselves. We could not even produce a pin, they said. What kind of advice are we going to get from such people if they are our Consultants and Advisers?

Therefore, I think our whole outlook and approach in regard to these matters must change now. We must not rely upon foreign consultants or Project Reports from them, but try to have them in India. We may, of course, consult individual foreign experts, but the broad advice given to us should be from the Indian

point of view and not the foreign. I think that this general principle should apply to almost every major plant that we set up.

Then there is this oil business. I do not mind allowing some foreign firm of repute to explore and even to exploit later, provided the terms are reasonable and provided that they do not come in the way of the work we are doing ourselves. We can not proceed far in this business of training etc. through American or like firms, because they do not work in that way. Russia, I think, has been and can be much more useful. They have no private firm axe to grind and their outlook is different. In dealing with the Soviet in such matters, we should take the broad view of training people rapidly and building up our own organisation, both in personnel and in the manufacture of equipment. We cannot do this with other foreigners, but with the Russians we might succeed. They appear to be eager to help us, and indeed we cannot get big-scale help of that type anywhere else. Therefore, we should look at this from this particular point of view. I see that we get lost in trying to save a little money here and there, and at the same time get entangled in huge expense elsewhere. Take the question of drills. If the Russians are going to be our principal advisers in our oil exploration work, then we should rely on them. It is no good our getting an odd drill from America or elsewhere and expect the Russians to put their heart and soul into this.

I would like you to give thought to this matter and indeed I should like the Cabinet to discuss our whole broad approach to the major plants we intend to build. We should lay down a policy that in future we should rely on our own people much more than we have done and cast responsibility upon them. Foreign firms should not be connected with these plants in a big way. More especially, they should not be our Consultants. Our own people should be called upon to produce Project Reports and to be our Consultants. We may consult an individual foreign expert where this is considered necessary. But the responsibility must be cast on our people and they should be encouraged to build up our own personnel and machinery and equipment.

As you will be going to the Soviet Union soon, I think that it would be a good thing if we discussed this matter in Cabinet. That is, the broad aspect of it, so that we may have a definite policy to follow in future.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## 200. To Kesho Ram: Poor Technology at Durgapur<sup>107</sup>

Will you please enquire from the Ministry of Steel, Mines & Fuel what steps are being taken about mining of copper in the Khetri region of Rajasthan? I understand that good quality of copper deposits have been found there.

2. You might also tell the Ministry that a foreign observer who had been to Durgapur recently came to see me yesterday. I was told that at Durgapur people were working to dig up earth and fill it in baskets without any implements, not even shovels. They just did it with their hands – one person doing the filling work, another taking a basket and a third carrying it away. Meanwhile, two or three supervisors and the contractors, sub-contractors and sub-sub-contractors looking on. If this is true, this is an extraordinary way of working, primitive, delaying and expensive. From the point of view of social implications also it is bad.<sup>108</sup>

### You Said It

By LAXMAN



Actually this plant produces nothing. It's just a device to employ labour.

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 22 JULY 1959)

107. Note to PPS, 14 May 1959. File No. 17(357)/59-PMS.

108. On 8 June Kesho Ram noted that the Secretary of the Department of Iron and Steel had clarified on 14 May that nearly eighty-two per cent of earth moving at Durgapur had been one mechanically and only eighteen per cent manually.

## 201. To S.K. Dey: Diesel Engines<sup>109</sup>

May 17, 1959.

My dear Dey,

Day before yesterday I went to Ghaziabad.<sup>110</sup> In the course of my visit I saw some small factories. One of these was the Punjab Oil Expeller Company which produces small diesel engines. They presented me with one of their so-called popular diesel engines. This was, they said, for a Cooperative Farm of our choosing. I told them to keep it for the present and that they will be receiving instructions about it from our Ministry of Community Development & Cooperation as to where to send it.

I enclose some papers, etc, about this diesel engine. You should decide where to send it; that is, it will be a gift for a good Cooperative Farm. If you like, you can send for it and keep it here in Delhi till you dispose of it otherwise. Anyhow, you might take such steps about it as you think proper.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 202. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Self Sufficiency<sup>111</sup>

May 20, 1959

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Your letter of the 18th May<sup>112</sup> which deals with the letter I wrote to Swaran Singh<sup>113</sup> about our utilising our own talent in India for drawing up project reports and as consultants for our major concerns. As I wrote then, I feel rather strongly on the subject. I think that we have wasted large sums of money over foreign consultants and project reports and, at the same time, not helped in building up talent and experience here. Of course, in some matters, we shall still have to rely on foreign advice. But in many other matters, we have a good deal of experienced personnel here. Even where it is somewhat lacking, it is better to get the advice of competent foreign experts through our own men and not give over the whole project to others.

109. Letter. File No. 31(93)/59-70-PMS.

110. See item 5, pp. 38-40

111. Letter. File No. 17(325)/58-59-PMS.

112. See, Lal Bahadur Shastri to Nehru. Appendix 13 (a).

113. See item 199, pp. 460-462.

We talk a great deal of the public sector and the private sector, and I have often criticised the private sector.<sup>114</sup> But oddly enough, even where some private sector organisation is competent, we ignore it and go to the private sector abroad. There seems to be some confusion about this private sector business. I do not like the concentration of economic and other power in the hands of a few vast organisations in India who often have connections with foreign organisations. This creates monopoly conditions which we have disapproved of in our Industrial Policy Resolution.<sup>115</sup> But I want to encourage the private sector in every other way. Thus, in all medium and small industries as well as in utilising engineering talent.

When I wrote to Swaran Singh, I had one particular private firm in view. This was Dasturs, who, I think is by far the most competent iron & steel engineer in India with great experience, foreign and Indian. At the instance of T.T.Krishnamachari he built up a firm of consultants which has done big jobs even for foreign countries. And yet, for some odd reason, he is not looked upon with favour by our officials here. I think he is better than most of the foreign consultants we have employed, and he has built up a regular organisation. Because of our Government not helping him, he finds it difficult to carry on and this fine organisation is likely to break up.

Such an organisation should not only be encouraged, but we should take advantage of it in every way. Naturally we have to examine their offers and project reports and all that.

To build up a consultancy organisation will take years, although we could try to do so. It is really far easier to take over an existing organisation.

I agree with what you have said in your letter and the general approach you have indicated. But I want you to be particularly careful in taking advantage of what we have got already. There are far too many pressures exercised in our Ministries by private interests in India and abroad. Foreign firms who are favoured often are connected with big Indian firms (not of engineers).

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

114. See item 160, pp. 405-407 & 410.

115. See SWJN/SS/43/p. 164

**203. To Y. B. Chavan: Location of Industries<sup>116</sup>**

May 20, 1959

My dear Chavan,

Your letter of the 18th May. I am writing to Lal Bahadur Shastri about it. So far as I am concerned, I think that other things being equal, preference should be given to the south for the establishment of any such industry. Normally a committee of experts is appointed who recommend places. To some extent we have to go on their advice.

You mention that Durgapur has got several plants already. I entirely agree. In fact I tried my best to get the Optical Glass Project started elsewhere, but the Soviet experts who are building it insisted that Durgapur was the best site for it and I had to give in.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**204. To Harold Macmillan: British Discrimination  
Against Indian Textile Industry<sup>117</sup>**

Thank you for your message about an agreement between our cotton industries on the level of imports of Indian cotton textiles into the United Kingdom. We appreciate the urgency of the situation, and are anxious that every effort should be made to bring these negotiations which have gone on for so long to a successful conclusion. We have therefore once again expressed our concern and interest to the representatives of our textile industry and have stressed the desirability of a speedy settlement.

2. The Indian industry feels it has been treated unfairly, and is labouring under an acute sense of grievance. India is the largest producer of cotton textiles within the Commonwealth and has greater need now for export markets than ever before. The quota proposed for India is, however, both intrinsically and relatively to other countries, unduly low. While recognising the need for an amicable arrangement, the Indian industry feels that its own problems and

116. Letter.

117. Telegram to the Prime Minister of UK, 28 May 1959. File No. 44(48)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. This message was sent through Indian High Commissioner in London.

difficulties have not been fully appreciated. It considers therefore that further discussions should take place urgently between its representatives and the Cotton Board.

3. This is essentially a matter for adjustment between the industries of the two countries, and no agreement would be effective unless a reasonable measure of cooperation were assured from both industries. We hope therefore that further urgent discussions can take place as proposed by the Indian industry. Kasturbhai Lalbhai<sup>118</sup> and Neville Wadia,<sup>119</sup> the industry's representatives, are leaving for the UK on May 30, arriving there the following day. It is our earnest hope that these further talks between representatives of the two industries will result in a mutually satisfactory settlement before the debate on the Lancashire industry takes place in your Parliament.

### **205. To Vishnu Sahay: Labour in the Public Sector<sup>120</sup>**

The Minister for Labour has written to me, in the course of a letter that his Ministry has to face many difficulties because it cannot deal with labour problems in the public enterprises. This question was apparently raised in Parliament also.

2. It seems to me obviously desirable that the Ministry of Labour should keep in touch with labour developments in our public enterprises. The Ministry concerned may deal with such problems directly. But they should bring in the Labour Ministry at the earlier stages and keep in touch with them.

3. I think you might inform the Ministries concerned about this matter.

118. Prominent industrialist from Gujarat and Chairman of National Research Development Corporation.

119. (1911-1996); Chairman of Bombay Dyeing, 1952-77.

120. Note, 1 June 1959. File No. 19 (40)/59-DW.VII/DW-IV, Ministry of Energy, 1959. Also available in JN Collection.

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



I instructed you to build a 150-foot bridge for Rs. 5 lakhs  
and you have gone and built a five-foot bridge for Rs. 150 lakhs.

(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 24 JUNE 1959)

## 206. To Louis Mountbatten of Burma: British Lobbying for International Oil Companies<sup>121</sup>

June 7, 1959

[My dear Dickie,]

Thank you for your letter of the 29th May with which you have sent me copies of letters from Walter Monckton<sup>122</sup> and Hartley Shawcross.<sup>123</sup> I received these on my return from Ootacamund yesterday. I had gone there to attend a seminar on Planning, in the course of which we discussed many aspects of this complicated but fascinating business. I was there for eight days. Ootacamund is, as you know, a lovely and delightful place. We had to work very hard, morning, afternoon and some times night. But I stole some time for riding on the downs there.

I have read the letters you have sent me, and I hope you will not mind if I share them with some of my colleagues. Broadly speaking, we ourselves are of

121. Letter. File No. 17(204)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

122. A British lawyer and conservative politician, Monckton wrote to Mountbatten on 26 May 1959 that India should not discourage oil companies from prospecting since the costs were exorbitant and the Government might find it difficult to take such risks on its own. He also denied that he had any personal interest in it since the Iraq Petroleum Company, of which he was Chairman, had no interest in India.

Shawcross, for his part, wrote to Monckton, extolling the virtues of oil companies which "are now conducting themselves with a very high degree of public responsibility"; that "There is everywhere a recognition of the importance of raising social standards, and of the fact that this is, indeed, the only way to combat Communism"; that "in this country at least there is a realization that any misbehavior by private industry may lead to nationalisation"; that the oil companies "realise that in the long term it simply does not pay to exploit either their own employees, their customers or the countries in which they operate"; that thanks to the "managerial revolution" companies "are inclined to take a much broader view about the long term success of their businesses than the accumulation of excessive profits over a short period"; that it would "be most unusual for an oil company, seeking a concession, to involve the Government in any risk of loss in the venture as I gather seems to have happened in India in the past"; that "The real problem nowadays is whether State Exchequers can afford really extensive and formidably costly programmes of exploration and development"; and finally that the oil companies are both increasingly employing local staff and attending to their welfare.

123. (1902-2003); Lawyer and politician with many business interests; Special Adviser, Morgan Guaranty Trust of New York, 1965-94; Chairman, International Advisory Council, 1967-74; Director, Hawker Siddeley Group, 1968-82; Chief Prosecutor for UK before International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg; MP (Lab) St Helens, 1945-58; Attorney-General, 1945-51; President, BoT, Apr.-Oct. 1951; a UK Member, Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, 1950-67; Director: Shell Transport and Trading Co., 1961-72.

opinion that we should encourage private enterprise to explore for oil in some parts of India and to exploit this if discovered. India is a large country and our latest geological and geophysical reports are that oil is likely to be found in many parts of India.

We have already found oil in the Cambay region. In Assam (apart from the old Digboi oilfields) we have also had very good indications of oil. Also in the Punjab and in Kutch. Geologists entertain hope that there might be large fields in the submontane regions of Uttar Pradesh and in some parts in the south.

We are now proceeding to prove the quantity of oil in the places which have been discovered. This is by State agencies. In Assam, the new oil finds are going to be exploited mostly by the Burma Oil Company. As for other areas, we have no objection to oil companies being given a licence for exploration and for exploitation. This really will depend on the terms.

I might mention that we are building two new refineries on behalf of the State – one in Assam and the other at a place called Barauni in Bihar.

There is thus no bar at all, in so far as we are concerned, to private oil companies being given opportunities to explore and exploit in some parts of India. In fact, many approaches have been made to us from various countries. Apart from the UK and USA we have had offers from Germany, France and Italy. We shall give all these careful consideration.

I wonder if you have followed the proceeding of a conference on oil that was held in Cairo some months ago. Apart from representatives of the Middle Eastern countries, the big oil companies were, I think, adequately represented there. This conference brought out how the whole problem had changed in recent years.

I am going to Nepal soon on some kind of a State visit.<sup>124</sup> The last time I went there was about nine years ago. A new Government has been formed there as a result of the General Elections.<sup>125</sup>

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

124. See items 284-288, pp. 534-543.

125. B. P. Koirala of the Nepal Congress was appointed Prime Minister on 27 May 1959.



## 207. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Soviet Aid for Power Projects<sup>126</sup>

June 8, 1959

My dear Namboodiripad,

Your letter of the 5th June about some power projects in the Southern zone.<sup>127</sup> I do not myself know much about these and so I am forwarding it to the Planning Commission.

I certainly think that priority should be given to these projects. I suppose it is difficult to do much in the Second Plan, but they should be included in the Third Plan.

As for the suggestion made by the Soviet Engineers to help in these projects, this can be considered in the larger context of Soviet assistance. We are not now thinking of taking up odd projects separately with them, but rather of getting large-scale assistance from them for a number of major projects. It might be possible to include the projects in the Southern zone in this list.<sup>128</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 208. To ILO<sup>129</sup>

I send to the International Labour Organisation, on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary, the good wishes of the Government and the people of India and our congratulations on the Organisation's record of successful endeavour and work in the field of international cooperation. During the forty years of its existence, the world has changed greatly. Formed at the conclusion of the First

<sup>126</sup>. Letter.

<sup>127</sup>. Namboodiripad informed Nehru that on 27 October 1958 at Trivandrum the Southern Zonal Council had recommended that the power projects in the Southern Zone included in the Second Five Year Plan should be given priority after the core of the Plan. The Planning Commission was prepared to consider this, but declined to provide foreign exchange. However, the Soviet Union was ready to supply plant and machinery for the Pamba and Sholayar hydro-electric projects under the mutual assistance programme, and Krishna Iyer had already written to Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim about this. Namboodiripad now asked for Nehru's backing.

<sup>128</sup>. This letter, along with Namboodiripad's, copied to V. T. Krishnamachari.

<sup>129</sup>. 15 June 1959. File No. 26(8)/57-64-PMS. Drafted apparently on 8 June 1959, see JN Collection.

World War it saw the changes that came after that war and then it witnessed the Second World War. Since then even greater changes have taken place and new problems have arisen. Many countries, previously dependant on some colonial power, have gained independence and had to face the new problems that independence brought. These problems were essentially economic, for those countries, long suppressed in their economic growth by foreign rule, were anxious to develop rapidly and to raise the living standards of their people. Every one of them had to face problems of industrial relations and to meet the challenge of new economic and social changes.

Throughout this period, the ILO has shown remarkable vitality and a capacity to adapt itself to the changing situation. From being an institution setting passive standards, it has developed into one which plays an active role in raising standards and helping that cause of industrial peace.

I trust that the ILO will continue to play its useful role and will not allow itself to be influenced by the tensions and conflicts in the political field.

## 209. To Swaran Singh: Recycling Slag<sup>130</sup>

June 8, 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,

At the gathering of the scientists yesterday at Vigyan Bhawan,<sup>131</sup> mention was made of the way mountains of slag accumulated near steel works. This was not only ugly but also exceedingly wasteful, as this slag could be converted fairly easily into cement. In fact, this is done in most countries. In China, this is done hundred per cent, so they said. Here, it occupies large areas, making them useless and is exceedingly unbecoming to the sight.

When there is this obvious way of dealing with this slag, why do not we do it? I understand that some of the steel companies have partly agreed to do this in some measure but Biren Mukerjee<sup>132</sup> has declined. If this is so, this is quite absurd. We cannot put up with this kind of wasteful attitude.

130. Letter.

131. In the inaugural session of the Delhi Productivity Council.

132. (1899-1982); a leading industrialist and founder of the Indian Iron and Steel Company (IISCO) steel plant at Burnpur.

Presumably the cement so produced would not only add to the income of the steel company but would be cheap. We can even keep it apart from the other cement and give it at low prices to rural areas.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 210. To Vishnu Sahay: Public Sector Awards<sup>133</sup>

Many months ago, I wrote to you on the subject of our recognising the good work being done in any particular enterprise in the public sector. Where this good work was obvious and production had increased considerably, I suggested that a certificate of appreciation should be given.

2. What has happened, to this? Surely something should be done soon. Only a few days ago, I had the latest report of the Hindustan Machine Tools.<sup>134</sup> This showed very good results. I think that in such a case some special recognition should be shown.<sup>135</sup>

## 211. To Keshava Deva Malaviya: Oil in Assam<sup>136</sup>

June 9, 1959

My dear Keshava<sup>137</sup>

Some time ago the Assam Government expressed a wish to be allowed to participate in the Oil Company that we had started in Assam for the exploitation of oil resources. We turned down this request, the major reason being that they had no resources of their own. If they took some shares in this company that

133. Note, 9 June 1959. File No. 17(388)/60-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

134. M. K. Mathulla, Managing Director, HMT Ltd., informed Nehru on 29 May 1959 that in spite of many odds, production and sales during 1959 had been forty per cent higher than in the previous year and net profit fifty per cent higher.

135. On 4 June, Nehru had written to Mathulla congratulating him on excellent performance. After this note to Vishnu Sahay, an annual scheme of Presidential Awards to Public Sector Undertakings was introduced in January 1962.

136. Letter. File No. 17(290)58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

137. Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil.

would really mean their borrowing money from the Central Government for this purpose. Probably for some other reasons also, it was considered not desirable to associate the State Governments in such undertakings. I have given some thought to this matter and I feel that our decision was not a right one.

As a rule, in a major Central Government's undertaking in a State, I think that it would be desirable for the State Government to be associated. The manner of association does not matter much, but the fact of association does seem to be desirable. I do not say that this should be done in every case, but normally this practice appears to be the right one. In the case of oil in Assam, it seems to me particularly desirable to associate the Assam Government with this great step forward that we are taking. This has not only practical but psychological importance. Assam's future revolves round oil. They realise it and this development of oil there has become almost an obsession with them. From almost any point of view it is, therefore, desirable for them to be associated in various ways with these developments there connected with oil. Even if they had no financial share in the companies or other undertakings, it would be necessary to have someone from Assam as a Director in these companies.

It is perfectly true that they cannot find any large sum of money. I think that even so it would be desirable to give them some share by lending them the money for it which they can return gradually.

They had promised to give us land free for the refinery. At that time they thought that this would be Government land and so it would not cost them anything, etc. Now the refinery is going to be located in a place which will necessitate a large expenditure of money for land acquisition. One of their Ministers told me that this might amount to Rs. 50 lakhs. The Chief Minister,<sup>138</sup> however, said that it might not be more than Rs. 30 lakhs. Anyhow this is a large sum. We can hold the Assam Government to their word, but the fact is that Assam deserves much sympathy and help from us and looks forward passionately to this oil development which might set her on her feet.

I am sending this note to some of my colleagues<sup>139</sup> so that perhaps they will be good enough to think about this matter and then we can meet and consider it more formally later.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

138. B. P. Chaliha.

139. G. B. Pant, Morarji Desai, Sardar Swaran Singh, Lal Bahadur Shastri and V. T. Krishnamachari.

## 212. Industrial Closure and Unemployment<sup>140</sup>

This morning some representatives of the Textile Mazdoor Sangh, Delhi, came to see me. They gave me a paper, a copy of which is attached.<sup>141</sup>

2. I presume that this matter is being enquired into as a question of urgency by the Commerce and Industry Ministry as well as the Labour Ministry. It is always undesirable that production in an organised unit should cease and the workers there become unemployed. This has to be avoided and where it occurs, the reason for this must immediately be gone into and, wherever possible, some temporary arrangement should be made till such time as a permanent solution is found.

3. In the present case, there are certain additional factors. It appears from the papers given to me that the Finance Corporation of Government gave a loan of Rs. 20 lakhs to this enterprise. Therefore, Government have a particular duty in this matter. It is presumed the Finance Corporation have not given this loan without satisfying themselves of the soundness of the undertaking. The Finance Corporation should be asked why is it that an undertaking encouraged and helped by them should come to this end.

4. The proprietors or managers of this business do not come well out of this picture. To say the least, it would appear that they are thoroughly incompetent and apparently they have not hesitated to use the Provident Fund of the workers even. What they propose to do in future is not clear to me. But Government have a duty in this matter and it is a duty which should be performed with great expedition.

5. My own partial information is that the people running this mill are not men of good reputation. Indeed, even before they started this mill, their reputation was not too good. They started it in wartime intending to make easy profit.

140. Note to the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, Labour, and to A. D. Pandit, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, 15 June 1959.

141. Sumer Chand, on behalf of the 1500 workers of Ajudhaya Textile Mills, Azadpur, Delhi, wrote to Nehru on 16 June 1959 that management had announced the closure of the mills from 11 June 1959 owing to financial problems. He claimed that their equipment was of the latest, that wages were lower than elsewhere, and that workers had promised the fullest cooperation, but that management was misusing funds. The condition of workers and their families was pitiable as they had not been paid for three months. They wanted joint management by Government, workers and management, and workers "are willing to give every pledge to run the mills with profits, only on the condition that there is a proper management for them."

6. I am not in a position to judge of or to give any suggestions. All I can say is that cases like this should be examined with care, both from the point of view of avoiding the loss resulting from stoppage and in order to fix responsibility. There is no reason why we should be helpless in dealing with owners who function in an improper manner, more especially, when large Government funds are involved.

7. I should like, therefore, to know what is being done in this case.

### **213. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Industrial Closure and Unemployment<sup>142</sup>**

15th June, 1959

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I have separately sent a note to your Ministry about the Ajudhaya Textile Mills, Delhi. I enclose a copy of this note.<sup>143</sup>

I find this kind of activity of the millowners exceedingly irritating. They take money from Government and then close up shop and even retain the Provident Fund of the workers. I think strong measures are necessary. We are always too slack about these matters.

Prakash Chopra was here this morning and I mentioned this case to him. He said he did not know much about this matter. His own recollection was that the proprietors of this mill had no good reputation even when they were in Lahore prior to partition. I gave him a copy of the representation which the workers had given to me. Copies of this representation have also been sent to your Ministry and to the Labour Ministry as well as to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.

I was glad to find from Prakash Chopra that you are engaging him as a kind of honorary adviser to your Ministry. I think he is a man of ideas and he ought to prove helpful to you.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

142. Letter.

143. See item 212, pp. 475-476.

## (d) Education and Culture

**214. To K.L. Shrimali: Utilising Saiyidain Adequately<sup>144</sup>**

2nd May, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

I have just returned from Patna.<sup>145</sup> This morning Dr Zakir Husain<sup>146</sup> spoke to me about Saiyidain.<sup>147</sup> He said that he had a feeling that Saiyidain was not very happy in his present post and that perhaps you too were not pleased either. Saiyidain was a brilliant educationist, probably the best in India, but administrative duties did not suit him. He asked if some other work could not be found for him which would suit him better and which could bring out his unusual abilities.

He himself suggested that probably the best thing would be for him to go to UNESCO. There was a vacancy in the UNESCO for the post of Director of Education. Saiyidain would fit in that post admirably and he would be welcome there as he is well-known in those circles. Saiyidain's recent visit abroad to America etc. and his speeches there were highly thought of and he had created a very considerable impression. In the UNESCO he would shine and bring credit to India. The only question was whether it was too late for him to apply for it or for the Government of India to send his name. Probably, the meeting to make a choice will be held at the UNESCO headquarters about the 15th May. If, however, the Education Ministry could recommend his name and we could inform our missions abroad, perhaps there might still be time for it.

I have almost repeated what he said to me. He added that if this was not possible, then some other work should be found for him in India as he is too good in educational matters not to be utilised fully. He made one or two suggestions—the Planning Commission, the National Professorship of Education, etc. This will give him time to write as he is a good writer.

I am passing on all this to you. I think it would be a good thing if Saiyidain could go to UNESCO as suggested. I do not naturally know what you think

144. Letter to Union Minister of State for Education.

145. See SWJN/SS/48/pp.165-206 and also in this volume, pp. 249-251.

146. Governor of Bihar.

147. K. G. Saiyidain, Secretary, Ministry of Education.

about it or how Saiyidain feels about it. Apparently, Dr Zakir Husain had no talk with Saiyidain on the subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**215. To Partap Singh Kairon: An Ignoramus  
for a Vice-Chancellor<sup>148</sup>**

May 3, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,  
Someone has told me that a certain worthy gentleman named Chaudhuri Hardwarilal<sup>149</sup> has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Kurukshetra University. This gentleman is apparently an excellent person. But he is totally ignorant of the knowledge of Sanskrit and, possibly, even of Hindi. It seems rather odd that such a person should be appointed Vice-Chancellor of a University specialising in Sanskrit. I do not know if my facts are correct. But as I heard of this, I am passing this on to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

148. Letter. File No. 40(65)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

149. (1910-1997); Member, Punjab Civil Service up to 1951; founder principal, K. M. College, Delhi, 1954-57; Vice-Chancellor, Kurukshetra University, 1959-62; MLA, Punjab and Haryana, 1962-1977; Minister of Education and Planning, Haryana, 1967; President, Swatantra Party, Haryana Unit, 1968; Lok Sabha MP, 1984-89.



**216. To K.L. Shrimali: Teaching Spiritual Values<sup>150</sup>**

May 3, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

Your letter of the 30th April about a committee to consider the question of teaching of moral and spiritual values. I do not know if you want my approval of the composition.<sup>151</sup> You can certainly go ahead as you desire, but I rather doubt if any particularly valuable suggestion is going to come out of this committee.<sup>152</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**217. To Sampurnanand: IPTA, Neither Banned Nor Encouraged<sup>153</sup>**

May 5, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

Your letter of May 4 about the All India Peoples' Theatre Association. I think that the old list that the Home Ministry circulated has long been superseded. There are a number of institutions, however, which we do not ban but, at the same time, do not encourage. I think that the All India Peoples' Theatre Association is one of the latter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

150. Letter. File No. 40(178)/59-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

151. Apart from Sri Prakasa, Chairman of the Committee, Shrimali sought Nehru's approval for the inclusion of the names of Justice Bashir Ahmad of Madras and G. C. Chatterji, Vice-Chancellor of the Rajputana University, Jaipur.

152. The Sri Prakasa Committee, appointed on 17 August 1959 to study religious and moral instruction in educational institutions, recommended teaching all religions and the biographies of their leaders; "inculcating good manners, social service and true patriotism"; pointing out "the faults and drawbacks of our homes both in the matter of their physical orderliness and their psychological atmosphere"; beginning the day with meditation; imparting physical education; and more in that spirit. See "*Committees and Commission of India*, Vol. 111 [New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1975], pp. 423-425.

153. Letter.

## 218. To R.K. Dutta: Tagore Centenary<sup>154</sup>

May 5, 1959

Dear Shri Dutta,

I have your letter of the 4th May.

There are quite a large number of proposals for the celebration of the Tagore Centenary, including the collected edition of his works. The Government of India will also take part in this. I think that it is a good thing for UNESCO to celebrate the Centenary in its own way. Some foreign countries also are doing so.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 219. In the Lok Sabha: Education Ministry<sup>155</sup>

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:<sup>156</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) what considerations persuaded Government to bifurcate the Ministry of Education;
- (b) whether any assessment of the working of this arrangement has been made; and
- (c) what organisation brings about coordination between the two sections of the bifurcated Ministry of Education?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) The old Ministry of Education and Scientific Research had grown considerably and comprised a very large variety of work. There were eighty sections in it. The work of these sections was varied. Apart from the purely educational side, there were scientific research and development comprising a large number of National Laboratories and Institutes, and technical education which dealt with a growing number of technical institutes and with the development of modern industry and technology. There were also various types of cultural activities, sports, athletics, etc. The Prime Minister considered all this work too heavy for one Ministry and decided to separate it into two. At

154. Letter to Dutta, a resident of Calcutta.

155. 8 May 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXXI, cols 15791-15795.

156. Congress, MP from Pali, Rajasthan.

present, the Ministry of Education consists of fifty-two sections and the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs of thirty-five sections.

(b) No formal assessment has been made. The present arrangements have been working satisfactorily and are largely fulfilling the objectives in view.

(c) There is no special organisation for co-ordination. There are, however, Committees where both Ministries are represented, and close contact and mutual consultation are maintained.

Harish Chandra Mathur: Has the hon. Prime Minister discussed with the two concerned Ministers and ascertained what difficulties they have faced during this one year in carrying out their responsibilities in the bifurcated Ministries?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am constantly in touch with the two Ministers.<sup>157</sup> I have not invited them to come and tell me what their difficulties are. The question did not arise. In fact, so far as I know, the two Ministries have been working satisfactorily and I have no particular information of any major difficulties.

Harish Chandra Mathur: Has it been brought to the notices of the hon. Prime Minister that during the meetings of the Consultative Committees of these two Ministries on several occasions it has been felt that the bifurcation of this Ministry has caused considerable difficulty and does not conform to efficiency and efficacy of working?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is the first time I have heard that. Nobody has told me about it. The hon. Member talks about bifurcation of the Ministry, the so-called bifurcation of the Ministry as it existed before. It only came into existence in that form only because of the great personality of the late Maulana Azad; otherwise, these two were not together under one Ministry.

Sushila Nayar:<sup>158</sup> Is the hon. Prime Minister aware that at the Central Advisory Board of Education also it was pointed out that the separation of the libraries from the Education Department as a result of splitting up of the Ministry was causing considerable difficulties to the educationists?

157. K. L. Shrimali was Minister of Education and Scientific Research and Humayun Kabir of Cultural Affairs.

158. Congress, MP from Jhansi, UP.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. lady Member is talking about the library. Obviously, one cannot split the library into two Libraries. It has to be one single Library. If it is one single library, it has to be under one single administration.

Sushila Nayar: I do not think my question has been understood. Libraries today are under the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Libraries are required by educationists all over, and educationists are feeling considerable difficulty because of this separation. There are other instances of that type. I am only asking whether the hon. Prime Minister has come to know that these difficulties have been expressed even in Central Advisory Board of Education.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not heard of that. I do not quite understand why educationists or anyone should not utilise fully the libraries. The library is for everybody, much more so for educationists. Every individual member of the public can go there easily. I do not understand why any difficulty should arise. I can understand that it is feasible to put the libraries under Education. Libraries deal with both aspects, not only educational but also cultural and so many others.

Thirumala Rao:<sup>159</sup> In view of the importance of the subject may we know whether this Ministry will be kept in the Cabinet?

Mr. Speaker:<sup>160</sup> We are going away from the subject.

Thirumala Rao: The hon. Minister has neither Cabinet rank nor is a Minister of State.

Mr. Speaker: The question relates to bifurcation and not to elevation.

Thirumala Rao: Maulana Azad was in charge of the Ministry before as a full-fledged Cabinet Minister. Has Government got any proposal now to appoint another Minister in charge of Education from the Cabinet?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Hon. Ministers who are in charge of Ministries are in full charge of the Ministries having the same powers and authority—whether they

159. Congress, MP from Kakinada, Andhra Pradesh.

160. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

are Cabinet Ministers or Ministers of State—with a right to attend Cabinet meetings. It is true that, to some extent, the subject counts on appointing a member of the Cabinet. But much more, it may also be due to other factors. Maulana Azad would have been in the Cabinet whatever the subject had been given to him—or no subject at all. He would have been in the Cabinet. So, it is not at all a question of the subject being unimportant. There is no subject which is more important than education. There is no doubt about it. It is not lowering the status of education at all in that respect but rather concentrating more on it.

H.N. Mukerjee:<sup>161</sup> May I know if the Prime Minister's attention has not been drawn to such an obvious anomaly as that the archaeological department is under the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs while the National Archives is in the care of the Ministry of Education? There should be sometimes co-ordination between these things.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member is quite right. There must be perfect co-ordination; and I do not say that there is no room for some slight adjustments etc. But, there must be complete coordination between the two departments he has mentioned.

Harish Chandra Mathur: Has the hon. Prime Minister given any thought and consideration to the various factors brought out in the criticisms against this arrangement, both in Parliament as well as in certain editorials of leading papers?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I try to keep pace with the newspapers; but, I feel I cannot read many papers. I have heard some criticisms as hon. Member said. But I really have not yet understood the justification for their criticism. It is easy to criticise and with justification to point out that this is the difficulty as the hon. Member opposite was saying. That I can understand and that applies to every Ministry. They have to be dovetailed to each other. Otherwise, there is a tendency for our Ministries to grow so big that it is rather difficult for the Ministers to keep in touch with the various activities.

Mr. Speaker: The question hour is over.

161. CPI, MP from Calcutta North-East, West Bengal.

**220. To B.F.H.B. Tyabji: On Education<sup>162</sup>**

May 8, 1959

My dear Badr,

I have just received your letter of the 5th May.

The idea of having a high class Academy of the kind you mention, for the comparative study of oriental and occidental cultures and civilizations, is attractive. It is obvious, however, that such an academy is only worthwhile if it is really high class.

At present we are struggling hard in the lower rungs of the ladder. Primary education is growing fast and yet not fast enough and the quality is not good. University education is growing even faster and, as it grows, the quality goes down for a variety of reasons. This does not mean that we are not producing young men and women of worth from our Universities. But the general standard has gone down and has been frequently criticised. The University Grants Commission is doing good work, but it has to face a colossal task. Indeed everything in India tends to become colossal.

We realise fully that a good educational system is the base for all progress. We would like to spend much, more money on it, but circumstances beyond our control limit our capacity to do so. From day to day we face difficult problems as to how to spread out our available resources over a much wider field than they are meant for. We cannot spend lavishly unless we produce on that scale. So we have to concentrate on production and all our Five Year Plans etc. are meant to do that.

When we have already got numerous educational schemes of importance waiting for implementation it is very unlikely that we shall take on something big which will inevitably cost a good deal of money. However, I am sending your letter and speech to our Education Minister and asking him to pass it on to the Chairman of the University Grants Commission, C.D. Deshmukh, who, I am sure, will be much interested in your proposal.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

162. Letter to the Indian Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. File No: 7 (78) - Eur (W)/59. Also available in JN Collection.

## 221. To Indira Gandhi: Writing the History of the States Peoples' Movements<sup>163</sup>

I enclose a letter from Shri Balwantray Mehta.<sup>164</sup> In this letter, he reminds me that a sum of rupees seventy-five thousand was handed by the old States Peoples' Conference to the AICC and was earmarked, among other things, for publication of a history of the States freedom movement. I have a vague recollection that this money was handed over to the AICC and is there now. I suggest that you might have this verified.

2. If these facts are correct, then it would be proper for us to accept the proposals made by Shri Balwantray Mehta, that is, (1) give an advance of rupees one thousand to Professor Khadgawat and (2) authorise Shri Balwantray Mehta to negotiate with publishers for the publication of the History. The terms of such publication should be approved by the AICC.

## 222. To Achal Singh: Censoring History Books<sup>165</sup>

May 10, 1959

My dear Achal Singhji,

I have your letter of May 7. In this you refer to the publication of a book sponsored by the Sahitya Akademi. This matter came up before me several times, and the Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, and I gave a good deal of attention to it. The book was examined afresh. It was meant to be an objective historical book, and I believe it had been before the public for many years.

The complaint made to us raised a very difficult question. If sober historical works are to be prohibited, this would be an infringement of the Constitution as well as of normal literary writing. There are plenty of works criticising the whole story of Christ. This is called the "higher criticism" in England. Many people have disapproved of them, but no one has raised the issue of non-publication.

Anyhow, so far as I remember, the further publication of this book was stopped.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

163. Note to the Congress President, 10 May 1959.

164. Chairman of the Estimates Committee.

165. Letter to the Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Agra, UP.

**223. To H.N. Mukerjee: On Gandhi, Tagore Translations, and Nagarjunakonda<sup>166</sup>**

May 11, 1959

My dear Hiren,

Your letter of the 11th May.<sup>167</sup> You have reason to be dissatisfied with me, but I am sorry that you are hurt.

If I had intended seeing you rather casually this could have been easily arranged. But I thought of meeting you at some leisure. And so, as it some times happens, this did not come off. I have been very heavily occupied and under some strain.

As for your book on Gandhiji,<sup>168</sup> I felt that I could talk to you about it. To write a sentence or two would have done no good, and to write at length was beyond me.

I am naturally no judge of translations from Tagore, but the particular translation you have sent me is certainly not very satisfying. I shall send on to Humayun Kabir what you have written.<sup>169</sup>

166. Letter. File No. 38961/59-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

167. Excerpt from Hiren Mukerjee's letter:

"As usual, I have often thought of writing to you about matters that have little or nothing to do with work in Parliament, but I have forborne from doing so. I cannot, however, leave Delhi without inflicting a rigmarole.

"You had once this session expressed a desire to see me. But I did not intrude. You have been most awfully preoccupied, and I have been through much strain, physical and mental, strain which I fear will never let go of me.

"I take back with me, however, a little hurt which I better tell you about, as quick as I can. I expected in my vanity that you would find time—Heaven knows how but you find time for many things—to read my book on Gandhiji or at least much of it and let me know your reactions. You have not done so. I would not have told the world about it; if you wrote what you thought of my book, I would have shown it to my wife and perhaps to a very few other people, but to no others. I have seen chaps who, if they have a meal with you brag about it in the Central Hall. I am not that vulgar. Apart from all that, I have wantd your impression of my book because it is God's truth that if you hadn't once encouraged the idea I would not have proceeded to collect the courage and the nervous energy to write it."

168. *Gandhiji: A Study* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1960).

169. See Humayun Kabir to Nehru, 13 May 1959. Appendix 10.



I saw the amphitheatre at Nagarjunakonda. It was rather unique for India. But, even then, it was going to pieces. I doubt if there is any way to preserve it once it has been dug out. I think every effort is being made to reproduce it.

As for Roy Chaudhury's statue of Gandhiji, I rather like it, though, of course, it is not all that we would like it to be. We shall have to wait, I suppose, for some inspired person to make the right statue.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 224. To K.C. Chaudhuri: Tagore Centenary<sup>170</sup>

May 11, 1959

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

I have had a talk with Dr. B.C. Roy. We feel that an all-India appeal for the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Fund should be issued.<sup>171</sup> 75% of the collections of this fund should be spent in each State where the collection is made for a suitable memorial there. The remaining 25% should go to the Chancellor's Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Fund for Visva-Bharati.

Dr. Roy has, as you know, a scheme for a memorial in Calcutta. He wants to acquire a good deal of land for this purpose. I understand that there is a two-storeyed red brick structure next to Tagore's old paternal home. This was given by Gurudev in his will to Visva-Bharati and is used now as Publication Division by the Visva-Bharati. He would like to acquire this for his memorial purposes and to build instead a new structure of the same size or a little bigger, if necessary, suitable for the Publication Division. This would be directly approachable from the new main road on the south.

According to his rough calculation, after building this new structure for Visva-Bharati, he would still have a balance of money which may amount to Rs. 1,50,000/-. This would be given to Visva-Bharati.

It seems to me that Dr. Roy's suggestions are good, and there should be no difficulty in giving effect to them. Those suggestions will be good from Visva-

170. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

171. Nehru sent a note to Indira Gandhi the same day: "Dr B. C. Roy and I feel that an all-India appeal should be issued for the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Fund. A draft has been prepared for this purpose. I enclose a copy." He wrote to B. C. Roy also the same day with the draft, asking him to turn to Radhakrishnan for suggestions."

Bharati's point of view also as you will then set a suitable modern structure for your Publication Division and also a considerable sum of money.

I understand that Dr. Roy wrote to you on the 25th April about this proposal. I suggest that you might see him and discuss it with him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 225. To Arati Saha: Swimming the English Channel<sup>172</sup>

May 12, 1959

Dear Arati Saha,<sup>173</sup>

I have your letter of the 6th May. In this you inform me that you have been nominated by the University of Calcutta for an attempt to cross the English Channel. I do not quite understand what this nomination by the Calcutta University means in this connection.

I am, however, glad to know of your spirit of adventure.

But I do not understand why the English Channel should be specially chosen for this purpose and why so much money should be spent on this attempt. You are a champion swimmer and you should distinguish yourself in Olympic and like tests.

I am afraid it will not at all be possible for Government to finance this undertaking. In no event can any foreign exchange be found for this because we are very strict about foreign exchange now.

There are great deeds to be done by young women like you, and I hope you will do them. But at the present moment to spend money abroad for the purpose of swimming the Channel does not seem to me desirable.

You will have all my good wishes in your future career.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

172. Letter.

173. (1940-1994); represented India in the Helsinki Olympics of 1952; inspired by Mihir Sen, she swam the English Channel on 29 September 1959; awarded the Padma Shri in 1960.

## 226. To Sampurnanad: IPTA, No Prohibition on Officials Attending Shows<sup>174</sup>

May 14, 1959

My dear Sampurnanad,

Please refer to your letter of May 4 in which you mention the All India People's Theatre Association.<sup>175</sup> I have looked into this matter and seen the previous papers.

It is true that in an old circular of the Home Ministry dated November 1949, it was stated that Government servants should not participate in the activities of some Associations. Among these was included the All India Theatre Association, presumably meaning the All India Peoples Theatre Association. This did not and cannot mean attendance at a performance organised by such an Association. What it meant was that Government servants should not actively associate themselves with these organisations by becoming office bearers, members of committees, selling tickets, etc. Mere attendance at a show cannot be considered active participation.

Therefore, there was no need to ask for an explanation from those officers in Mathura who had attended some shows.

As a matter of fact, this old circular is rather out of date, though it is still desirable for Government servants not to be actively associated with these organisations.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 227. To B.C. Roy: Tagore Centenary<sup>176</sup>

May 15, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Indira has told me that she was surprised to find that she had been made a Joint Secretary of the Tagore Centenary Fund Committee. She was perfectly agreeable to be on the Committee, but she did not want to be a Secretary.

In view of this, I think that her name as Joint Secretary should be removed while it should be kept on the Committee. Only Humayun Kabir need be

174. Letter.

175. See item 217, p. 479.

176. Letter.

Secretary. I am informing Humayun Kabir of this. We might, a little later, issue a small press note making this correction.<sup>177</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**228. To Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: Viennese Orchestra<sup>178</sup>**

May 16, 1959

My dear Amrit,

Your letter of May 15th. I am glad to learn that you have been able to arrange a performance of the Viennese Orchestra in Delhi. You can certainly reserve two fifty rupee seats for me, although I am not sure if I shall be here then.

As for giving you Rs.5,000/- for initial expenses, I shall try to do so. I have no obvious funds from which this can be taken. But I shall endeavour to find it somehow. Do you want it immediately or later?

Do you expect ultimately to get enough from the sale of tickets etc. to cover your expenses?

I wonder if you know that the well known pianist Foldes<sup>179</sup> is coming to Delhi for a day and a half. He is giving a recital at the National Physical Laboratory auditorium on Tuesday, May 19th, at 6.45 p.m. Sangeet Natak Akademi is, I believe, arranging this.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

177. On 25 May, Nehru informed Humayun Kabir of the composition of the Committee: Nehru, Radhakrishnan, S. R. Das, B. C. Roy, C. D. Deshmukh, Indira Gandhi, Humayun Kabir as Secretary, and B. Gopala Reddi as Treasurer. Not having received a response from B. C. Roy until 27 May, Nehru informed him that day that he had asked Humayun Kabir to issue the press note.

178. Letter.

179. Andor Foldes (1913-1992); American concert pianist of Hungarian origin; lived in USA, 1939-61, thereafter Switzerland.

229. To K.L. Shrimali: Banaras Hindu University<sup>180</sup>

May 16, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

As I have previously informed you, a deputation of some of the Banaras Hindu University came to see me today.<sup>181</sup> They gave me two papers which I enclose. I told them that I had been, and continue to be, distressed about what had happened in the University and I wanted it to come to normalcy as soon as possible. But this matter was in the charge of the Executive Committee and I did not propose to interfere.

There is one thing, however, which came to me as a bit of a shock. This was that the University was still guarded by a very large number of armed policemen. I was told there were six companies of the PAC there which probably amounted to many hundreds. During a grave emergency the police can, and should, be summoned. But, surely, a University cannot function for months and months under this heavy armed police guard. I don't think I would care to send any person I was interested in to a University functioning in these conditions.

How long is this police guard to last there and how can the Vice Chancellor evoke any respect when he has to be constantly under police protection? If it is impossible to do without the police protection, then, surely, some other arrangement has to be made or the University should close up.

I was shown a list of, I think, 181 persons who have been expelled or rusticated or some action taken against them in the university. Probably they deserved this. But what is to be the future of these people? Are they damned for

180. Letter.

181. According to the *Hindustan Times* report of 17 May 1959, a delegation of ten students urged Nehru to take a "personal interest" in the University and help restore normalcy. Their memorandum demanded that the University contradict the "slandorous" remarks of the Mudaliar Committee report, withdraw cases against students, and rescind punitive measures. They declared that they were prepared to face a judicial inquiry and accept its verdict. They complained that the post of Principal of the Ayurvedic College had been left vacant for twelve years and they wanted Dr K. N. Udapa to assume charge. The report also claimed that 244 students had been disciplined in various ways, 300 had been debarred from the examinations, and six companies of the Provincial Armed Constabulary were stationed on campus"

ever without any possibility of continuing their education even in other places? This means ruining the lives of these large numbers of young men.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 230. School of Physics at Mussoorie<sup>182</sup>

I am glad to learn that a Summer School of Theoretical Physics is going to be held in Mussoorie under the general direction of Professor Satyen Bose.<sup>183</sup> I think this is a very good idea and I send it my good wishes.

Physics is one of the fields of scientific knowledge in which Indians have distinguished themselves in recent years. We have today also some very distinguished physicists and I am glad to find that there, among the younger generation, men who have already shown great promise.

Science today demands more team work and planned coordination in research than it did previously. Therefore, this attempt in bringing together some of our eminent physicists as well as some from the younger generation to discuss the matter and develop a team spirit and planned approach is to be welcomed.<sup>184</sup>

182. Message, 16 May 1959.

183. The physicist.

184. On 6 June 1959, two weeks into the Summer School, Humayun Kabir reported to Nehru that it was a great success, that "the majority of participants are young and I hear they have been talking Physics from early morning till late night", that "practically everybody among the younger people active in Physics is attending the school", and that Nehru should address them before it closes on 19 June. However, while commending the effort, Nehru regretted for lack of time, and "Also going to Mussoorie for me now involves other considerations because of the presence of the Dalai Lama there."

### 231. To Humayun Kabir: Bhabha's Doubts on School of Physics at Srinagar<sup>185</sup>

May 20, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Homi Bhabha came to see me today. In the course of his talk, he said that he was surprised to learn about the summer School of Theoretical Physics which was being held at Srinagar [in Uttaranchal].<sup>186</sup> He had not heard about it before, nor had he been consulted about it. He further told me that a number of physicists who had been invited had no idea of what was going to be done there. He felt that a meeting without adequate preparation previously would not yield much result. As a matter of fact, annual gatherings are taking place to discuss various aspects of theoretical physics. Whenever such a meeting is proposed, a great deal of preparation is made for it and papers are written and read and discussed. Sometimes foreign physicists are also invited. These papers are subsequently published too.

This previous preparation leads to substantial results at the meeting or conference itself. This has become a regular feature. Apparently no such preparation is taking place for the Srinagar meeting and most of the physicists concerned were not even consulted. They were just invited by the Ministry. Normally scientific bodies or Universities should organise such meetings and arrange for adequate preparation by writing papers etc.

I think there is substance in what Dr. Bhabha said to me. Too much officialisation of science like other things is not good.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

185. Letter, File No. 5/1958-62. Humayun Kabir Papers. Also available in JN Collection.

186. Humayun Kabir inaugurated India's first summer school in theoretical physics on 22 May 1959. About fifty young scientists participated in the course which lasted one month.

**232. To Kesho Ram: *Lolita*<sup>187</sup>**

Please see the attached letter from the Jaico Publishing House. I shall probably see them on the 27th May in the afternoon.

2. Meanwhile, you might find out from the authorities concerned what the facts are. I have not read the book *Lolita*,<sup>188</sup> but I have read a number of reviews of it. It has created a minor sensation in literary circles in England and America. There have been criticisms on it also, but on the whole, its publication has been approved by critics. Generally speaking, I do not like censorship of books which have any claims to literary merit. More especially, I do not like censorship being exercised by the Collector of Customs.

3. You might enquire from the Central Board of Revenue.<sup>189</sup>

**233. To Indra Vidyavachaspati: Gurukul Kangri<sup>190</sup>**

I send my good wishes to the Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya<sup>191</sup> on the occasion of its Diamond Jubilee. Some months ago I visited this institution and gained some knowledge of its working. It seemed to me that it was doing good work. I spoke on that occasion and laid stress on the desirability of laying stress both on the cultural ideals of the country as well as the modern spirit of science which is so important in the world of today. It is only by this combination of the two that we can fulfil our destiny.

187. Note, 21 May 1959.

188. Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita* (Paris: Olympia Press, 1955).

189. See also item 240, pp. 499-501.

190. Message to the Vice-Chancellor of the Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya, 23 May 1959.

191. Founded by Swami Shraddanand with the aim of reviving a traditional educational system of the gurukul (residential school) under the direct guidance of a guru.



**234. To Humayun Kabir: Research on Astrology<sup>192</sup>**

May 25, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Recently Dr. Sampurnanand inaugurated an Institute called the Indian Institute of Astronomical and Sanskrit Research.<sup>193</sup> An odd name; his speech dealt with largely astrology.

I understand that your Ministry recommended a grant to it and actually that a grant of Rs. 8,000/- was made to it although they had asked for Rs. 24,000/-.

I do not wish to come in the way of any research institute, but it does seem rather curious that in these hard days the Government of India should give grants for astrological purposes.<sup>194</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**235. To MEA: Indian Art Exhibitions in Europe<sup>195</sup>**

Please see the attached telegram from Indembassy, Paris.

I think that it will certainly be desirable for the Indian art exhibition now at Essen<sup>196</sup> to be made available in Paris for exhibition. In fact, I was told by the sponsors of the Essen exhibition that after they had finished with it, this exhibition would go to a number of other places in Europe. They did not mention Paris. They certainly intended some places in Germany and possibly outside.

192. Letter. File No. 40(181)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

193. On 26 April 1959.

194. Humayun Kabir replied on 26 May that it was a proper research Institute which would publish two thousand-year old treatises on astronomy, *Bateshwar Sidhanta* and *Brehad Yavan*. He reassured Nehru that a committee would examine manuscripts for their scientific and scholarly value, and that "The committee has reiterated that no assistance will be given for publication of manuscripts or works on astrology, even if these are ancient texts."

195. Note, 25 May 1959.

196. The exhibition "Five Thousand Years of Art from India" opened in Villa Hugel in May 1959. See SWJN/SS/44/p.629.

Having collected all these articles at Essen, it would be a pity not to utilise them in Paris. The cost presumably will not be very great and if the French Government is prepared to bear part of it, then the balance cannot be very considerable.

It is true that M. Malraux<sup>197</sup> spoke to me about a great Indian exhibition in Paris. He was not referring to the Essen exhibition, but rather an independent one. Now that there is something already going and the French Government wish to have it in Paris, we cannot object.

Therefore, we should accept this proposal in principle. Naturally our final agreement can only be made when we have further details about it including the possible cost. Our Embassy, therefore, should be informed that we are agreeable in principle to this proposal and we have no objection to representatives of the French Government getting particulars from the Essen people as well as from our Ambassador in Bonn. Our Ambassador should also be informed of this. It should be made clear, however, that this agreement in principle does not finally commit us to this. We should like to have further particulars etc.

### **236. To Humayun Kabir: Philosophical Conference in Mysore<sup>198</sup>**

May 25, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of May 25th about the Philosophical Conference to be held in Mysore. I am afraid this has caught me in the wrong mood. I have no doubt that philosophy is important, but mostly it seems to me to consist of learned disquisitions from easy chairs about ideals and cultural values and the like. Somehow all this seems to me quite unrelated to the world's problems and tensions today. It is far too academic to my liking or, at any rate, to suit me. I do not deny its importance. I merely say that my mind is thinking of other matters of the time and other approaches and I am getting a little tired of all of us addressing homilies at international and national conferences.

So you see I am hardly a fit person to address this Philosophical Conference. What are Traditional Values of East and West? I really do not know, although much could be said about them. Most of these values arose in a certain set of circumstances when the world was completely different. How do they fit in

197. French Minister of Culture.

198. Letter.

today? What answer have they to today's problems? I am not attracted to the word "traditional" although undoubtedly it has uses.

It is really difficult for me to say whether I shall be able to go to Mysore in September. As a matter of fact, I am going to Mysore at the end of July to attend a conference on Community Development and Cooperation to which I attach great importance.<sup>199</sup> It is not usual for me to go repeatedly to the same place. Also, at that time Parliament will be meeting here. Therefore, all this is vague. All I can say is that I will not rule out the possibility of my going to Mysore for your Conference, though it appears rather doubtful.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 237. To Kesho Ram: Touring European Orchestras<sup>200</sup>

You will see that Indiraji has agreed to your proposal. I also agree.

2. You can thank Mrs. Nosek for the offer and say that we shall be happy to make these arrangements for the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. As for the date, we shall have to see that it does not conflict with the Austrian Orchestra. Indeed, it should not be too close to it. We shall have to engage Vigyan Bhavan in good time. You might, therefore, try to find out what the probable dates of the visit of the Austrian Orchestra are. I think, in fact, the date has been mentioned in some previous letter to me.

3. We should agree to look after the musicians and to make arrangements for their stay and pay for it. They should stay, I think, in the Janpath Hotel. The other Government hostels are rather small and will not be able to accommodate all of them. This reservation will also have to be made fairly early.

4. I agree also that the invitation should be issued by the Ministry of Scientific Research & Cultural Affairs. But that Ministry is no good at making arrangements, and we shall, therefore, have to take a good deal of interest in this matter.

199. See SWJN/SS/50/ (forthcoming).

200. Note, 27 May 1959.

**238. To B.V. Keskar: DMK Films and NBT Publications<sup>201</sup>**

Ootacamund

June 2, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

Your two letters of May 31st. One of these deals with the films of the DMK and allied parties of Madras. I agree with you that those are objectionable. I have drawn the attention of the Chief Minister of Madras to this and given him your letter.<sup>202</sup>

The other letter is about publication of books chosen by the National Book Trust.<sup>203</sup> I do not understand all this fuss about the law not permitting their publication by the Controller of Printing.<sup>204</sup> I am writing to Reddy<sup>205</sup> on the subject.<sup>206</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

201. Letter. File No. 40(60)/59-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

202. Nehru wrote to K. Kamaraj the same day that "In the summary of the book '*UDAYA SURYAN*', the film version of which is being shown, it does appear that the story is not only propagandist, but very objectionably so. I think something should be done about it. This kind of thing is an attack on the very basis of the Indian Union."

203. Keskar complained that the Chief Controller of Printing and Stationery (CCP&S), Finance, and the WH&S Ministry were obstructing the publication of NBT books, possibly because of paper shortages.

204. Vishnu Sahay clarified on 16 June that the CCP&S needed an authorisation by the appropriate Ministry—in this case, the Education Ministry. The solution was found, he said, by showing NBT publications as those of the Government Publications Division.

205. K.C. Reddy, Minister for Works, Housing and Supply.

206. See item 239, p. 499.

**239. To K.C. Reddy: Publishing NBT Books<sup>207</sup>**

Ootacamund  
June 2, 1959

My dear Reddy,

Keskar writes to me that some difficulty has arisen about the publication of the books of the National Book Trust.<sup>208</sup> It was all along our intention that these books would be published by the Government printing establishment. I am, therefore, surprised to learn how this question has arisen. Why is it necessary to take the opinion of the Ministry of Law on this minor matter is not clear to me. Are we to be bound so hand and foot that we cannot do what we want even about the publication of books?

These books must be published by us and whatever steps have to be taken in this matter should be taken as soon as possible. If any rules have to be changed, they should be changed. But I yet do not understand how any such objection could have been raised. I think you should inform the Controller of Printing and Stationery to behave in a more reasonable manner and not obstruct in carrying out our wishes in such matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**240. To Kesho Ram: *Lolita*<sup>209</sup>**

As the matter referred to in this file raised a question of principle, I did not wish to give any opinion till I had read the book. It has not been easy to find time to do so, but I have at last read it. Because of this there has been delay in my dealing with this matter.<sup>210</sup>

2. Generally speaking, I do not like the censoring of books unless this is considered essential in a particular case. It is always very difficult to find a proper authority who can censor books. To ask the police to do so or the Customs authorities does not seem to me right. It is an unfair burden cast upon them for

207. Letter. File No. 40(66)/59-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

208. See item 238, p. 498.

209. Note to Kesho Ram, PPS, 6 June 1959. File No. 44(46)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

210. See Appendices 12 (a-e) for correspondence and noting on the *Lolita* file.

which they have had no training. I would not hesitate to ban the average horror comics or the type of books that are produced today which deal with sex and crime and have no merit of any kind. Indeed, I think our Parliament has passed some legislation about horror comics and the like. But a book which is a serious book, even though it deals with an unsavoury subject, stands on a different footing.

3. Reading this book "*Lolita*", I felt that it was a serious book and in its own line rather outstanding. It is hardly a book which can give light reading to anyone. The language is often difficult. It is true that some parts in it rather shocked me. The shock was more due to the description of certain conditions than to the writing itself. The book is certainly not pornographic in the normal sense of the word. It is, as I have said, a serious book, seriously written. If there had been no fuss about it, no question need have arisen at all of banning it or preventing its entry. It is this fuss that sometimes makes a difference because people are attracted specially to reading books which are talked about in this way. This book has been the subject of a great deal of writing in other countries and to some extent in India. Nearly all this writing is on the whole favourable to the book, in the sense that it is a serious book which should not be banned or obstructed from entry.

4. My own view formed after reading it and considering a good deal of writing on it is that it should not be banned in India and the stock that has been imported and is now held up by Custom should be released. One fact has to be remembered. The book is an expensive one, each copy costing Rs. 30/-. It cannot, therefore, have a large sale.

5. But, apart from this, I do not see why we should encourage large scale sales of such a book in India. This involves foreign exchange which we try to conserve. Also even though the book is not pornographic in the normal sense of the world, I do not see why we should encourage the general public in India to turn their minds by such subjects when they have other and more important things to do. I would certainly object to cheap editions of the book being issued in India as also of translations. Such translations would have no merit whatever except the desire of the publisher to cash in on the publicity obtained by the book. I would also discourage allowing foreign exchange facilities in the future for the import of any large quantities of these books into India.

6. However, in law and in fact, I do not think we would be justified in banning it or holding up the copies that are with the Customs Department now. I would, therefore, advise accordingly.

7. I might mention that I consulted the Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, in this matter as I thought that his advice would be helpful. He is an outstanding literary figure in India and is the Vice-President of our Sahitya Akademi. He

told me that he was opposed to the banning of this book.

8. I also spoke to the Finance Minister on this subject, more especially as he had written a brief note which is given in the file. He said that he had read parts of the book, though not the whole of it, and had disliked it. At the same time, he doubted if it was permissible to ban it under the laws and regulations in force here. He agreed with me finally that in view of all this and partly because also it was an expensive book which cannot reach many readers, it should not be banned and the stocks with the Customs may be released. He agreed with me also that we should try to conserve our foreign exchange and not allow it to be used in future as far as possible for the import of this type of book.

9. Copies of this note should be sent to the Home Ministry and the Finance Ministry.<sup>211</sup>

## **241. To Humayun Kabir: National Professors in the Humanities<sup>212</sup>**

June 7, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your note of the 2nd June about the appointment of National Professors in Humanities at Ootacamund. When I read it at our Seminar there, C.D. Deshmukh<sup>213</sup> was sitting not far from me. I gave him your note to read and he sent it back to me with his own note as follows:

“As between the humanities and science and technology, quantitatively a larger number of properly qualified men at all levels would be required in the latter category. But quality should be equally high in both. It follows that if salary scales are raised in science and technology, they should also be raised in the humanities, as far as is feasible.

The introduction of General Education in the syllabuses of both arts and sciences will help to bridge the gap between the two.

The creation of National Professorships on the humanities side is justified per se and not for elevating the status of humanities only. In the absence of

211. See also item 232, p. 494.

212. Letter.

213. Chairman of the UGC.

other equalisation, e.g. pay, it will not achieve much to that end.”

I agree about your having these National Professorships in Humanities, but I do not at all like the idea of your choosing Dr Radhakrishnan as such professor. That would almost appear as a hint that we are preparing for his retirement from his present high office. We have no such intention. There can be no doubt of course that his appointment as such would add to the prestige of the National Professors. It would not add to his prestige which is already very high.

As for Dr Radhabinode Pal, he is a man of distinction of course. Presumably he would be National Professor more for Jurisprudence.<sup>214</sup>

I think that before his selection is made, Dr Radhakrishnan should be consulted.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 242. To K.L. Shrimali: Vidya Bhavan of Udaipur<sup>215</sup>

June 8, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

Your letter of June 2 about the Vidya Bhavan of Udaipur. I have no doubt that this institution is a very good one and deserves help.<sup>216</sup> I agree to the proposals made by your two officers who were sent to enquire, that is, that a special loan of Rs. 4 lakhs be given to the Vidya Bhavan to tide over the present difficulties. They have made various proposals which, on the whole seem to be good, and these should be emphasised.

The general impression I get from reading these reports is that the executive and business side of the institution is not run properly. It seems to me that the way help is given to such institutions is not always very wise. I do not understand why there should be a rule that ninety per cent of a deficit should be given. This is an inducement to increase expenditure. If Government has to give any money, it should be a fixed sum, and the institution should realise that more will not come whatever the deficit. What I mean is that the fact of a deficit should not govern a grant except a special grant on occasions.

214. 1959-1967.

215 Letter.

216. A group of institutions that was started with a basic school in 1931 by Mohan Sinha Mehta to provide good education to the non-elite and mould socially responsible citizens.



Also, more and more money on construction is bad and shows great carelessness. I would suggest that all construction be stopped till they have cleared their dues. The institution must be pulled up from the business and financial point of view, and they should appoint some competent person to look after this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 243. To K.L. Shrimali: The National Stadium and A. S. de Mello<sup>217</sup>

June 9, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

Your letter of June 9 about the stadium in Delhi. De Mello<sup>218</sup> wrote to me several times on this subject,<sup>219</sup> and I told him quite clearly that I was opposed to his going to the United States or elsewhere to collect money for it, and most certainly he could not associate my name with this kind of thing.

Thank you for your other letter of June 9 about the Delhi teachers.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 244. To K.C. Chaudhuri: Visva-Bharati

Kathmandu  
June 11, 1959

My dear Vice-Chancellor,<sup>220</sup>

I have received a letter from Shri Amal Home<sup>221</sup> about the Visva-Bharati (Society). He has also sent me the proceedings of a special meeting of the Society. At this meeting, opinion was expressed that the Society should continue.

217. Letter.

218. A. S. de Mello was a sports administrator.

219. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 397-398 and SWJN/SS/48/p. 385.

220. Letter.

221. Formerly Director of Publicity, Government of West Bengal, and a journalist.

Also that the opinion of the Attorney-General of India should be obtained about the present position of the Society. A special committee was formed to suggest amendments to the present constitution of Visva-Bharati (Society) and Amal Home wrote to me as the convener of the sub-committee.

All this does not enlighten me fully. Perhaps you could help in making me understand what is happening and what is desired.

Personally I feel that the existence of such a Society is desirable, but what the functions of the Society should be, is another matter.<sup>222</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 245. To Ramlal Parikh: Vienna Youth Festival<sup>223</sup>

June 14, 1959

Dear Ramlal,

I have your letter of June 12 about the Vienna Youth Festival.<sup>224</sup> It is true that I was of opinion that it might be better for us to keep away from this, and I wrote

222. Nehru replied to Home on 11 June 1959 that not only was Nehru not clear about the functions of the Society but even Home himself did not seem to be clear about them as he had decided to ask the Attorney-General for an opinion. Just as well, Nehru concluded.

223. Letter to an Educationist and Member of AICC Youth Section.

224. The problem with the World Youth Festival to be held in Vienna, 26 July - 8 August 1959 were several. Ramlal Parikh of the AICC pointed out two major issues: (i) it was a front for Communist organisations; and (ii) much of it was fraud because numerous organisations were being set up for the sole purpose of attending the Festival and inflating the numbers. His experience at the Moscow Festival in 1957 was unhappy, for the Communists there included the Congress in all speeches and statements without any authority whatsoever and without allowing for discussion and debate. As the Vienna event was seen as a facade for the Communists, the ruling Austrian Socialist Party was organising demonstrations against it, and a counter festival was being planned in Austria. However, refusing to participate brought its own problems. The Vienna event could be used as a platform to project non- communist youth and Indian foreign policy, as Subimal Dutt told him. If both participating and not participating were problematic, one solution could be to send organisations in their individual capacities but not have one representing India. However, even that course of action had been messed up as a Participatory Committee had been formed by the Communists and the Bharat Yuvak Samaj (the youth wing of the Bharat Sewak Samaj) had accepted its presidency, while the Congress had kept out of it.

225. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 778-779.

to you to this effect in December last.<sup>225</sup> Since then other developments have taken place which made us rather doubt the advisability of keeping away from it. Among these is the attitude of the Austrian Government. This Government is not associating itself with this festival, but nevertheless felt that it might be desirable for us to send some observers there.

I am sending your letter to the Foreign Secretary, Shri Dutt. I think you should confer with him again and then take the directions of the Congress President in the matter. I understand that the Congress President has herself discussed this matter with the Foreign Secretary.

It would certainly be desirable for the Bharat Yuvak Samaj to keep in line with your organisation.<sup>226</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 246. For Shinya Kasugai: On India-Japan Relations<sup>227</sup>

I am glad to learn that Professor Shinya Kasugai, Head of the Department of Japanese Studies, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, is arranging to bring out a series of books on Indo-Japanese cultural relations. The first book of his series is entitled "*Japan and Indian Asia—Their Cultural Relations in the Past and Present*".<sup>228</sup> The author of this book is Dr. Hajime Nakamura,<sup>229</sup> Professor of Indian and Buddhist Philosophy in the Tokyo University.

I have not had the advantage of seeing this book, but I welcome this work by an eminent scholar on a subject which I consider important. Reading through

226. See items 249, 250, 251, pp. 508-510 and 513.

227. Preface, 15 June 1959. File No. 9/2/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

228. (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1961). On 1 June Professor Kasugai asked Nehru to write a preface to this series, but Nehru declined on 8 June on the ground that he had not read the book, that he would not have time to do so, and that he should not write a preface without doing so. However, he warmly thanked him for the gift of two pilgrim dolls, called "Tera Mairi", or dolls of an old couple on pilgrimage to Buddhist temples. These had been made by an eighty-year old lady called Hideko Ueno, one of Nehru's admirers and a prize winning specialist in doll making. Nehru reciprocated with a photograph at her request. On 15 June however, Nehru sent the above "brief note or preface for the new book by Professor Hajime Nakamura."

229. (1912-1999); Japanese academic of Vedic, Hindu and Buddhist scriptures and an expert on Sanskrit and Pali; Associate Professor, University of Tokyo, 1954; became Professor, 1954; Dean of the Faculty of Letters, 1964-66; appointed, Professor Emeritus, 1973.

the list of contents of the book, I find fascinating vistas opening out. I am sure that many people both in Japan and in India will profit by reading this book.

## 247. To Subimal Dutt: Vienna Youth Festival<sup>230</sup>

I have sent you a letter from Ramlal Parikh of the AICC Youth Section on the subject of the Vienna Youth Festival.<sup>231</sup> This morning Shri Ramkrishna Bajaj<sup>232</sup> came to see me. He gave me a report of the tour of the Indian Youth Delegation sent on behalf of WAY to the USA. I enclose this report.

2. Then he told me that on his way back he had been to Vienna to find out about the forthcoming Vienna Youth Festival. He has given me a note on this as well as a number of other papers which have been issued by the Austrian Youth organisations, that is, the non-Communist organisations there.

3. These Austrian Youth organisations are boycotting the Vienna Youth Festival on the ground of this being a purely communist organised festival. In fact, they are doing a great deal of propaganda on this subject and three of their reports are attached. These show how this festival is being organised and financed.

4. Ramkrishna Bajaj told me that there was a strong feeling among Austrian Youth circles on this subject and they did not at all like the idea of non-Communist Youth organisations in India sending representatives or observers to the Vienna Youth Festival.

5. I told him that at first we were rather trying not to encourage any youth representatives to go from India to Vienna for this festival. Later we were given to understand that the Austrian Government would like non-Communist Youth organisations to send representatives so that India might not be said to be represented by the Communists only. He said this aspect was discussed with the Austrian Youth organisations but they held to the view that the Congress Youth organisation and the Bharat Yuvak Samaj should not send representatives or observers on this occasion to Vienna.

6. I do not quite know what we can do in the circumstances. We have already taken some steps in this matter. Do you think if it is feasible for us to

230. Note. 15 June 1959.

231. See item 245, pp. 504-505.

232. Younger son of Jamnalal Bajaj and an industrialist.

ask our representative in Vienna to enquire unofficially from the Austrian Foreign Office what the position is and what they would advise?<sup>233</sup>

## 248. To K.C. Chaudhuri: Rabindra Sadan

June 15, 1959

My dear Vice Chancellor,<sup>234</sup>

The Chief Justice of India has written to me suggesting that we might start building the Rabindra Sadan as soon as possible.<sup>235</sup> I entirely agree with him. In fact, the sooner it is begun, the easier it will be for us to collect more money for the fund. Will you please, therefore, arrange to have this started under the supervision of Shri Suren Kar of Shantiniketan who has drawn up the plans which have been approved?

The question arises as to who is to do it—the PWD or a private contractor. I am inclined to think that a private contractor will do it in less time. But I leave this to you to decide. You may consult Shri Suren Kar and you might also consult the West Bengal Government on this subject. In any event, I would very much like this construction work to start soon.<sup>236</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

233. On 18 June 1959 Nehru asked Humayun Kabir to defer a decision on the organisations that would attend until Congress itself had decided.

234. Letter.

235. Enclosing a cheque for Rs. 250 as the second instalment for the Rabindra Sadan Fund, S. R. Das wrote to Nehru on 11 June 1959 about raising funds: (i) collecting small amounts through post offices and banks; (ii) announcing donors' names in the newspapers, which had agreed to do so; and (iii) informing people that building construction had begun, which would enthruse them enough to contribute more.

236. Having agreed with the proposals of Dr D. M. Sen, Nehru replied to S. R. Das on 15 June that they should concentrate on the bigger fund, that is, the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Fund, out of which 25% would go automatically to Visva-Bharati.

## 249. To Sankar Saran: Vienna Youth Festival<sup>237</sup>

June 18, 1959

My dear Sankar Saran,

I gather that you saw our Foreign Secretary<sup>238</sup> the other day together with Gopal Shastri. This was in connection with the Vienna Youth Festival. Subsequently Gopal Shastri joined some kind of a coordinating committee and indeed was made Chairman of it. All this seems to me very odd. Here we are, for some weeks now, giving earnest thought as to whether representatives should be sent to this festival or not. It may be that the Congress and some other youth organisations which are non-Communist will not send representatives. It would be odd then for the Bharat Yuvak Samaj to play a leading part and not only send representatives, but make appeals to the public. What is this coordinating committee? Whom does it coordinate? It seems to me rather irresponsible behavior.

I think that before any decision is taken about the Bharat Yuvak Samaj sending anyone to Vienna, other non-Communist organisations should be consulted, more especially the Congress, and the decision taken should be more or less a joint one.<sup>239</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

237. Letter to Saran, former judge of the Allahabad High Court and President of Harijan Ashram, Allahabad.

238. Subimal Dutt.

239. Letter copied to Subimal Dutt and Indira Gandhi.

**250. To Sankar Saran: Vienna Youth Festival<sup>240</sup>**

18th June, 1959

My dear Sankar Saran,

I wrote to you this evening a letter<sup>241</sup> before I had seen your letter of the 17th June regarding the Vienna Youth Festival. I have now read your letter.<sup>242</sup>

The whole question is as to what the Vienna Youth Festival is. If it is definitely a political festival oriented in a certain direction, then it becomes a political act to join it. The mere fact that it is said to be non-political does not carry us any distance. As a matter of fact, I think all the Austrian Youth Organisations (except the Communist, if there is such a word there) have declared that this youth festival is a political move on the part of the Communists outside Austria chiefly and they have decided to boycott it. They are carrying on an active propaganda to this end and they have asked non-Communist organisations in India on this basis also to abstain from attending it.

It is this that has created the difficulty. For the Bharat Yuvak Samaj to associate itself with this festival directly, when perhaps other youth organisations are not doing so, would mean a definite political step by the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

While these difficult questions are being considered by us and by some youth organisations, it did seem to me very premature for the Bharat Yuvak Samaj to rush in and become member of a Coordinating Committee and issue appeals etc. To say in this appeal that the youth festival has no political or ideological foundations is not in keeping with fact, whatever might be said.

240. Letter.

241. See item 249, p. 508.

242. Sankar Saran's letter to Nehru pointed out that Nehru had advised the Bharat Yuvak Samaj to become Observers in the International Preparatory Committee, and that both Dutt and Sen had advised them against entering the Preparatory Committee but to enter the Co-ordinating Committee. He felt that they should do so since at Moscow in 1957 they had not been able to act as a team. Unfortunately, he said, the Youth Congress had kept out, which left the Bharat Yuvak Samaj facing the Communists alone in the Co-ordinating Committee. As all this involved questions of being political and non-political; of the Bharat Yuvak Samaj being a non-political body; the Youth Congress being a political one; and of Communists being political with a ready agenda; and of participation, level of participation (Observer, Member, Preparatory Committee, Co-ordinating Committee), and non-participation. In sum, he wanted Nehru's guidance to negotiate this labyrinth.

In the various organisations that you have mentioned in the list of the Coordinating Committee, there are many which are practically non-existent.<sup>243</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 251. To Krishna Prasada: Vienna Youth Festival<sup>244</sup>

I understand that the Bharat Yuvak Samaj is likely to be asked to send representatives to the Vienna Youth Festival. I am rather surprised to learn that Shri Gopal Shastri has become Chairman of some kind of a coordinating committee for this purpose and that an appeal has been issued by this committee.

A number of other organisations have also been invited, among them being the Indian national Congress Youth Section. The Congress has not yet decided whether to send anyone to this festival or not. There are many aspect of this question to be considered. The festival is undoubtedly under Communist sponsorship and far the most part of the people who attend it would be Communist. Whether it is desirable for non-Communist organisations to attend it or not, is a matter for consideration. We understand that the Austrian non-Communist youth organisations are not participating in the festival.

In view of this fact, it is surprising that the Bharat Sewak Samaj or Yuvak Samaj should jump in where others have hesitated to tread. I suggest that in the event of the Congress Youth Organisation not sending representatives to this festival, the Bharat Yuvak Samaj should also abstain from it.<sup>245</sup>

243. A copy of this letter together with the letter under reply was sent to Subimal Dutt and Vishnu Sahay.

244. Note to Secretary, Bharat Sewak Samaj, 18 June 1959.

245. This note copied to Subimal Dutt and Indira Gandhi.



**252. To K.L. Shrimali: Banaras Hindu University<sup>246</sup>**

June 18, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

I returned to Delhi today and saw a letter which Shibbanlal Saksena<sup>247</sup> had addressed to me. I find that a copy of this has been sent to the President also. So I am sending this on to you.

I was in Nainital the last two days. Sampurnanand mentioned that a large number of special police were still on duty at the Banaras Hindu University. Previously there were five hundred of them. Now there were about 250, I gather, though I am not sure of the numbers. He said that the District Magistrate had been told, presumably by the Executive Council, that he could remove the special police provided he undertook the responsibility of guarding the University and preventing any incidents from happening. This had put the District Magistrate in an embarrassing position and he had apparently asked the Chief Minister what he should do.

Also, it had been suggested by the Executive Council that a police outpost might be kept at the gate of the University. Sampurnanandji thought that this would not be desirable. A police outpost has a few policemen in it. They will not be able to do much and they will only be an irritant.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**253. To Sampurnanand: Kashi Vidyapith<sup>248</sup>**

June 27, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have received a letter from Satyendra Kumar Gupta about the sad state of affairs prevailing in the Kashi Vidyapith. Generally speaking, we have known about this for some time, but it appears that the position is fast deteriorating. He tells me that the old and experienced teachers have left the Vidyapith except

246. Letter.

247. Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from Maharajganj, UP.

248. Letter. File No. 39(2)/56-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

for two—Birbal Singh and Raja Ram Shastri.<sup>249</sup> Raja Ram Shastri is going to America for a year. As for Birbal Singh, he is a Member of Parliament and can spare very little time for the Vidyapith. Apart from this, he complains that Birbal Singh has not been behaving rightly in many ways, and more especially in regard to appointments.

I am asked to do something in this matter, but what can I do?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 254. To Michael Brecher: Thank you for your Book<sup>250</sup>

June 27, 1959

Dear Mr. Brecher,

Thank you for your letter of May 15 and your book which you have been good enough to send me and on which you laboured for long.<sup>251</sup> I shall certainly read the book, but I fear this will have to wait for some time. One of the major disadvantages of my present profession or calling is that it prevents me from reading much. Or, rather I should say, from reading worthwhile books.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

249. (1904-1991); Professor and Head of Philosophy and later of Sociology and Social Work, Kashi Vidyapith; Vice-Chancellor, Kashi Vidyapith, 1968-71, 1977-77; Lok Sabha MP, 1971-77 and Chairman, UP Government Social Welfare Review Committee.

250. Canadian political scientist and author.

251. *Nehru: A Political Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959). See also SWJN/SS/33/pp. 512-555.

**255. To Bimal Roy: Bimal Roy's Film *Sujata*<sup>252</sup>**

June 28, 1959

Dear Bimal Roy,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th June.

I am glad to tell you that I liked your film *Sujata* which I saw earlier this month.

It is a good film with good photography, and the story is interesting. There is always a danger in films which have too obvious a moral purpose, to become dull. I find that in *Sujata* this error is avoided, and there is considerable restraint in dealing with the subject, which is of course of great public importance.

I congratulate you on the film.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**256. To Sankar Saran: Vienna Youth Festival<sup>253</sup>**

June 29, 1959

My dear Sankar Saran,

Your letter of the 29th June with its enclosures. I have not gone into this matter very carefully, and I am too tired to do so. It is not a matter of first importance whether the Bharat Yuvak Samaj goes or does not go to this festival.<sup>254</sup> If you receive a reply to your telegram which you consider satisfactory, then the Bharat Yuvak Samaj might send representatives, more especially for the Voluntary Work Camps, etc.<sup>255</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

252. Letter to Roy, a prominent producer and director of films.

253. Letter.

254. See items 249, 250 and 251, pp. 508-510.

255. A copy of this letter was sent to Subimal Dutt.

**257. To Humayun Kabir: Tagore Centenary<sup>256</sup>**

June 30, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of June 30 about the Tagore Centenary Fund.

I agree that it will not be feasible to collect small funds through Post Offices. I agree also that we should have special centenary stamps and perhaps also Centenary Fund receipts.

We have already had Tagore postage stamps, but I think we might well have a special stamp for the Centenary.

You can certainly go on writing to the Chief Ministers of States, but I do not expect much help from them.

I am glad you are helping in the construction of the Rabindra Sadan.<sup>257</sup>

You can have the meeting of the Central Committee on the 4th August at 9-30 A.M.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Health

**258. To Kalika Singh: Changing Food Habits<sup>258</sup>**

May 3, 1959

Dear Kalika Singhji,

I have your letter of May 1st. Your suggestions about family planning do not seem to me to be of any particular value from that point of view, even though there might be some truth in the value of the foods you mention. In every country in the world, population grows much faster in rural areas than in cities. The reasons for this are many, and not just food. Anyhow, your suggestion that we should change the food habits of all our people is quite impracticable.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

256. Letter.

257. See item 248, p. 507.

258. Letter to Kalika Singh, Congress, Lok Sabha MP.

## 259. To Kesho Ram: Dr Shroff, Soviet Doctors, and Lady Hardinge Hospital<sup>259</sup>

Dr. Shroff<sup>260</sup> of the Charity Eye Hospital came to see me today. He gave me a letter. He wanted to address the Soviet Red Cross. I did not like the idea of his approaching the Soviet Red Cross in this way although I should like to help Dr. Shroff in every way possible.<sup>261</sup>

2. He told me that there is a Research Unit at the Lady Hardinge Hospital run by Russian doctors. Will you please find out particulars about this Research Unit, when did it start and under what conditions? Is it a temporary unit or more or less a permanent one?

3. You might also find out from the Health Ministry about this Research Unit as well as to what help they are giving to Dr. Shroff's Eye Hospital. They have occasionally given them some help. But so far as I know, they do not give a regular grant. The proposal made by Dr. Shroff to have Research Centre at the Eye Hospital is good proposal. Could the Health Ministry consider it?

4. Dr. Shroff gave me the letter he intended sending to the Soviet Red Cross as I advised him against it.

## 260. To Kesho Ram: Dr Shroff's Eye Hospital<sup>262</sup>

I enclose a letter from Dr. Shroff.<sup>263</sup> Will you please reply to him and say that I have always thought highly of the good work done by his Charity Eye Hospital in Delhi. I hope it will continue its work and extend it.

2. I have no funds at my disposal to give him a large grant for the purpose he mentions. Previously I gave him some money. I may be able to give a small donation. I am sending his letter to the Ministry of Health.

3. While I think that the Eye Hospital should be helped to carry on its good work, there is one difficulty in the present demand made. This is for the construction of paying wards in the hospital. Normally, specific grants for such purposes are seldom made by Government. Grants are made for the charity

259. Note to PPS, 3 May 1959. File No. 28(53)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

260. Sorabji P. Shroff.

261. See SWJN/SS/42/p. 281.

262. Note to PPS, 10 May 1959.

263. See item 259, p. 515.

part of a hospital, not the paying part. However, this is a matter for the Health Ministry to consider as to what help they can give him for the hospital.

4. Please send the letter to the Health Ministry.

## 261. To Sri Krishna Sinha: Patna Medical College<sup>264</sup>

May 18, 1959

My Dear Sri Babu,

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has drawn my attention to some strange and shocking happenings which are reported to have taken place in the Patna Medical College Hospital last year. She has sent me in this connection a copy of a letter which was addressed to you, as leader of the Bihar Legislature Congress Party, by H.N. Misra on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 1958. You were good enough to acknowledge this letter on the 6<sup>th</sup> February 1959 and to say that the matters referred to deserved serious consideration and you were looking into them.

I do not know what happened subsequently except that I have heard that Dr. Sachitanand Prasad later joined as Superintendent of the hospital and Miss Chacko, the Matron, was made to leave the hospital.

I have read this letter from H.N. Misra to you. It reveals a state of affairs which is very shocking. Apart from the incidents mentioned in it, what it discloses about the working of this great hospital in Patna is most disturbing. I do not know what the present condition of the hospital is, but obviously a very thorough enquiry on the highest level appears to be needed. It would be a great pity if this fine hospital went to pieces and suffered in public estimation.

For facility of reference, I am sending you the copy of the letter which Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has given me. I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to let me know what the subsequent developments were and what the position is now. What exactly is Dr. V.N. Singh's position now and what is he doing otherwise? Apart from the particular incidents mentioned in the letter, do you not think it desirable to have a thorough high-level enquiry into the affairs of the hospital?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

264. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

**262. To Kesho Ram: Pasteur Institute, Coonoor<sup>265</sup>**

Two years ago I visited the Pasteur Institute at Coonoor.<sup>266</sup> I was much impressed by the good work being done there. This work was considerable restricted by their lack of funds. I think they get some kind of a grant from our Health Ministry, but as this Institute was supposed to be a private or non-governmental institute, the Health Ministry's interest in it was rather limited.

On my return to Delhi I wrote to the Health Ministry about it and suggested that the Institute should be helped to the best of our ability.<sup>267</sup> I got some answer from them. I forget what it was except that they had been helping it and that no doubt they would continue to do so.

Now that I am going to Ooty, I shall probably visit the Pasteur Institute at Coonoor again. I suppose they will speak to me about help from the Centre. I should like you, therefore, to find out from the Health Ministry what they have done to help this deserving institute and what they propose to do in the future. As far as I remember, a good part of the income of the Institute came from fees. The Director of the Institute<sup>268</sup> said that the more dog-bites there were, the more the Institute profited.

**263. To B.V. Keskar: Yoga Film and  
Dhirendra Brahmachari<sup>269</sup>**

27th June 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

Your letter of June 26 about the film on yoga.<sup>270</sup> I saw this film the other day. The pictures were fairly good but I was not wholly satisfied with the descriptions of these exercises. It is not so much the individual exercise but rather the general approach to this system which did not seem to me very clear.

265. Note to PPS, 22 May 1959.

266. In fact on 28 April 1958.

267. See SWJN/SS/42/pp.308-309.

268. Dr. N. Veeraraghavan.

269. Letter. File No. 43(115)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

270. Keskar pointed out that the script could not be accepted because it claimed that certain exercises cured certain diseases, and any mention of organizers meant official publicity for them. Hence, all personal references to Dhirendra Brahmachari and the exploits of his institution had to be deleted.

Of course we cannot use this film to advertise any individual or group. I rather doubt if Brahmachariji<sup>271</sup> can produce a suitable script. He is likely to bring in all kinds of notions and ideas which are not considered suitable now. We cannot accept all the claims made for these exercises. I, therefore, agree with you that no claim about curing any diseases should be made in this film.<sup>272</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 264. To B.V. Keskar: Yoga Film and Dhirendra Brahmachari <sup>273</sup>

June 30, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

You wrote to me about the Yoga film.<sup>274</sup> Indira has spoken to me also about it. She agrees that it would not be right to say anything by way of advertisement of the Swamiji's ashram.<sup>275</sup> Therefore, the name of that ashram should not be mentioned.

She has made three suggestions:-

- (1) The name of the film might well be "The Yoga Way of Health" or some such name.
- (2) The names of the asanas should be mentioned. I think this is necessary. These asanas have specific names which are known, and they should be given.
- (3) There should be some kind of a preliminary introduction to the commentary, somewhat to the following effect:-  
"There are many methods of physical exercises. The Yoga system has come down to us from ancient times and consists of various asanas or postures. It has been claimed that some of these asanas can be utilised for specific ailments, but many of these asanas are difficult and

271. See also, SWJN/SS/40/pp.253-54.

272. Having sought Nehru's guidance for its further improvement, Keskar replied the same day that their staff could modify the script in consultation with any "well-educated person who thoroughly knows these exercises." See also, item 264, pp. 518-519.

273. Letter. File No. 43(115)/58-59.

274. See item 263, pp. 517-518.

275. Aparna Ashram.



complicated. There is a set of simpler exercises known as Sukshma Vyayam which tone up every part of the body. These are relatively simple and easy to practice as a daily routine for people who do not have much time or living space.”

The exercises should be given in the right order, more or less as they are given in the chart. They begin with the top of the head and end up with the toes.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (f) Science and Technology

#### 265. To Samar Sen: Cooperation with the USSR<sup>276</sup>

I do not think there is any harm in our having an agreement with the Soviet Union on scientific and technical cooperation.<sup>277</sup> If this has any indirect political consequences, we need not be afraid of them. Much would depend on the wording of the agreement.

2. But I do not think it will be proper for us to take the initiative in this matter at this stage. Further, it will not be proper for Sardar Swaran Singh's delegation to raise this matter.

276. Note to the Joint Secretary, MEA, 12 May 1959. File No. 8(115) Eur-E/59, Ministry of External Affairs.

277. Samar Sen, Joint Secretary in the MEA, noted on 11 May 1959 that the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs had suggested an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between India and the USSR should be signed during Malaviya's visit. Earlier, on 25 February 1959, Nehru had wanted no delay on the cultural agreement with the Soviet Union; all the more, Sen argued, the agreement on scientific cooperation could move fast. He pointed out the following issues to bear in mind: (i) the Soviet side had not officially asked for such an agreement; (ii) possible political implications; (iii) cooperation between the two countries being smooth despite the absence of an agreement; (iv) possible political advantages to the Soviet Union; and (v) Swaran Singh's forthcoming visit. "I have discussed this with Subimal Dutt and N. R. Pillai and the views set out above represent our common thinking," Sen concluded.

**266. To M.S. Thacker: National Laboratories<sup>278</sup>**

May 20, 1959

My dear Thacker,

Bhabha saw me today. Among other things he mentioned that our National Laboratories vary in size and often in importance. But we treat them alike in regard to the salaries etc. of the Directors. This seemed to him not a very correct thing to do. The NPL and the NCL are obviously in a class apart. Some others, on the other hand, are relatively small and cannot be said to reach that standard.

He also said that it would be a good thing if a small committee of the CSIR was formed for the purpose of advising as to the selection of Directors of National Laboratories.

I think that both these proposal deserve consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**267. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Nangal and Trombay Fertilizer Plants<sup>279</sup>**

May 20, 1959

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Dr. Homi Bhabha saw me today and gave me a note on the Nangal and Trombay Fertilizer Plants.<sup>280</sup> I am sending you a copy of this note. I think that the proposal he makes in it deserves consideration. These scientific and technical plants

278. Letter to the Director-General, CSIR. File No. 17(3)/56-61-PMS.

279. Letter. File No. 17(355)/59-61-PMS.

280. Bhabha's note, apparently undated, proposed that the fertiliser plants of Trombay and Nangal be transferred from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to the Department of Atomic Energy, of which he himself was the Secretary and Nehru the Minister. His reasons were as follows: (i) the method of hydrogen ammonia exchange for making heavy water is a major one being considered; (ii) as ammonia is a raw material in the production of fertilisers, "the simultaneous production of both nitrogenous fertiliser and heavy water would ensure economic production of both products;" (iii) both the Trombay and Nangal fertiliser plants adjoin heavy water plants; (iv) administrative delays could be avoided and scientific synergies achieved by placing both under the Atomic Energy Department; and (v) precedents exist in the form of the Neyveli fertiliser project being "an integral part" of the Neyveli Lignite project, and of the Rourkela fertiliser project being "an inseparable adjunct" of the Rourkela Steel project.

cannot be properly looked after by junior officers in our vast Ministries here who know nothing about the science of these. Obviously the Atomic Energy Department knows about them and is interested in them.

Ultimately, when the Fertilizer Plants are ready, then it will probably be desirable to have some joint concern to look after them.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**268. To Ahmed Mohiuddin: Hanna Reitsch and Gliding**<sup>281</sup>

June 7, 1959

My dear Mohiuddin,

As you might perhaps know, Hanna Reitsch,<sup>282</sup> the ace pilot from Germany, is staying in my house for two or three days. She gave me a flight assessment of Ashvini glider as a trainer. Probably she has sent a copy of this to you already. However, I enclose it.

She spoke highly of the person who has designed and built this Ashvini glider.<sup>283</sup> She said that a man of this type should be encouraged to have more experience. The best way to do this is for him to attend the International Meet of Gliders which apparently is held every year. The next meet is likely to be held in June 1960, and our designer should attend this and meet other famous glider pilots and see the progress made.

I entirely agree with her in this matter. I think you might find out when the next world competition is going to take place and send our man to it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

281. Letter to the Union Deputy Minister of Civil Aviation. File No. 27(57)/59-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

282. (1912-1979); famous aviator and the only woman to have been awarded the Iron Cross First Class and the Luftwaffe Combined-Observation Badge; set over forty aviation altitude and endurance records during her career, both before and after World War II; founded the first African National gliding school, Ghana.1962.

283. S. Ramamritham.

## 269. To Ahmed Mohiuddin: Hanna Reitsch and Gliding<sup>284</sup>

June 7, 1959

My dear Mohiuddin,

I wrote a brief letter to you today about Hanna Reitsch and the glider plane made here.<sup>285</sup> What I am specially interested in at present is what fresh arrangements are going to be made to put our gliding on a firm basis and to encourage it. It is obvious that at present it is not so, and all our glider pilots are rather frustrated about it. There must be some responsible person in charge.

You must have discussed this matter with Hanna Reitsch. What conclusions have you arrived at? I think the matter is important enough for a paper to be prepared on it and possibly for the Cabinet to consider it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 270. To S.K. Patil: Hanna Reitsch and Gliding<sup>286</sup>

June 8, 1959

My dear SK,

You know that Hanna Reitsch, the German ace pilot, has been in India for some time. She brought a German glider for presentation to us. When I came in contact with her some weeks ago, I was much struck by her personality and her enthusiasm for gliding. She was tremendously anxious to help the gliding movement in India and she was frank enough to tell me how feeble it was. In fact, far from a movement, it hardly existed. I discussed this matter with her and I asked her to see Ahmed Mohiuddin and also Air Marshal Mukerjee.<sup>287</sup> I also spoke to both of them about it.

She has been staying in my house for the last day or two and I have had further talks with her. She gave me a paper which showed how German gliding movement was organised. It is entirely a private affair there and Government has practically nothing to do with it. Of course we cannot compete with German thoroughness in this matter, but there seems no reason why we should be so very badly off in regard to gliding. There is practically no organisation and no

284. Letter. File No. 27/57/59-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

285. See item 268, p. 521.

286. Letter. File No. 27(57)/59-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

287. Chief of the Air Staff, Subroto Mukherjee.

coordination of the very limited activities that our gliders indulge in. I think, therefore, that some radical steps are necessary, though I am not quite clear what these should be. Obviously a measure of organisation and discipline is necessary. At present neither of these is present. No one seems to be in charge and our gliding pilots, I am told, are thoroughly frustrated.

At present some small measure of gliding is done by three or four aero-clubs. Much more is done by the N.C.C. which is organised by our Defence people. In fact, I might say that most of the gliding now is through the NCC both boys and girls.

Gliding is, I think, very good training not only for those people who intend becoming regular pilots for either the Air Force or the Airlines, but is otherwise also very good for our young people. How to encourage this and put this on a sound footing is the question.

I should like you to give thought to this matter. I am myself inclined to think that probably the best course would be to put this in charge of a senior Air Force officer who knows gliding. I do not mean that there should be a whole-time officer in charge. This would be a part-time duty, but he must be responsible for it and he will be able to bring in a greater measure of co-ordination and discipline. I should like the gliding clubs to remain, as far as possible, non-official.

I enclose the paper Hanna Reitsch gave me about the German aero-club organisation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **271. To Humayun Kabir: Regional Research Laboratory, Assam<sup>288</sup>**

I agree that steps should be taken to start this Regional Research Laboratory in Assam.<sup>289</sup> I agree also that Dr. B.N. Mitra might be appointed as Director.<sup>290</sup> But I am not quite clear whether we should appoint any person immediately for the full term of five years. For the present, the work is going to be of organising

288. Note to the Vice-President, CSIR, 10 June 1959. File No. 17(3)56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

289. It was established in Jorhat in the year 1961 as one of the multi-disciplinary laboratories of CSIR under its chemical science group of laboratories.

290. 1959-1964.

this laboratory and the appointment might well be a temporary one for, say, one year or so, subject to confirmation for a further period later.

2. As regards pay, etc., reference is made in the note above to the point I have raised more than once, that is whether all Directors of National Laboratories and Institutes should have a uniform scale of pay.<sup>291</sup> There is obviously a great difference between our major national laboratories and others which may be considered to be on a much smaller scale. To put them on the same level does not seem to me to be right. The NPL, NCL and perhaps one or two others stand on a separate footing. They are very big laboratories. Some others are on a smaller scale.

3. It may be of course that even a smaller laboratory has a man of high merit and distinction. Therefore, he may be entitled to a higher pay. But the mere fact of a post, whether it is attached to one of the big laboratories or a smaller one having the same pay does not appeal to me. I should like this point to be considered.

291. See item 266, p. 520.

## IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

### (a) Pakistan

#### 272. To M.J. Desai: Joint Defence with Pakistan<sup>1</sup>

I think that when you next write to our Ambassador in Washington,<sup>2</sup> you might suggest that the kind of talk Pakistan often indulges in about joint defence, should not be encouraged or, at any rate, we should not say anything about it.<sup>3</sup> The moment we talk about joint defence, the question arises as to who is the party that might attack us and against whom we are preparing our defence. We do not think that the Soviet Union will attack us. We are not going to take up an anti-Communist attitude. It is true that we are having some trouble with China at the present moment, but that will be of no interest to Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> In any event, to talk of joint defence indirectly puts us in some kind of a military camp.

#### 273. To M.J. Desai: Rejecting the Idea of Cession<sup>5</sup>

The note from the Ministry of Law is almost entirely beside the point. We all know the various processes involved in a cession of territory. In this case the question of cession does not arise, that is, there can be no agreement with

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 2 May 1959.
2. M.C. Chagla.
3. On 25 April *The Tribune* quoted Ayub as saying on 24 April at Rawalpindi that, "in case of a threat to the territorial integrity of the Indian sub-continent, India and Pakistan should fight it out jointly." He made the statement when he was asked whether "Tibetan events" would bring India and Pakistan closer. *The Hindustan Times* on 2 May noted that this was the first occasion Ayub made a reference to the possibility of "joint military action" by the two countries in certain circumstances.
4. *The Hindu* on 5 May 1959 carried Nehru's statement, made in the Rajya Sabha on 4 May stating that he had ruled out a "defence pact" in the context of the developments in Tibet. In a debate on "the situation arising out of the recent events in Tibet," he stated: "We do not propose to have military alliances with any country, come what may." He added: "I don't understand when people say: 'Let's have a common defence policy.' Against whom? Are we going to become members of the Baghdad Pact or the SEATO or some other alliance? We don't want to have a common defence policy, which will be almost some kind of military alliance." See item 291, pp. 545-556.
5. Note, 5 May 1959.

Pakistan at present on that basis. For Pakistan to agree to it means that they recognise that the territory is India's. For us to agree to it means to go through very complicated processes. So obviously we must not think in these terms at all.

Whether we can proceed on the lines suggested by you in paragraph 5 of your note above and thus side-step this issue is not clear to me. Some time or other we shall have to face it, if not now, then a little later. Anyhow these papers should be seen by the Defence Minister<sup>6</sup> and the Minister for Irrigation and Power.<sup>7</sup>

## 274. To Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi: Mangla Dam

May 16, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,<sup>8</sup>

As you must know, the President of the World Bank, Mr Black, has been in Delhi to talk to us on the subject of Canal Waters and our dispute with Pakistan in regard to it.<sup>9</sup> We have had three days of talk. We made some progress, but much remains to be done.

In connection with this subject, indirectly, the question came up of the Mangla Dam. I pointed out to Mr. Black that part of the territory covered by the

6. V.K. Krishna Menon.

7. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim.

8. Letter to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State.

9. Eugene Black came to India on 13 May 1959 along with Iliff, Vice-President, and two engineers of the Bank, Kenelm Guinness and J.B. Drisco. *The Hindustan Times* of 15 and 16 May 1959 reported that the World Bank had recommended that India's contributions should be "proportionate to the benefits derived by her and the Bank would not insist India to pay for construction in Pakistan for storage and development purposes but only for link canals." The Bank's estimate in this respect was around Rs. 120 crore as against India's figure of about Rs. 70 crore. India had demanded that "full adjustment" should be made of the sum of Rs. 22 crore owed to her by Pakistan in respect of canal development. Nehru responded that the proposals were financially "very big" and rather "overwhelming" and the period for which India would have to continue to supply water for another ten years beyond 1962 was rather "big". Black's statement on 16 May said: "As a result of these various conversations, certain general principles have been established along lines acceptable to India. The establishment of these principles is important progress towards a settlement of this issue which has been so long a cause of friction between India and Pakistan. There are, however, some difficult obstacles that remain to be surmounted."



proposed Mangla Dam reservoir would be the territory of India in the Jammu and Kashmir State.<sup>10</sup> The fact that it was at present occupied by the Pakistan Government did not affect our sovereignty there. We could not, therefore, agree to any step being taken which directly or indirectly or inferentially meant any waiver of our sovereignty.

Black appreciated our points and he said that this could be made clear in suitable language.

As you know, Pakistan is in fact going ahead with the Mangla Dam. In all likelihood they will proceed with it. We have protested in the Security Council.<sup>11</sup> But we can do little else.

If there had been no dispute with Pakistan, there would probably have been no difficulty in our agreeing to allow their reservoir to spread out in a part of our territory. That would not have meant our giving up our sovereignty at all. Such arrangements are often made in other countries in their border areas.

We are, therefore, inclined to think that if our sovereignty over this area is clearly stated by us, we should not otherwise come in the way.

All this is in a very fluid stage. But I thought I might inform you of the thinking in this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 275. To Rajeshwar Dayal: Joint Defence with Pakistan

26<sup>th</sup> May, 1959

My dear Rajeshwar,<sup>12</sup>

I have just seen your letter of May 25th addressed to the Commonwealth Secretary and have read it with interest. Towards the end of this letter you say that the President asked you to write to me and to assure me that he would do his best to try to solve our mutual problems etc. etc.

When you have a chance to meet President Ayub Khan, you might tell him that I much appreciate this message and nothing will please me better than to see a progressive solution of the problems between India and Pakistan. From

10. On 14 May Nehru said India had objected to the Mangla Dam proposal as it was chiefly on Indian territory occupied by Pakistan. See *The Pioneer*, 15 May 1959.

11. See SWJN/SS/39/pp. 634-635.

12. Letter to the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan.

every point of view this is desirable, even from the narrowest point of view of opportunism, for each country. Therefore, I welcome his statement.

There was this question of defence. There can be no doubt that a full understanding between India and Pakistan about various issues will bring about a happy state of affairs along our border areas. Also, that gradually our military burden might be lessened. All this would be very welcome to both the countries.

But, when the question of joint defence is raised, immediately one has to think of wider policies and our relationships with other countries. President Ayub Khan must know broadly what our thinking is about this matter and how we have refused to join any kind of defence pact or alliance.<sup>13</sup> That policy is not something derived from the circumstances of today, but is more basic to our thinking. It was because of this that I had said that the question of joint defence between India and Pakistan did not arise because our broader approaches to world affairs are different.

Nevertheless, I have much appreciated President Ayub's statement and my reply was not meant in any way to show lack of appreciation of what he had said.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 276. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Canal Waters and Partition Debt

May 28, 1959

My dear Mehr Chand,<sup>14</sup>

Your letter of May 26th. It is true that there is a fair chance of a settlement of the Canal Waters issue. But we must not be too sure. There are still some hurdles in the way.

I am afraid there is no chance whatever of our setting off any payment due

13. It was reported in *The Tribune* of 11 May that: "Ayub Khan in a press conference in Quetta on 10 May expressed his 'eagerness' to settle the disputes and also to have a joint command with India to be able to defend the sub-continent effectively against any outside aggression." *The Pioneer* on 12 May quoted Ayub Khan as saying that India could remain neutral even if it joined hands with Pakistan for the joint defence of the sub-continent. But the prerequisite to such a pact was the solution of the "big problems of Kashmir and canal waters." See item 272, p. 525.

14. Letter to the Union Minister for Rehabilitation.

from us to Pakistan in the way you suggest. There are many amounts due to us from Pakistan, including part of the partition debt.<sup>15</sup> It is laid down clearly by the World Bank at an early stage of our negotiations that these Canal Waters payments should not be mixed up with any other payment from Pakistan to us. In fact, there is a particular debt in connection with canal waters amounting to about twenty one crores. This was given to us by the Arbitration Tribunal after partition. Being related to the Canal Waters issue, we thought this sum should be included in our settlement. But Pakistan has not agreed and the World Bank people have asked us not to press this.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

### 277. For M. J. Desai<sup>16</sup>

Please give the following message to Commonwealth Secretary by telephone. You may telephone to Srinivasan<sup>17</sup> who will take it down and deliver it to the Commonwealth Secretary.

“To Commonwealth Secretary from Prime Minister.

I am much disturbed by the message from Iliff to Gulhati.<sup>18</sup> Please ask Gulhati to make it clear to Iliff that the Prime Minister is greatly disturbed at clause (d) of Iliff’s message to him relating to Mangla Dam.<sup>19</sup> In the course of our talks with Bank Mission it was stated that no mention of Mangla or any place will be made in the proposed Water Treaty. But our

15. On 7 May 1959, Morarji Desai claimed in the Lok Sabha that Pakistan owed India Rs. 300 crore as Partition debt. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXI, cols 15584-15586. But, according to *The Hindustan Times* of 29 May, M. Shoaib, the Pakistan Finance Minister, asserted on 27 May that it was India who owed Pakistan Rs. 180 crore.
16. Note to PPS, 31 May 1959.
17. C.R. Srinivasan was private secretary to Nehru, MEA.
18. Additional Secretary, Ministry of Education and Power.
19. With regard to the construction by Pakistan of the Mangla Dam, Iliff had stated that the general principle underlying the Bank’s approach to this problem had been that “neither party should, on the one hand, seek to gain, in or from the Water Treaty, any support for its own general position on the Kashmir issue or, on the other hand, should seek to erode the general position of the other party.”

position will be made clear in letters or any other communications at the time. We stated our position in writing and gave this to Iliff. This is the very minimum we can agree to and any watering down of this will create great difficulties.

Iliff should be informed in clear language about this matter.”

## **278. To M.J. Desai: Mangla Dam<sup>20</sup>**

I am also dissatisfied with the reference in sub-para (d) to the Mangla Dam and to the proposal to exchange notes in the way mentioned. We should make it clear to Mr Iliff that, as we told him, we attach great importance to our position being clarified in regard to the Mangla Dam or to any area in the territory of the Jammu and Kashmir State (being occupied by Pakistan). The brief statement we have given him on this subject is as far as we can go.

2. It might be added that this matter is so important that it should not be left over for the meeting to be held in August next.<sup>21</sup> That is why we are raising it immediately.

I am having a telephone message also sent to you about this.

20. Note, Ootacamund, 31 May 1959.

21. The India-Pakistan talks on canal waters opened in London on 6 August 1959. The World Bank leaders categorically said that the treaty between India and Pakistan on the division of the waters should be concluded between January and June 1960.

**279. To N.R. Pillai: Mangla Dam<sup>22</sup>**

I have read through these papers.<sup>23</sup> The result is a certain confusion and alarm in my mind. I had thought that we had arrived at a certain stage in our last discussions with Mr. Black in Delhi.<sup>24</sup>

The next stage was London in August.<sup>25</sup> Why is it necessary for Shri Gulhati or anyone else to go to Washington or indeed anywhere to meet Mr Iliff? I think this kind of thing can be overdone and this is hardly in keeping with our dignity as a Government. We have pressed our views clearly and fairly and there we should stand. If we go in for further talks and discussions, Pakistan may also come into the picture and elements of confusion will arise.

2. So far as the Mangla Dam is concerned, nothing more should be said. We have given a formula and by that we shall stand. If something happens or is done which comes in the way of our interests, we shall deal with the matter then. In any event, the Mangla Dam matter is a purely political question which should be dealt with in future only by the External Affairs Ministry.

3. I do not, therefore, see why Shri Gulati should go to Washington next month.<sup>26</sup>

4. The draft message for approval which is attached now appears to be wholly unnecessary. Most of it is anyhow deleted as it is.

22. Note to the Secretary General, 28 June 1959.

23. For the notes of Gulhati of 23 June and N.R. Pillai of 26 June, see Appendices 25 (a) and 25 (b).

24. See item 274, pp. 526-527.

25. See item 278, p. 530.

26. On 1 July Nehru changed his mind about Gulhati's Washington trip. As he noted that day: "The Minister for Irrigation and Power [Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim] spoke to me about this matter today and pointed out that, in any event, Shri Gulhati will be going to London for these talks and it would be desirable and might prove helpful for him to have talks with Iliff and the Bank officials a few days earlier. It appears this can only be done if Mr Gulhati went to Washington just before the London meeting. As the Minister thinks this visit of Shri Gulhati to Washington, prior to the London meeting, necessary, I am agreeable to it."

(b) Nepal

## 280. To Subimal Dutt: Visit to Nepal<sup>27</sup>

When I met the King of Nepal recently, he pressed me to pay an early visit to Kathmandu.<sup>28</sup> I told him that I would gladly come but I could not do so till sometime in June.

2. This afternoon the Nepalese Ambassador came to see me and conveyed the King's message again to me and his anxiety that I should go there soon.<sup>29</sup> I pointed out that this kind of a hurried visit was not desirable and added that about the 10th of June would be the earliest date when I could go there. Also that I would go for two clear days.

3. I have sent a telegram to our Ambassador in Kathmandu, copy attached.<sup>30</sup>

4. The King also pressed me to allow our present Ambassador to continue there, at least till the end of this year. He said that a big change was coming there and the present Ambassador with his experience would be very helpful.

## 281. To Keshava Deva Malaviya: Oil Prospecting and India-baiting<sup>31</sup>

May 19, 1959

My dear Keshava,

Your letter of 18th. I shall sound the Nepal Government, when I go there, on the subject of an Indian oil survey and prospecting party visiting Nepal. But we shall have to proceed very warily in this matter. The fact that a new Government is going to be formed soon is to be welcomed, but it does not lessen our difficulties in regard to any particular work that we might want to do there.<sup>32</sup>

27. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 7 May 1959.

28. King Mahendra invited Nehru on 30 April at the foundation stone laying ceremony on Kosi project. Nehru left Delhi for Nepal on 11 June and returned on 14 June 1959.

29. Daman Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana.

30. Bhagwan Sahay.

31. Letter to the Union Minister of Mines and Oil.

32. After winning in the elections, the Nepali Congress formed the government under B.P. Koirala on 27 May 1959.

One of the favourite pastimes of all parties in Nepal has been to run down India and to accuse the Government of India of interfering in Nepal. Privately they speak in a different way to us. Publicly they act otherwise. Even the King is in the habit of facing both ways.

Therefore, we have to be careful and I would certainly not send any survey party from India there without careful preparation.

Anyhow I shall speak both to the King and to the new Government which I hope will be formed by that time. I shall tell you their reactions on my return.

Yours affectionately,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

## 282. Telegram to B.P. Koirala

28 May 1959

Please convey following message to Prime Minister B.P. KOIRALA:

On the occasion of your forming a new Government in Nepal, I send you on my own behalf and on behalf of my Government all our good wishes.

The success of the first General Elections held in Nepal was impressive and heartening to those who believe in democracy and have the good of Nepal at heart. The formation of your Government is a matter of great satisfaction to us. We look forward to close cooperation between our Governments and countries and to an ever strengthening of the close bonds that have united our two countries and peoples.

Jawaharlal Nehru

## 283. To Subimal Dutt: Indian Canvassing in Nepal Elections<sup>33</sup>

Two persons from Nepal came to see me today. The name of one of them was Upendra Trivedi. They said that many people were complaining in Kathmandu about the activities of some of the people employed by us in our Embassy there who, it was stated, openly helped the Nepal Congress during the recent general elections. In particular, Shri Shukla, Shri Ojjha and Dr Shiv Mangal Singh<sup>34</sup>

33. Note, 8 June 1959.

34. Press & Cultural Attaché, Indian Embassy, Kathmandu during 1956-61.

canvassed openly at the Maharajganj polling station in Kathmandu.

2. They also said something about reports being circulated in Kathmandu that the Government of India made rupees one crore available to the Nepal Congress for the elections.<sup>35</sup> I have made a mention of this to you so that you might bring it to the notice of the Ambassador when you go there, more particularly about the charge of canvassing by our people

## 284. Banquet Speech<sup>36</sup>

Kathmandu, June 12.-Prime Minister Nehru said here last night the "world of ours is staggering near the brink". It was always near the brink and only recently it was right on the brink. But the people wanted peace and to avoid conflicts.

Pandit Nehru was speaking at a glittering royal banquet held in his honour by King Mahendra and the Queen of Nepal in the glittered and huge mirrored state hall of Singha Darbar Palace, headquarters of the Nepalese Government.

An enormous indoor water fountain was playing under crystal chandeliers in the richly decorated banquet hall while guests sat for "a seven-course dinner."

The Nepalese Army band played music outside from the illuminated bandstand between two water pools flanked on either side of the palace.

Pandit Nehru sat at the head of the banquet with Queen Ratna Rajya on his left and King Mahendra on the right. Prime Minister Koirala of Nepal sat at the left end.

Rising to toast the Indian President and people of India, King Mahendra said the friendly goodwill that "has been pervading the relationship between our two countries is age-old. The Indian Prime Minister's first visit has made it firm, and we have no doubt that this present visit will enable us to make still more solid and spontaneous relations from our respective positions."

35. *The Tribune* of 12 May reported that the former Prime Minister and the leader of the United Democratic Party had complained to the Kathmandu Magistrate on 11 May that the Nepal Congress had received "foreign assistance" during the elections. He demanded fresh elections on this ground.

36. Report of speech, Kathmandu, 11 June 1959. From *National Herald*, 13 June 1959.



King Mahendra said: "We have experienced immense pleasure and satisfaction in having this opportunity to welcome as our honoured guests a great personage of Asia and other representatives of the peace-loving people of India, in this atmosphere of friendliness. It is our firm belief that this historic visit of his Excellency will prove to be another momentous step, symbolic of mutual help, in strengthening the bonds of friendship and active cooperation, as well as in the development of our countries."

Replying, Pandit Nehru stressed the need for mutual cooperation between countries. He said there was no magic solution to any of the human problems and relationship between the countries should be guided by mutual trust and not through suspicion. India and Nepal have many common problems with other Asian and African countries, the biggest of them was to lift the poor man from his present position, and there was enough scope for cooperation between the two countries.

Pandit Nehru said that it was not essential that two countries must agree on all points. "But love and not suspicion should guide relations between old friends. Our age-old ties demand that there should be mutual cooperation between us."

Pandit Nehru said one could expand one's international relations, one could make new friends but old friends should not be forgotten.

#### Symbol of Friendship

Pandit Nehru said that whenever he travelled abroad it was his practice to look into the eyes of the people to find love in them. In Nepal he found profound love in the eyes of the people.

People all over the world wanted peace. He said if there were a third world war and a fourth, the fourth would be fought with bows and arrows because the third world war would completely destroy everything man had so far achieved – his civilization, culture and all his creation.

The guests numbering 110 were later taken to the state dance hall where a cultural show was presented.



At a Civic Reception at Lalitpur, Nepal, 13 June 1959.



With King Mahendra and Queen Ratna of Nepal at the Royal Palace at Kathmandu, 12 June 1959.

### 285. Dangers of Cold War and Modernity “Unwise for Backward Nations to Copy West”<sup>37</sup>

Kathmandu, June 12.-Prime Minister Nehru said here today that the real differences in the world lay not between socialism, capitalism and communism—all children of the Industrial Revolution of the West—but between the developed and under-developed countries.

“Our problem, the problem of the underdeveloped countries are of a different type (from that of the advanced nations),” Pandit Nehru said. It would be unwise for the underdeveloped countries to swallow “what is happening in those countries.”

37. Report of speech, Kathmandu, 12 June 1959. From *National Herald*, 13 June 1959.

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing the Nepal Council of Asian Relations and World Affairs, this morning said that the United States and the Soviet Union had basic agreement on one thing – the machine. Both considered the machine as almost a god, “as something from which all good consequence come.”

Yet they were two powerful blocs opposed to each other and nobody knew if there would be a disastrous war to destroy all of man’s civilisation, he said.

The two aimed in the same direction – materialistic life.

### **Origin of Slogans**

Pandit Nehru said that in Europe the economic revolution had taken place long before political revolution, whereas in countries like India and Nepal political revolution preceded economic progress. That made the real difference between the developed countries of the west and the underdeveloped nations of Asia.

Pandit Nehru said that slogans of socialism, communism and things like that were modern words. These words originated after the industrial revolution in Europe which had preceded their economic and political revolution.

Slogans, after all were superficial and not as deep as thought, he said. What was needed was deep thinking and not slogans. The world was changing all the time, but slogans remained the same.

### **New Problem**

Pandit Nehru, again spoke of the new problems to man arising from the dual aspect of the tremendous forces released by science and technology.

Before the Industrial Revolution it was possible to think that poverty could be removed, he said. Today man had the power to eradicate poverty. But the same power was powerful enough to destroy the whole civilisation. That was the new problem before the man of the scientific and technical age.

Pandit Nehru warned that the pattern of life being woven out of the machine was utterly neglecting another vital aspect of life, the spiritual aspect.

If this spiritual aspect was neglected, man would become of the third grade – humanity would collapse, causing the collapse of the machine.

Pandit Nehru said that prime Ministers, foreign ministers and other ministers could not take as much liberty as writers or journalists to talk frankly about world affairs, because they had to deal with them. He was reminded of a French saying that if everyone was hundred per cent frank to everyone else, then there would not be even three friends left. Foreign ministers must have tolerance and restraint.

## Indian's Restraint

Earlier, Mr. S.P. Upadhaya, Home Minister of Nepal and president of the Council, said that the restraint and dignity which India had shown over the "distressing events in Tibet" was a "lesson in international behaviour."

Mr. Upadhaya added: "When I hear some impetuous persons anywhere flinging wild charges of expansionism against India, that great and ancient land, I wish my voice were clear and loud enough for all the world to hear that I believed with my whole heart that the charge was untrue."

Pandit Nehru's presence was an inspiration and a challenge, he added. It was inspiring because "we see in you the champion of truth, justice and liberty everywhere", Korea, Vietnam, Egypt and even Hungary were shining examples of the beneficent work India had done "in fulfillment of her traditional role of a votary of peace."

## 286. "Development of Nepal: Assistance by India—Nehru's Offer"<sup>38</sup>

Kathmandu,  
June 13

Prime Minister Nehru today promised India's assistance to Nepal's development programme.

Mr. Nehru was speaking at a banquet he gave in honour of the King and Queen and other Nepalese leaders on the eve of his departure for Delhi tomorrow after the conclusion of his three-day State visit here.

Proposing the toast for King Mahendra, Mr. Nehru said that India would help Nepal and she desired working co-operation with Nepal.

The Prime Minister congratulated the King for taking progressive measures for uplift of his people in response to the demand of time.

King Mahendra and the Queen of Nepal, Prime Minister Koirala and other Ministers were among the 95 guests who attended the banquet.

Mr. Nehru said that during his three-day visit to Nepal, he had talks with the King and his Prime Minister. He talked to them frankly as though he was talking to friends. He found that there was no difference of opinion between India and Nepal on basic principles. India's policy, he said, was not to get involved in any power bloc and he understood that the same was the policy of His Majesty's Government.

38. Report of speech, Kathmandu, 13 April 1959. From *The Hindu*, 14 June 1959.

## 287. Non-Alignment and Cooperation<sup>39</sup>

### “Non-Alignment Policy Best Means to Serve Peace: Faith of India and Nepal—Cooperation among Asian Nations Urged”

Kathmandu

June 14

A joint communiqué issued here at the conclusion of Prime Minister Nehru's three-day visit to Nepal said that the Prime Ministers of India and Nepal were convinced that they could best serve the cause of world peace as well as their countries interests by adhering to the policy of non-alignment with military groupings and by maintaining friendly relations with all countries. “In particular, they aim at greater understanding and co-operation among the Asian countries”.

The following is the text of the communiqué:

“On the invitation of His Majesty the King of Nepal, the Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, paid a three-day visit to Nepal. The Prime Minister conveyed to Their Majesties the greetings and good wishes of the people and the Government of India. Shri Nehru was impressed by His Majesty's solicitude for the welfare of his people and his desire to strengthen the friendly relations which already exist between Nepal and India.

“The Prime Minister of India also had several friendly and informal talks with the Prime Minister of Nepal and his colleagues in Government. In the course of those talks, a variety of subjects was discussed, including the present international situation and the recent developments in Tibet, and social and economic problems which are common to the two countries. There was an identity of views on the policies of the two countries, both in the international and domestic spheres, being animated by similar ideals and objectives. Both are convinced of the paramount necessity of world peace and the removal of the dangers of war, leading to progressive disarmament. The ample resources of the world could thus be diverted to the social and economic advancement of people all over the world and, more particularly, in the under-developed countries.

“The Prime Ministers are further convinced that in the interests of peace as well as national and human progress, no country should be dominated over by another and colonial control, in whatever form, should end.

39. Report and joint communiqué on conclusion of Nehru's visit, 14 June 1959. From *The Hindu*, 15 June 1959.

## Lessening of tension

### Hopes about Geneva talks<sup>40</sup>

“The Prime Ministers earnestly trust that the talks at present going on in Geneva will lead to some steps being taken towards the lessening of tension and a progressive solution of the problems that threaten peace. They are convinced that they can best serve the cause of world peace as well as their countries’ interests by adhering to the policy of non-alignment with military groupings and by maintaining friendly relations with all countries. In particular, they aim at greater understanding and co-operation among the Asian countries.

### Joint Execution Of Projects

Both Nepal and India are under-developed countries. India is at present half-way through her Second Five-Year Plan and has had longer experience in planned development. The Prime Minister of India assured the Prime Minister of Nepal of his readiness to share this experience with Nepal. The two Prime Ministers recognised that each country is the best judge of its own needs. The geographical contiguity of the two countries, however, makes it inevitable that certain developmental projects can be best planned and executed by the joint endeavours of the two countries. The Kosi project is the first such endeavour in co-operative development on a big scale,<sup>41</sup> a similar project on the River Gandak is expected to provide irrigation facilities and cheap power to large areas at present under-developed in Nepal and India.<sup>42</sup> The two Prime Ministers hope that an early beginning will be made with the execution of this important project.”

The Prime Minister of India was deeply touched by the kindness and courtesy of His Majesty the King and his Government and by the demonstrations of popular affection wherever he went in Nepal. He is grateful for this welcome which is largely due to the close bonds that exist between the people of Nepal and the people of India. There is no conflict of interest between the two countries

40. Referring to the talks between the USA, UK, France, and USSR, 11 May to 20 June and 13 July to 5 August, on Berlin, German unification and European security.

41. On 1 May *The Hindustan Times* reported that King Mahendra of Nepal laid the foundation stone of the Rs. 16.79 crore Kosi project on 30 April 1959, which consisted of barrage and headworks, flood banks and the eastern Kosi canal system.

42. The Gandak Project was designed in such a way that the 1,50,000 acres of Nepalese land would be irrigated to produce 10,000 kilowatts of electricity.

and they face similar problems and have common approaches, the two Prime Ministers are determined to work for the welfare and advancement of the people in their respective countries, and to co-operate to this end.

## 288. India and Nepal on Tibet<sup>43</sup>

“Approach to Tibet issue: India and Nepal concur-Nehru’s review of talks”

Kathmandu,

June 14

Prime Minister Nehru told a Press conference here to-day that “there is concurrence between India and Nepal in their approach to the Tibetan question”.

The Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr. B.P. Koirala, was present at the Press conference which was held before the Indian Prime Minister flew back to Delhi.

Mr. Nehru said that he had found similarity of views in his talks with the Nepalese Government leaders. He had discussed with Mr. Koirala a wide variety of international subjects, recent events in Tibet and common projects.

Mr. Nehru said that he did not envisage any threat to the Indian frontier because of Tibetan developments.

A correspondent asked if the Dalai Lama’s stay in India would help to solve the Tibetan question. Mr. Nehru said, “I cannot say that. A wound of heart takes time to heal. Moreover a solution does not depend on top men. There are so many factors involved”.

To a question whether the Tibetan situation warranted reconsideration of the defence system of Nepal and India and whether he thought the present system adequate, Mr. Nehru replied that if the question suggested any threat from the North then “I do not envisage any such threat”.

The Indian Prime Minister told the Press conference that India did not intend taking the Tibetan question to the United Nations.

Answering a question by a Nepalese correspondent, Mr. Nehru said, “Not one but many countries have violated the Panch Sheel”. He, however, declined to name any of such nations.

A correspondent asked since India enunciated Panch Sheel with China would a similar agreement be effected with Nepal. Mr. Nehru said that there was no question of having an agreement with nations on Panch Sheel. It was a matter of principle and India agreed to the principle. He believed Nepal too

43. Report of a Press Conference, Kathmandu, 14 June 1959. From *The Hindu*, 15 June 1959.



agreed with it. "A paper agreement on Panch Sheel is no agreement", he said.

Replying to a question on the future of Tibetan refugees in India, Mr. Nehru said that it was still uncertain. Certainly, a large number of them would not be able to return to Tibet in the foreseeable future, he added.

The Prime Minister said that there were about 12,000 Tibetan refugees in India of whom many were trying to find work and earn living. India would make all endeavours to find them jobs.<sup>44</sup>

Answering questions on the Nepalese check posts on the Nepal-Tibetan frontier, Mr. Nehru said that that was the business of the Nepalese Government. There were some Indian operators whose services were requested for by the Nepalese Government. As the Nepalese were being trained to man the posts, Indian operators were being replaced.

### **Gandak Project<sup>45</sup>**

The Prime Minister said that he had discussed India's Gandak river project with the Nepal Government leaders.

Answering questions on the project, Pandit Nehru said that if the Gandak project did not have the approval of the Nepal Government "we have an alternative and in that case the loss will be more for Nepal. She will not get free electricity and irrigation without any financial commitment," he said.

Of course, he added, India preferred the project barrage to be constructed at a place where Nepalese territory would be involved. But if that were not possible "we shall accept the second best," in which case it would be entirely an Indian project.

44. *The Hindustan Times* of 5 June quoted MEA on GOI not intending to "maintain" Tibetan refugees permanently in camps on doles, and on its plans to help able-bodied skilled persons to find jobs and to make special arrangements for lamas and the infirm.

45. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim wrote to Nehru on 5 June that negotiations on the Gandak Project had been interrupted for the elections. He was anxious to finalize the plans and hoped Nehru's visit would help. He pointed out that the project was sound and Nepal would benefit enormously; and the Indian commitment would be Rs 4.5 crore, which was worthwhile since Nepal was friendly and in any case the barrage would be located in part in Nepal. But if Nepal demanded too much, India always had the option of constructing the barrage at Siswan in India, which, however, would benefit only Bihar and not UP.

**289. To B.P. Koirala**

June 20, 1959

My dear Koirala,

May I thank you for the very generous hospitality you and your colleagues in the Government extended to all of us during our brief stay in Nepal? I went to Nepal after several years and I was greatly moved by the warmth and affection which the people of Nepal continue to have for India and for me personally. I should like to express my deep gratitude to them.

Our two countries are bound closely by culture, geography and history and I am confident that the friendly ties between us will continue to grow. I am looking forward with deep interest to the future of Nepal. I wish you all success.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**290. To Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev<sup>46</sup>**

June 20, 1959

My dear friend,

Ever since my return from Nepal I have been touring. I returned to Delhi only today. I am now writing to thank you for the very generous hospitality which you, your

Government and your people extended to us during our brief stay in Nepal. I was greatly moved by the kindness and friendliness shown to me by everyone there. I feel sure that this visit of mine will bring our countries even closer than they had been and promote greater understanding and friendliness between them.

To Your Majesty and to the Queen I am particularly grateful. I shall always cherish the memories of this visit.

With all good wishes to you and to Nepal.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

46. Letter to the King of Nepal, Kathmandu.

## (c) China and Tibet

291. In the Rajya Sabha<sup>47</sup>

“Motion Re Situation Arising out of Recent Events in Tibet”

4 May, 1959

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Chairman,<sup>48</sup> the hon. mover of this motion spoke in such dignified and restrained language that I feel deeply beholden to him. He set a good example for all of us.<sup>49</sup> In the course of this discussion this example has been more or less followed, not entirely; but I do not wish to object to anything that has been said or the manner of saying it. Unfortunately in some other countries, and in China more specially the way we function in our Parliament here or outside is perhaps not fully appreciated; that is to say that it may not be quite appreciated that here every one has a right to say here in Parliament and indeed outside Parliament also and in press everyone has a right to say whatever he feels like subject to some very very broad limitations of libel or slander; and that what he or she may say may indeed be in condemnation of Government, as it often is, it does not represent Government's policy. I say this because objection is taken, has been taken in China, to remarks made by hon. Members in Parliament or outside or the press. It is different here from what it is in China, and I am not saying that it is better or not here or it is different here. Here one can see even in the last few weeks an amazing unanimity and similarity of words, expressions and slogans coming from various quarters, which shows an amount of uniformity which is truly formidable, and it has its virtues no doubt, but I am not criticising anything. But what I wish to say is that things said in Parliament sometimes convey a very different impression outside, and people do not realise that in such Parliaments as these are, every viewpoint has the fullest expression and need not necessarily be right or wrong.

In this connection not by way of, again, criticism but because Mr. Bhupesh Gupta<sup>50</sup> referred to a very unfortunate incident that happened in Bombay where Chairman Mao Tse-Tung's picture was shown grave discourtesy—I should like to refer to that firstly to express my regret again for it and at the same time to say that the facts of this particular incident as we know them, and know them correctly—we are presumed to know them a little better than people sitting in

47. Statement, 4 May 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. 25, cols 1671-8430.

48. S. Radhakrishnan.

49. H.N. Kunzru.

50. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

Peking—nevertheless oddly enough our version of the facts is not wholly accepted by the Peking Government on a small matter, which is surprising. We are sitting here, we ought to know better what takes place in our country, about facts, whatever other opinions may be. However, it is a very regrettable incident with which obviously Government had nothing to do. The party which organised it, I believe, is not represented in this House even.<sup>51</sup> But what is not realised is that in the City of Bombay pictures even of a leader of ours like Mahatma Gandhi have been burnt by some groups or others. Two and a half or three years ago my humble self also had been treated in that way in Bombay and elsewhere. Well, we take that in our stride and, as the hon. Member who spoke last mentioned, a few years back President Eisenhower's effigy had the honour of being burnt near the Ochterlony Monument.<sup>52</sup> I regret all these cases, but what I am mentioning is that these things happen in a country like ours because of our laws, etc. They happen. Quite apart from law, I think it is a grave breach of decency to do this kind of thing or do anything else. We regret it. But people outside this country, some people, do not realise this and seem to imagine that somehow or other the Government or some Government officials must have connived at it, otherwise it could not have taken place, or they think that we should take the people who have done this by the scruff of the neck and throw them in the dungeon.

An Hon. Member: Let them do it themselves.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am saying that it is rather difficult because it produces misunderstandings as to the way of functioning, our parliamentary procedures and the like, and other procedures where a Government does not permit opposition of any kind.

Hon. Members have referred to a statement made by me a few days ago which was read out in this House also. So far as the major facts are concerned I have stated them there and I have really nothing to add, even though after that statement was made it was not accepted—the facts I mean; even the facts were not fully accepted by the Chinese authorities and the Chinese press,<sup>53</sup> which is

51. On 20 April 1959 by Socialist Party members.

52. In Calcutta, 1956.

53. On 5 May 1959, according to *The Hindu* and *The Pioneer*, The New China News Agency accused Nehru of turning the facts "upside down" by his Tibet statement in Parliament on 27 April 1959; that "it openly supported the Tibetan traitors and directly defended the vicious activities of the Indian interventionists for distorting the facts by saying that the Tibet rebellion was founded on a strong feeling of nationalism;" and that it violated the five principles of co-existence.

unfortunate because again I would say that as to what happens in India I would imagine that we could be better informed than the Chinese authorities who presumably can only be informed through certain intelligence agents that they may have at Kalimpong or elsewhere.<sup>54</sup> But I do not wish to enter into polemical argument about these minor matters because the issues before us are far more serious, far deeper, far deeper than Tibet, the whole of Tibet, although Tibet is important and we are discussing events which have cast their shadow round about Tibet too. That shows that they are really deeper than that, and therefore we have to be particularly careful as to what we say and what we do. Now I accept the limitations and also the responsibility of what one should say on such occasions.

First of all, we must be alive to what we are aiming at. We are not, I hope, merely aiming at denouncing somebody or some government or some phrase. There has been too much of this denunciation and slogan raising, I regret to say, in China recently, and some of the slogans have been quite extraordinary. But I do not think we should be so thin skinned as to get upset by some slogans in the excitement of the moment. We must not be led off our main path because that is of very considerable consequence in the future.

I should like again to read a few lines of what I said in that previous statement to indicate what we aim at. I said this:-

“It would be a tragedy if the two great countries of Asia—India and China—which have been peaceful neighbours for ages past should develop feelings of hostility against each other. We for our part will follow this policy, but we hope that China also will do likewise and that nothing will be said or done which endangers the friendly relations of the two countries which are so important from the wider point of view of the peace of Asia and the world. The five principles have laid down, inter alia, mutual respect for each other. Such mutual respect is gravely impaired if unfounded charges are made and the language of cold war used.”

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta asked rather rhetorically, “Do we stand by Panchsheel?” Well, sometimes I wonder if the words we use are used in the same meaning or with some different meaning in our minds but—I have no claim to superiority—so far as India is concerned, we have earnestly striven to stand by these principles and I do not think we have offended any principle. It is not for me to stand up

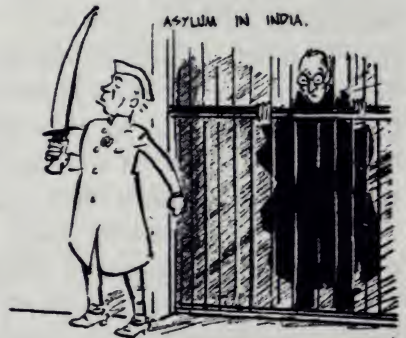
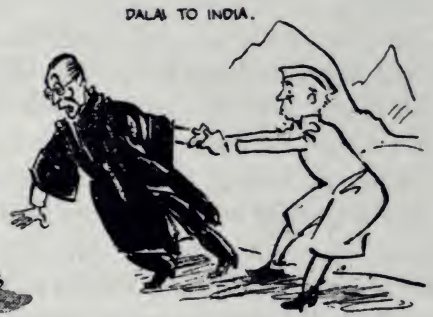
54. On 29 March 1959 *The Times of India* quoted an official Chinese news communiqué of 28 March that Kalimpong was the “commanding centre” of the rebellion in Tibet. Nehru informed the Rajya Sabha on 20 April that Chinese intelligence agents in Kalimpong were reporting to the Chinese Government that Kalimpong was the commanding centre of the Tibetan revolt. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 223-224 and 433.

and criticise or justify other countries, but we have tried to do that not because of some temporary policy, not because those five principles have been declared in some agreement—that was merely a confirmation of what we thought, as to what we said—but because we have felt that that is the only way to function in this world of ours. Some people say, “Oh! After all that has happened, you still hold by that.” It is a curious question. If those principles are right, we hold by them and we should hold by them, even though nobody in the wide world is not holding by them. Naturally we have to adapt our policies to what happens in the world; we cannot live in isolation. But a principle should be acted upon even though somebody else has not acted upon it. One tries. Anyway, we are imperfect beings in an imperfect world. So I should like to assure the hon. Member opposite that so far as the Government is concerned—I cannot speak for every ordinary individual in India—we hold by those principles and we shall endeavour to act up to them whatever other countries may or may not do. Some people certainly—as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said—taking advantage of the occurrences in and relating to Tibet have raised a cry that India will now have to consider how far she can adhere to the policy of non-alignment. All that shows a strange misunderstanding of our ways of thinking in our policies.

Non-alignment, although the word is itself a kind of negative word, nevertheless has a positive concept, and we do not propose to have a military alliance with any country, come what may, and I want to be quite clear about it, because the moment we give up that idea of non-alignment, we lose every anchor that we hold on to and we simply drift. We may hang on to somebody or some country. But we lose our own self respect, of the country's. If one loses one's own self respect, it is a loss of something very precious. Therefore, this business of thinking always in terms of getting something from this country or the other country is not desirable. It is perhaps not very relevant. It is said often in Pakistan, let us have a common defence policy. Now I am all for setting our troubles with Pakistan and living a normal, friendly, neighbourly life. We try for that. But I do not understand when people say that we have a common defence policy. Against whom? Immediately the question comes up: “Against whom is this common defence policy?” Are we going to become members of the Baghdad Pact or the SEATO or somebody? We do not want to have a common defence policy which is almost another meaning of some kind of a military alliance. The whole policy that we have pursued is opposed to this conception. We want friendly relations with Pakistan. We hope we shall get them. But we are not going to tie ourselves up, our conceptions, our policies, with other countries involving military defence and attacking and all that.

So the present difficulties that we have to face in relation to the happenings in Tibet will, I hope, gradually pass. But it is a tragedy not only for Tibet, but a

CHINESE OPERA



EXPANSIONIST RULER OF TIBET.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 3 MAY 1959)

deeper tragedy for many of us that something that we have laboured for, for all these years which may be said to be enshrined, if you like, in the Panchsheel or in Bandung, has suffered very considerably in people's minds. I may say I shall hold on to it, but the fact is in people's minds there is that crack, there is that

suffering, there is that uneasiness that something they valued might slip away. These words like all other words Bandung, Panchsheel; it does not matter what word you use—begin to lose their shine and to be hurled about without meaning, and in fact, just like even the word “peace” becomes almost like a thunderbolt or a minor war the way it is used, sometimes the manner of using it—it is the manner that counts. I have come more and more to believe that means are even more important than ends. They show to us that the way one does things is even more important than what one does. And that is why I have been aggrieved beyond measure at these various recent developments and at what is being said in China the charges made against India. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta did not say a word about all these not a word. I can understand where those things lead to. Hon. Members of this House being seasoned public men and women may restrain themselves, may not allow themselves to be affected too much. But it is difficult for the general public not to be affected by such charges and they are charges, I do submit, which do not stand the slightest scrutiny. What have we done about this matter, about Tibet, apart from some speeches or things?

We have received the Dalai Lama and party and subsequently we have received some thousands of refugees. We have given them asylum, and it is admitted—I don't think anybody denies it—that as a sovereign country we have every right to do so, and nobody else can be a judge of that except ourselves. Now is it suggested that we should have refused to give asylum to the Dalai Lama when he asked for it? Well, if it is suggested by someone outside India I can tell them—I do not know about the handful out of the four hundred millions of people of India; I doubt if even a few thousands would have agreed with that that the hundreds of millions of India would have become angry at that action of ours if we had refused asylum to the Dalai Lama and his party. Almost everybody in India—a few may not have—approved of our policy, and it would have been an impossible thing, an utterly wrong thing, for us to do otherwise from any point of view, political, humanitarian or whatever you like. So this is what we have done. Of course we are charged with having connived at Kalimpong; of Kalimpong being the commanding centre—this is the word they used, I think—of this rebellion in Tibet. Now it is said that the commanding centre has shifted to Mussoorie. I know words have lost their meaning, because I find it very difficult to deal with these charges. And why has the commanding centre gone to Mussoorie? Because the Dalai Lama is there<sup>55</sup> and because the brother of the Dalai Lama who normally lives in Darjeeling, I think, went to

55. *The Tribune* of 22 April reported the arrival of the Dalai Lama and his entourage of 130 in Mussoorie on 21 April, their welcome by Jagannath Sharma, the Chairman of the Mussoorie City Board, and their reception at Birla House by members of the Birla family.



see him, and after seeing him went back to Darjeeling or Kalimpong. These are very serious charges against a country's leaders being made irresponsibly in this way by the leaders of a people whom we have not only honoured and respected but whom we have considered particularly advanced in culture and politeness and the gentler art of civilisation. It has been a shock to me beyond measure because, quite apart from everything else, I have looked up to the Chinese and I look up to them still because of their great accomplishments, because of their great culture and all that, and it has been a shock to me that this kind of thing should be said and done in the excitement of the moment. I hope that excitement will pass.

Now, Sir, I want to tell the House exactly how these matters came into our knowledge. On the 11th of March, for the first time we got a message from our Consul-General in Lhasa<sup>56</sup> saying that there was some excitement in the town and that a large number of people had come and visited him consisting of representatives of the public and some Tibetan officials, monks, heads of monasteries, etc. They had come to him with a series of complaints about the Chinese authorities there and they said that they were very much in distress. Now our Consul General in Lhasa was naturally very embarrassed. What is he to do? He did not wish to interfere; it was none of his business to interfere and he told them, "Well, I cannot do anything for you" and he reported to us. That was on the 11th—the message dated the 10th reached us on the 11th. That was the first information we had, that something was afoot there. After that the Consul-General sent us brief reports about the general excitement in the town, the tense situation and people holding meetings, not public meetings but group meetings and all that. On the 14th he again sent us a message that a crowd of 5,000 Tibetan women had come to the Consulate-General with the same kind of complaints and asked him to accompany them to the Chinese Foreign Office in Lhasa to bear witness to what they said. At that again the poor Consul-General was exceedingly embarrassed. It was none of his business to do this and he said: "I cannot go." and he asked, "What do you mean by that?" Well, in short he said, "I just cannot go." Quite rightly. He reported it to us. We drafted a message—it was kept ready to be sent—to say: "Don't get entangled in what has happened and was happening in Lhasa." This was on the 14th. So this kind of thing went on. And it was at this time, when speaking, I think, in the Lok Sabha, I said that there was a clash of wills in Lhasa. Whether that was a correct description, I do not know. The point was there was no actual fighting going on at this time; that came a few days later. On the 20th March when it started, how it started, I do not know, nor did our Consul-General know sitting in the

56. S.L. Chibber.

Consulate, and he could not be expected to know when it started. And as we now know, he did not know it then. On the 17th night the Dalai Lama and party left Lhasa, rather secretly. According to them, on the 17th afternoon at 4 0' clock, two shells or bombs, something like to that, fell into a lake in the Summer Palace. Well, this made them think, "Now this is the last moment, and now the Palace is going to be shelled and there is going to be war everywhere", and they left Lhasa. As far as I know—I am not sure—even then it was not fully his intention to leave Tibet. But as Lhasa was being shelled, subsequently that intention must have developed. Anyhow, in the course of a week, from the 11th to the 20th or the 21st, during these, say, ten days this was the news that came to us. We could do nothing about it and before the 10th and 11th we knew nothing about the situation except that we naturally knew that all kinds of cross-currents were at work at Lhasa and in Tibet. Then the question came before us, of the possibility of the Dalai Lama coming here, and we decided that we should receive him. He came.<sup>57</sup> As the House might know I resisted and I was asked repeatedly: "Are you going to throw your doors open to any number of refugees from Tibet?" I resisted that although in my mind I knew that I could not very well refuse asylum to people who were in great difficulty; I could not; but I did not want to say it and invite people to roll into India from all over the place. So that is the short story of what has happened and what we have done. And now we are called expansionists<sup>58</sup> and imperialists and what not, all kinds of phrases, which I suppose would not make any real difference to what we are; nevertheless coming from those whom we consider friends, they do hurt us.

Now I want just to give you a few facts. Again an extraordinary thing appeared in the newspapers in Peking. They go back now to what had happened in 1950, that is, to some memoranda that we had sent, when Chinese armies were entering Tibet. Very polite memoranda they were.<sup>59</sup> The answers were not very polite, but the point now is that they refer to them, that what we wrote to them was after consultation with the British Government, that though we called ourselves independent we really acted as stooges or tools of the British Government.

It is, of course, completely wrong and untruthful. There was no question of our consulting the British Government. Our view on Tibet was different from that of the British Government.

57. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 435-437.

58. *The Hindu* of 24 April reported the Panchen Lama's speech in China on 22 April accusing India of "harbouring expansionist ambitions" towards Tibet, which he said "would always belong to China."

59. See SWJN/SS/15/Pt. II/pp. 349-351.

Now, one thing about the Panchen Lama's statement.<sup>60</sup> I was rather distressed to read it, that a statement should be made, so lacking in generosity and dignity, by a person who had been our honoured guest. I do not know about the petty things he says that somewhere his staff was not given proper accommodation. I cannot answer that, whether at Aurangabad, or some such place there was some difficulty because the entourage of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama was so big—hundreds of people with them. It was not quite easy always to make as much preparation as we wanted.

About the refugees, now the latest position is that approximately 6,500 refugees are on their way down through the Kameng Division of NEFA, 1,500 are trekking through Bhutan and 700 have come to Sikkim road about 9,000. The Bhutan Government have asked us to receive the Tibetan refugees coming through their territories and we have agreed to do so. Thus we have about 9,000 refugees for whom we have made ourselves responsible for some kind of arrangements. A few of the refugees, when they entered India, were armed. They were disarmed on entry into India.

The refugees coming through NEFA will be accommodated temporarily in a camp at Missamara in Assam. Though the Assam Government are making arrangements for their shelter, medical relief, etc., the West Bengal Government have agreed to construct a temporary camp somewhere in Cooch-Bihar for the refugees who are coming through Bhutan. We are grateful to these two State Governments.

Special Officers to deal with the refugees have been appointed by the External Affairs Ministry.<sup>61</sup> They are proceeding to Assam and West Bengal. It is not proposed to keep these refugees in these temporary camps for a long time and other arrangements will have to be devised for them. I cannot just say at present what or where, but it is obvious we are not going to keep them in camps.

One hon. Member—think Dr. Kunzru, maybe Mr. Shiva Rao—<sup>62</sup>aid something that we should allow these refugees to earn their own living and

60. The Panchen Lama had complained about "discrimination" by Indian officials during his visit to India in 1956 when arranging receptions, and about his entourage having to sleep in trains when denied proper accommodation. See *The Times of India*, 30 April 1959.

61. *The Hindustan Times* of 2 May 1959 stated that B.N. Nanda, formerly India's Deputy High Commissioner in Ceylon was appointed officer on special duty for the maintenance of Tibetan refugees in India.

62. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Mysore.

give them freedom to do many things. Broadly speaking, of course we intend that. We are not going to keep them as prisoners in camps. In fact, our instructions to our officers at the border were to tell them that we do not assume responsibility for their indefinite up-keep. For some time we would help them. And naturally to some extent we are responsible when these people are coming in. We cannot let them loose on India. Again, there is the question that they cannot easily be kept anywhere except in cooler climate—and we cannot send them to the rest of India simply-in mountain regions.

I think Mr. Shiva Rao said something about China and the United Nations. I do not suppose it is necessary for me to say so, obviously our policy in regard to the entry of the People's Government of China into the U.N. remains as it was. It is not affected by these things; it is not because we get angry with something that happens in China we change our policy. That would mean that we have firm policies, that we are deflected by temporary happenings in the world.

Just one thing more. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta talked about national uprising. Again it depends upon how you use that word. I do not know exactly what happened in Tibet. But as I said in my previous statement, according to Chinese accounts this has been a fairly big affair, a very large scale affair. Also looking at the surrounding circumstances as well as the past history of Tibet, one can very well imagine that apart from the so-called people representing vested interests—they would be there—it is a fact that large numbers of Tibetan people—I cannot say whether they are in a majority or a minority, but large numbers undoubtedly went to the extent of taxing this step which they did, which really meant a very dangerous step. Anyhow it is there, and one feels strongly about it.

Now so far as we are concerned, we have not interfered either from Kalimpong or Mussoorie or otherwise. We have exercised our undoubted right to give asylum. I have said that the Dalai Lama is perfectly a free agent to go where he likes in India or go back to Tibet.

Some people, some foreign pressmen, said about two days after he had come to Mussoorie that we are keeping him behind barbed wire. That sounds rather horrible. The fact was that the Mussoorie police, to lighten their burden, because of all kinds of curious people trying to go into the compound of the house, had put a little barbed wire on that compound before he came, to be able to protect him, for his security and general protection. But that was not to keep him in, and he goes, I believe, round about Mussoorie. He can go back to Tibet the moment he likes.

It is no use my going on repeating what I have said earlier that the Dalai Lama is not kept under duress here, that he did not enter India under any duress,

except the duress of circumstances, if you like compulsion of events.<sup>63</sup> And, certainly, I can speak from personal knowledge having met him and talked to him, that he is staying there of his own free will in India and even at Mussoorie. With all respect, I would say that anyone who denies this fact, well, is totally ignorant of facts and speaks without knowing.

Further, hon. Members might have seen in the newspaper headlines—because odd remarks are given as headlines—that I said that I would be happy if the Dalai Lama went back to Tibet. I did so. Somebody asked a question and I said, “Naturally I would be happy if he went with dignity”. But that did not mean at all that I am going to push the Dalai Lama out or put him in an embarrassing position. It is entirely for him to decide what to do, when to do it. The only advice I gave him when I saw him was: “You have had a very hard journey and very harassing experiences. If I may, as a person very much older than you, suggest it, you might rest for a few days, and calmly think about the events and then do what you like.”

One more matter, if I may say so, especially to the press. I do not particularly fancy this constant sensational way of referring to the Dalai Lama as the God-king, and, in fact, I do not think he likes it either. This is not the Indian way; it is a foreign way of doing things. It sounds sensational, no doubt. I hope that that word will not be used. It is good enough to refer to him as the Dalai Lama.

Thank you, Sir.

## 292. To the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Panchen Lama's Charges<sup>64</sup>

As it is proposed that there should be a short discussion in the Lok Sabha on the Tibet situation, these matters can be dealt with then.

It does not seem to me necessary or desirable to take much notice of these rather childish charges. It might be added, however, that the Panchen Lama and his party were treated with the greatest courtesy everywhere in India. There was no complaint from him at any time and he thanked us very much. He has not given any specific instance which can be enquired into. It is possible that at some small place, like Aurangabad or at Nalanda, some of the staff members

63. At a press conference in Tezpur on 18 April, according to *The Tribune* of 19 April, the Dalai accused China of depriving Tibet of all “autonomy” and said that he had left Lhasa and Tibet and come to India of his “own free will.”

64. Note, 4 May 1959.

might have been asked to stay in the train as no house was available. In Delhi, the Panchen Lama stayed in one of the big suites of the Ashoka Hotel.<sup>65</sup>

I regret, therefore, that I cannot accept this short notice question.

## 293. In the Lok Sabha<sup>66</sup>

“Discussion re: situation in Tibet”

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Deputy-Speaker,<sup>67</sup> Sir, this matter concerning the developments in Tibet has come up before this House as well as before the other House on several occasions in the course of the last few weeks and I have had occasions to make many statements on the situation arising from these developments. I should have thought that enough had been said for the time being about the basic facts. So those facts as known were challenged in statements from China. Some of the statements from China in so far as they related to India were not accepted as facts by us. And I wondered at one time whether it would serve any useful purpose for us to carry on this argument which could only mean really a repetition of what had been said. Nevertheless, it is perhaps a good thing for us to have this brief discussion here. But in the course of this discussion so many basic facts have been challenged, or basic ideas have been challenged, that it raises much wider issues than what has happened in Tibet.

The hon. Member<sup>68</sup> who just spoke before me with warmth said many things which challenged all the basic assumptions of our policy which have been accepted by this House and I think by the country as a whole with remarkable unanimity. Nevertheless, he challenged all those basic assumptions. Either he has never believed in those basic assumptions or what has happened in Tibet has made him change his opinion.

Now, I do not propose in these few minutes to discuss all the basic assumptions of our policy. All I would like to say now is that I do not hold with the hon. Member who has spoken. I do not agree with much that he has said

65. Both the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama were invited to the celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's parinirvana, held in New Delhi from 26 to 30 November 1956. See SWJN/SS/35, pp. 617-624.

66. 8 May 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXI, cols 15925-15939.

67. Hukum Singh.

68. A.B. Vajpayee.

and so far as Government is concerned, we are not going to follow the policy that he has suggested that we should follow. I should like to make that perfectly clear.

I may say in passing that we have laid no limitations on the Dalai Lama, except the limitations of good sense and propriety of which he himself is the judge. But for the hon. Member to suggest that we should allow him to do something which he has not himself suggested, that is, making India the headquarters of some kind of a campaign and that we should allow the hon. Member and his party to join in this campaign is something which seems to be so odd, so remarkable of utterance that I cannot imagine how even he could have made it if he had thought about it. I need not say much about it, because it has no relation to facts, no relation to what is happening in the world, or in India, or in Tibet, or in China or anywhere.

He also laid stress on the 1954 agreement, the agreement with China in regard to Tibet.<sup>69</sup> He said we should never have done it. Again I do not quite understand what is meant by this - this kind of statement or this kind of viewpoint. What exactly he expects us to do is not clear except maybe perhaps to hold public meeting in Ramlila Maidan and deliver speeches. That is not the way that foreign policy of a country is conducted, by public meetings held in various places in India. Public meeting are important no doubt. But we have to come up against not only basic policies and assumptions, but hard facts in regard to foreign policy.

I have no doubt in my mind that the agreement we made with China with regard to Tibet was a right agreement. It was a correct agreement and we shall stand by it and it is not correct even for him to say that that agreement has been broken. It may be said that he thinks that certain implications of that agreement have not been, according to him, or according to anybody else, carried out. That is a different matter. But there is no question of that agreement having been broken. It lasts; it functions.

I do not know how many people here know the background of all these problems. We have been moved naturally, we have had a kind of emotional upheaval, by recent happenings and it is quite understandable that that should be so because of certain intimate emotional and other bonds with Tibet, with the people of Tibet or the mountains of Tibet; or Kailash or Manasarovar and so on, a mixture. We can understand that. And we can respect this emotional response. Nevertheless any policy that we lay down or attempt to follow cannot

69. The agreement concluded in Peking on 29 April 1954 in Peking was intended to promote trade and cultural intercourse between "the Tibet region of China" and India. See SWJN/SS/25/pp.468-469.

be based on an emotional upheaval. They have to bear some relation to facts.

I do not know how many hon. Members here know the history, the background of Tibet, of China, of Mongolia, of Bhutan and Sikkim and Nepal in the last few hundred years. I wonder how many have cared to look into them. I do not know whether the hon. Member who just spoke knows anything about it at all. I happen to know something about it and I have taken the trouble to read quite a number of books of history, Chinese chronicles, Indian reports, etc. Here is the history of six or seven hundred years, or more, from the moment when Chengiz Khan invaded Tibet, when Kublai Khan also held Tibet in a peculiar way, considering the then Dalai Lama as a spiritual guru. It is a curious combination. Politically he was dominant in Tibet, but Kublai Khan considered

J.P. HAD DISCUSSIONS  
WITH DALAI LAMA.  
ON WHO IS THE  
GREATER GOD KING.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 28 JUNE 1959)



the Dalai Lama as his spiritual leader.<sup>70</sup> So that you see a curious combination coming up. And in fact for a considerable period the relationship of Tibet with China was very peculiar; in a sense, I believe I am not wrong in saying the Chinese rather look down upon the Tibetans from the Mongol times. The Chinese rather look down upon every country other than their own. They consider themselves as the middle kingdom, as the celestial race, a great country, whether it was the Tang kingdom, or the Ming kingdom or ultimately the Manchus for a long period. The relations between China and Tibet varied from sovereignty or suzerainty or half-sovereignty or semi-independence for long periods like this coming one after the other till the Manchu dynasty right up to the beginning of the twentieth century held full sway over Tibet, quite a considerable sway. Even in the last days of the Manchu dynasty, when it fell, it held some considerable influence in Tibet.

When the Manchu dynasty fell round about forty or fifty years ago it weakened. It weakened, but whoever held China whether it was the Emperor, or whether it was President Yuan Shih Kai, whether it was the war lords after them or whether it was Marshal Chang Kai Sheik's regime, or whether it was the People's Government, they had one consistent policy from Emperor to the communists, of considering themselves as overlords of Tibet. No doubt, when Tibet was strong, it resisted that from time to time. There have been occasions when, twice at least, Tibetan armies reached the capital of China - it is rather old history - as the Chinese armies came repeatedly into Tibet. There have been occasions when Nepalese army went into Tibet, and Tibetan army came into Nepal. There has one occasion at least when a certain General from Kashmir, Zoravar Singh, who carried out a brilliant campaign across the Himalayas in Tibet only, of course, to meet a stouter enemy than Tibetan or anybody, the cold of Tibet. The temperature of Tibet put an end to him and his army there. All this

70. Unusually, Nehru has committed two serious mistakes here. Chinggis (Chengiz) Khan did not invade Tibet, his grandson Möngke (Mangu) did; and there was no Dalai Lama during Khubilai (Kublai) Khan's life. The first to be called the Dalai Lama in his own lifetime was Sonam Gyatso, in 1576, when he was granted the title by Altan Khan of Mongolia; thereafter his two deceased predecessors were accorded that title. The first of them accordingly was Gedun Drub, 1391-1474. Khubilai Khan had however died as early as 1294. Nehru's errors were perhaps due to his speaking without preparation, for, in his *Glimpses*, he does cite Mangu (archaic spelling for Möngke) as the one who subdued Tibet; he gives Khubilai's date of death as 1292, although the correct date is 1294; and there is no reference to any relation between Khubilai and the Dalai Lama. See, Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1934-1935) pp. 347, 359, 384, and ch. 67.

is history, mixed history. There is no doubt that the countries with whom Tibet has been most intimately connected in the past have been Mongolia and China, naturally for historical and other reasons, religious reasons and cultural reasons.

But, all these do not count. In considering the present day situation, we have to take things as they are and have been recently. We cannot think of Chengiz Khan's time or Kublai Khan's time or the Manchu Emperors or Chiang Kai-shek or anybody else. In regard to the present situation, what exactly are we after? If we accept the hon. Member Shri Vajpayee's statement, we should, more or less, prepare for an armed conflict on this issue.<sup>71</sup> We cannot pat somebody on the back and tell him to fight and say, we will cheer you from the background. That is an absurd situation. We must be clear in our mind what we are saying or aiming at. I take it that we aim at, whatever problems may arise first of all, a peaceful solution of those problems. Peaceful solutions are not brought about by warlike speeches and warlike approaches. It is obvious that if some people in China think that by threats and strong speeches, they can frighten India that is wrong. It is equally obvious that if some people in India think that by threats and warlike speeches, they can frighten China that is equally wrong. Obviously not. Great countries, India or China, are not pushed about in this way. They react in the opposite direction.

So far as China is concerned, - not with us, but with other countries, we know very well; with the U.S.A., with other countries - China herself is a part of a military bloc system on the one side and China herself is intimately concerned with cold war. Not with us; but because of this bloc system. They have got used to ways of expressing their opinion which, personally, I find, is not the right way in international parlance.

And now about the cold war technique, we have recently had some experience of that in regard to India. It is true, we have reacted against it. We did not like it. The question arises whether we should adopt that technique or not. It is an important thing, because it concerns our policy too. I think that neither that policy nor that way of expression which may be called cold war expression is right for any country: certainly not for us, unless we want to change our policy completely. We do not want to change it. We think it would be harmful from every point of view to change this policy. We should pursue

71. He said that Dalai Lama should be given full freedom to organise a movement in India for the independence of Tibet and allow Indian volunteers to help him in this task. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXI, cols 15918-15925.

that policy. That policy is based not so much on what the other country does but on its inherent rightness in so far as we can understand it. We may be swept away now and then. It is a different matter. We are human beings. But, if we think coolly and calmly, we must realize that we must adhere to that policy. If so, our expressions of opinions, our challenges, our threats, etc., should not be made if they do not fit in with that particular policy.

That, I would submit to this House, is not a sign of weakness. I do not think any country in the world thinks that India, in the past few years, has adopted a policy of weakness. Some have accused us of bending backwards and of siding with this side or that side. I think they have begun to realise that if we are sometimes soft of speech, friendly of speech, it does not denote weakness, but a certain conviction that that is the only right way to deal with international problems or, for the matter of that, national problems. Therefore, I submit that we must not talk about these warlike approaches and threats. We must not be overcome by anger even though, sometimes, we may feel a little angry about events that are happening. We must show by our firm policy and calm demeanour that we will continue that friendly effort that we have always made even when it comes right up to our borders.

There is a great deal of sympathy for the people of Tibet, undoubtedly. Certainly not because the people of Tibet have a feudal regime. They have been cut off and have had a static social system which may have existed in other parts of the world some hundreds of years ago, but has ceased to exist elsewhere. Nobody wants that here. As a matter of fact, I am quite sure, even the Dalai Lama does not want it in Tibet. Here, we see a strange thing, a society which had been isolated completely for hundreds of years suddenly coming out into the open, events throwing it into the mad world of ours, cold wars and all kinds of things happening, dynamic policies and ferocious policies and authoritarian policies. Imagine the contrast in these two. It is a vast gulf. It is inevitable that painful consequences flow from this type of thing. You can lessen them. You can try to moderate the effect of that impact. You cannot simply wish it away. It was the policy, I believe, of the Peoples' Government of China, who realised that a country like this cannot be treated in a sudden way, to go slowly about the so-called reforms or whatever it may be. Whether that policy has changed or not, I cannot say. May be, it has changed somewhat. That is quite possible. Whether other changes are taking place in China, I cannot say. It was definitely a policy and they stated it publicly and privately that they realised this.

There is another difficulty in my or our dealing with these matters, and that is, that the words we use have a different meaning for other people. For instance, we talk of the autonomy of Tibet. So do the Chinese. But, a doubt creeps into

my mind as to whether the meaning I attach to it is the same as they attach to it. I do not think so. There are so many other words. I am not talking of any deliberate distortion. That apart. Quite apart from any distortion, the ways of thinking have changed. They have changed anyhow and the cold war methods have made them change even more. It is frightfully difficult really to talk the same language, the same language of the mind, I mean. Difficulty arises because of that also, and tremendous misunderstandings arise. However, I cannot go into all these matters.

One thing, I may say. Some reference was made, I think by Shri S.A. Dange, to some convention on Tibet by a certain Mazumdar<sup>72</sup>

I have not heard of it except today. In fact, just when I came, I heard something about it. In so far as I have seen all the papers - I did see them - I think that whatever that convention appears to aim at or whatever it seems to represent, seem to be very wrong. It is a wrong approach, an approach which will do no good to anybody at all, and may do a good deal of harm if really it was the approach of any responsible people in India. For, we must realize first of all one thing. What do we want? What are we aiming at? How can we get there? What can we do about it?

I take it that we are sad, we are distressed at events in Tibet. Why are we distressed? Presumably because we feel that a certain people are being sat upon, are being oppressed, whether the certain people, according to Shri S.A. Dange, are certain feudal landlords or some people like that, or according to others, they are the common people of Tibet, whatever it may be, there it is. I have no doubt in my mind that it is difficult to draw the line in such cases between the top feudal elements and the others. They all can be mixed together. And as a result, for the moment, they are all uprooted.

Now, where a society has existed for hundreds and hundreds of years - it

72. On 1 June *The Hindu* reported that the resolution of the All India Convention on Tibet, held on 30 - 31 May 1959 and presided over by Jayaprakash Narayan, said: "The Tibetans have the same claim to the right of self determination as any other nation of the world. Racially, linguistically and culturally different from Chinese, they are a nation according to all standards of nationality. Although China claimed and intermittently exercised suzerainty over Tibet since the eighteenth century, that suzerainty was not based on the willing consent, and they had virtually shaken it off in the second decade of the twentieth century. The Sino-Tibetan agreement of 1951, which imposed Chinese rule over Tibet was the result of force and violence...."

may have outlasted its utility, but the fact is uprooting it is a terribly painful process. It can be uprooted slowly, it can be changed even with rapidity, but with a measure of cooperation. But any kind of a forcible uprooting of that must necessarily be painful, whether it is a good society or a bad society. If we have to deal with such societies anywhere in the world, which as a social group may be called primitive, it is not an easy matter, how to deal with it. All these difficult things are happening, they should have happened, they would have happened, maybe a little more slowly but with a greater measure of cooperation, because such a change can only take place effectively and with least harm to the fabric, to those people concerned, by themselves, they may be helped by others, may be advised by others, but by themselves. The amount a good thing is done by imposition, that good thing becomes a bad thing. It produces different reactions. I cannot judge of what is happening in Tibet. I do not have facts, neither does anybody in this House, except broadly some odd fact here and there. But I am merely venturing to say that all these complicated systems - not so easy to disentangle; anyhow, whatever it may be - have brought undoubtedly a great deal of suffering to the people of Tibet. And I should have liked to avoid it. But what can I do?

People talk in a strange way, of a number of representatives of countries being summoned and orders being issued, do this and that, I am surprised that they should think on those lines, as if this can be done.

Here is, after years of effort, going to be, possibly what is called a summit conference somewhere in Europe, where the great ones of the earth, Russia, and America, and England and France, and maybe somebody else, Italy or whatever it may be, would be summoned to decide the fate of the world; it has taken years and years. What they will decide, I do not know. I wish them well. I wish they will come to some understanding. But the way casually hon. Members here say that we should issue orders and decrees, get together and decide or it will be the worst of you seems almost really a comic opera approach; it has no relation to reality.

It is a basic fact that China is a great country, and India, is a great country, great in extent, great in background, great in many things. I am not talking so much about military power, although, from the point of view of defence or offence, no doubt, their potentials or actuals are considerable.

Now, looking at the subject from any long perspective, or even in the short perspective, it is a matter of considerable consequence that China and India should be friends, should be cooperative. It does not mean that they should go the same path, but they should not come in each other's way; they should not be hostile to each other; it is neither good for India nor for China. And China may be a very strong country as it is, and is growing stronger, but even from the

Chinese point of view, it is not a good thing to have a hostile India; It makes a great deal of difference to have that kind of thing - I am not talking in military terms, but otherwise. It is to the interest of both these countries, even though they function in different and in many ways not to be hostile to each other. If China starts telling me what to do, I am likely to be irritated. If I go about telling China what to do, China is likely to be irritated, even more than I am, because, I am supposed to be a soft person and the Chinese are not supposed to be very soft about these matters; maybe; so, there it is.

Now, maintaining our dignity, maintaining our rights, maintaining our self-respect, and yet not allowing ourselves to drift into wrong attitudes and hostile attitudes and trying to help in removing or in solving such problems as arise, we may help a little - they cannot be solved quickly - that is the very utmost that one can do in the circumstances, or at any rate, creating an atmosphere which may help in doing this. How far it will go, I do not know.

So, I venture to say that this should be our broad approach in this matter. We cannot go any further. We might possibly help in that approach there.

After all, this House and the country have expressed in fairly effective language their reactions to Tibet development, to events in Tibet. Nobody doubts them. But I might say, that our going on talking in fiery and hostile language will not carry conviction to any; it will only lead to greater gulf being created and less possibility of any help being rendered in understanding or in finding a solution.

Therefore, I would beg to suggest, that we should not allow ourselves to be swept away in these matters.

One thing which was referred to by two or three Members was the question of maps. Now, there is no doubt about it that this continuance of what are called old maps by China, which show certain, fairly large areas of Indian territory, as if they belong to the Chinese State, has been a factor creating continual irritation in the minds of people in this country. It is not some crisis that has arisen, but it has been difficult for our people, naturally, to understand why this kind of thing continues indefinitely, year after year. It is not, mind you, a question of some old little pocket here and there which may be in dispute on which we can argue - there are two or three pockets about which we have had, and we are going to have, discussions -but this business of issuing these maps which are not true to fact, which are factually untrue, and which can hardly be justified on the ground of history, of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's regime or any previous regime.

I shall just say one word more. I think Shri S.A. Dange talked about the palace of the Dalai Lama and all that. I think that is an exaggeration. First of all, it is not his choice. It is our choice. And it is rather slightly bigger than a

normal house in Mussoorie.<sup>73</sup> We had to find the biggest house because of the number of people involved.

As I have said, there is no question of surveillance on him except for security reasons, and we have not prevented him from meeting anybody if he wants to meet. He has met, in fact, large numbers of people; some people go for darshan, to him, and some individuals, often Buddhist representatives from Ceylon and other places are coming to see him; they all go there. Nobody prevents anyone. Certainly, as for the odd newspaper man, especially from foreign countries, who comes here in search of sensation, even him we do not prevent, but do not welcome him, because such persons reduce everything to high sensationalism.

The other day, I said in the other place that all this business of God-King etc. is not to my liking. He is the Dalai Lama, referred to as the Dalai Lama; and it creates sensation-mongering, saying God-King all the time, and I may say that the Dalai Lama himself does not like this business.

Therefore, we do not want this whole occurrence to be reduced or kept up to the sensational level. That was why we were not at all anxious that so many correspondents should go there and beseech him; and then there will always be difficulties, interpreters and all that; and confusion will arise and contradictions and all that.

Acharya Kripalani:<sup>74</sup> You may allow some Communist friends to go and see him.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We shall allow both our Communist friends and our PSP friends, both of them. It is not really a question of our allowing, we do not give permits. It is for him.

Acharya Kripalani: You may give them some extra facilities.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, we have to face the large problem of these refugees. It is a difficult problem, and it has been thrust upon us.

If I may say just one word, before the 11th March -that is not so long ago, about seven weeks ago is it? -we had no inkling of what might happen in Tibet. On the 11th March, was the first word we got of some demonstrations in Lhasa

73. Nehru informed the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on Foreign Affairs on 10 April that among the hill stations being considered were Mussoorie and Shillong. The Dalai Lama stayed at Birla House in Mussoorie, described by some as the "Little Potala." See *The Tribune*, 11 April 1959. See also SWJN/SS/48/pp. 498-500.

74. PSP, MP from Sitamarhi, Bihar.

by Tibetans, and on the 17th, six days later, came this business of, so it is said shelling the Dalai Lama's place. Shri Dange said something about bad marksmanship. I am only saying what he said. It is not bad marksmanship, but deliberately they were sent there as a kind of warning. Anyhow, then the situation developed on the 20th; fighting took place there. The situation developed so rapidly after that, and the House knows what happened afterwards. The Dalai Lama left there on the 17th evening, and arrived here at the end of the month, so that we really were rather overtaken by events. We did not know that the Dalai Lama was coming here till about two days before he actually entered India. We had imagined when we knew he was travelling south that he might come, but it was only two days before that that we heard that he would like to come, so that we were overtaken by events.

We had decided to accept him; later, when others came, we decided to allow them to come too, and there they are, all these refugees, apart from the Dalai Lama. The present estimates are about 10,000 - and all kinds of refugees, the old, the aged, some young people, some women, and it is obviously going to be a bit of a problem for us. We are not going to keep them in barbed wire enclosures for ever; for the present we are keeping them in two or three camps.

Shri M.P. Mishra:<sup>75</sup> Are all of them fed and lodged?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: But the sooner we spread them out the better. Maybe some will have to remain for some time; I do not know.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri:<sup>76</sup> I have one question to ask, only one small question.

One thing has intrigued many observers greatly, that the Dalai Lama has been elected by the People's Congress in China as one of the Vice-Chairmen<sup>77</sup>.

An Hon. Member: The Panchen Lama.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri:<sup>78</sup> The Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama. I am sure of my facts. That is correct.

Because he is also a part of that State, has our Government received

75. Congress, MP from Begusarai, Bihar.

76. RSP, MP from Berhampore, West Bengal.

77. On 28 March 1959 he was appointed Chairman, preparatory committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

78. RSP, MP from Berhampore, West Bengal.



any request from the Chinese Embassy here that the Chinese Ambassador<sup>79</sup> or any of his representatives should see the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. We have received no such request. I stated, as you might remember, that the Chinese Ambassador would be welcome to see him if he so wishes.

Raja Mahendra Pratap:<sup>80</sup> Only one question I have to ask you.

Is it not a fact that what has happened in Tibet is only an extension of the war between the U.S. and USSR? They want to have a hold on Tibet so that India would not go together with America and England in case of war between U.S. and USSR. What has happened in Tibet is that they want Tibet to come entirely under the USSR and China, because I was in Tibet, I was travelling in China, I was helped by Soviet Russia and by China to go to Tibet, I know what they are thinking; I know their psychology. So, I beg you to consider this Tibetan question from the standpoint that it is a war move between U.S. and USSR.

Mr. Speaker: How long ago was the hon. Member there?

Raja Mahendra Pratap: I was staying in Peking and Nanking and travelling all over China, and I took one year to go from Peking to Tibet and back. I went by the northern route and came back by the southern route to China. I specially studied it because Soviet Russia and China helped me. I may tell you one thing more. In 1925 Soviet Russia and China were rivals in connection with Tibet.

Mr. Speaker: The House is satisfied with what he has already said.

Dr. Sushila Nayar :<sup>81</sup> I want to ask the hon. Prime Minister if these 10,000 refugees that have come from Tibet are all well-to-do feudal lords, or are they the common people of Tibet.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give any description of all of them. They have

79. Pan Tzu-li.

80. Independent, MP from Mathura, UP.

81. Janata Party, MP from Jhansi, UP.

not reached, they are on the way, but it is hardly likely that Tibet will produce 10,000 lords.

## **294. In the CWC: Resolution on Tibet**

Recent developments in Tibet, leading to a revolt and its suppression have evoked much concern and sympathy among large numbers of people in India. This is natural because of neighbourly relations and as many places in Tibet have from time immemorial been a part of the religious and cultural consciousness of the Indian people. Large numbers of pilgrims have gone there every year from India. Any happening there which leads to the suffering of the people of Tibet is, therefore, a matter for sorrow for people in India.

The Working Committee accords their full support to the policy of the Government of India as enunciated in the Prime Minister's statements in Parliament.<sup>82</sup> They approve of the grant of asylum to the Dalai Lama, who is greatly respected in India, as also to a large number of refugees from Tibet. On humanitarian grounds, this was desirable and is justified by the principles of International Law.

The Committee reaffirms the basic policy of India which is based on friendly relations with all countries and non-alignment with any military grouping. They agree that there should be no interference in the internal affairs of other countries, which is one of the Five Principles of the Panchsheel. They are anxious to maintain friendly relations with China. The Committee earnestly hopes that peace will soon be established in Tibet to enable the people of that region to live their lives according to their own wishes.

New Delhi  
May 8, 1959

82. See item 297, pp. 571-72.

### 295. To Subimal Dutt: No Political Activity by the Dalai Lama's<sup>83</sup>

I agree with you. I think that our advice to the Dalai Lama should be that it is inadvisable to see political representatives of other countries. These people will exploit any talks they might have with him and give publicity to it in the wrong way. More particularly, seeing the head of a foreign mission for political reasons may lead to difficulties.

2. If anyone goes to pay respects to him as a Buddhist, that is another matter.

### 296. To P.N. Menon: Oral Answer to Dalai Lama<sup>84</sup>

You can give an oral answer to the Dalai Lama on my behalf. This should be on the following lines:-

I have received the Dalai Lama's letter.<sup>85</sup> I can very well understand his deep distress at happenings in Tibet. But on reading his letter, it seems to me that he has not fully appreciated the situation. The suggestions he has made would imply that the Chinese Government has been completely defeated in war, has surrendered and terms can be dictated to it. No Government, least of all the Chinese Government, can accept such terms or conditions. Even if there was war, such terms would not be accepted by it because they involve a complete surrender of their position in Tibet. It is impossible to expect a strong and powerful nation to accept these terms even if these are put forward by all the great powers in the world.

2. During the last few weeks, the Chinese Government have attacked India and its leaders with extreme virulence. This itself shows how much they have been upset by India's attitude, moderate as it was. India has, in fact, gone as far as it can. Any further step would mean a break with China. In any event, India cannot put forward any demands on China. The most that can happen is for a situation to develop gradually which will induce the Chinese Government to moderate their attitude on Tibet. There is no other way.

83. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 9 May 1959.

84. Note to Deputy Secretary, MEA, and former Consul-General in Lhasa, 9 May 1959.

85. For Dalai Lama's letter to Nehru, 7 May 1959, see Appendix 4.

3. It should be remembered that while the question of Tibet stands by itself, it is intimately connected with the world situation. Even such a powerful country as the United States of America could not bring enough pressure to bear on China in regard to the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, not to speak of Formosa or Taiwan. Tibet is more important in China's eyes than Quemoy and Matsu.

4. It has to be noticed that China's great ally, the Soviet Union, is not fully supporting China in this matter as it has said very little about the Tibet situation. But of course, they will not go against China. If any external pressures are brought to bear on China in regard to Tibet, then the Soviet Union will come into the picture also and support China fully.

5. At present, the Communist countries of Europe have, on the whole, remained silent about Tibet. The other countries have expressed sympathy with Tibet. In the countries of South-East Asia, which are mainly Buddhist, there is, of course, great sympathy for Tibet. None of those countries can take any action, but the mere fact that there is such a large body of world opinion not approving of China's action in Tibet is itself a continuing pressure on China. Also the fact that the Dalai Lama is in India and so many refugees from Tibet have come here, is not at all to the liking of China and is a constant irritant to her.

6. Therefore, taking all these facts into consideration, the best course appears to be to await events and not take any further step. If a further step against China is taken, this will intensify China's hostility and activities in Tibet and no country will be able to check her.

7. It must be realised that nothing can happen soon in Tibet. A situation has been created which cannot be reversed quickly. We have to function carefully and await events.

8. Some heads of foreign missions or other foreign diplomats may want to see the Dalai Lama. It would be inadvisable for the Dalai Lama to discuss political matters with these foreign diplomats. They will exploit any such conversation for their own advantage, and this will not do any good to Tibet. Of course, if any person wants to see the Dalai Lama as a Buddhist or to pay his respects, there can be no objection to this.

## 297. To G. Parthasarathi: China Policy<sup>86</sup>

Your telegrams 87<sup>87</sup> and 88<sup>88</sup> of May 7th and 8th. I agree with your analysis of the situation. We have broadly followed the policy you indicate. It must be remembered, even though the Chinese do not appreciate it that there are many parties in India functioning with complete freedom and every Opposition Party, except the Communist<sup>89</sup> in this case, are bent on saying hard things about China chiefly to embarrass our Government. During the last few weeks, frequent questions have been asked in Parliament and various motions made. Because of the abundance of these questions and motion, I have made one or two statements.

2. Parliament has now adjourned for three months. There will thus be no further speeches in Parliament. I imagine also that the press here will tone down. But I think that some kind of anti-China propaganda will be carried on by some opposition parties and individuals, chiefly as an attack on our Government. I understand that some kind of a convention is being held in Calcutta for this purpose.<sup>90</sup> We have disassociated ourselves from it and disapproved of it. I made this clear in my speech in the Lok Sabha yesterday.

3. Generally speaking, the attitude taken up by our Government and my speeches have been much more moderate than Indian public opinion demanded. The Congress Working Committee has passed a resolution which is more or less restrained.<sup>91</sup>

4. We do not, therefore, intend to carry on a controversy. But we cannot stop odd individuals or groups delivering objectionable speeches.

5. It is clear that there is a basic difference in our approach and that of China and that we use same words and phrases but with different meanings.

86. Telegram, 10 May 1959.

87. For G. Parthasarathi to Nehru, see Appendix 3 (a).

88. For G. Parthasarathi to Subimal Dutt, see Appendix 3 (b).

89. For instance, commenting on the CPI's stand on Tibet, Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the CPI, said in his interview in New Delhi on 5 May that it was an "integral affair" of China, with which India had close and friendly relations. He asked the Indian Government to look upon the issue as a purely "domestic affair" and demanded that India should not make any observation which might be interpreted in "sympathy" or "support" for the Tibetan rebels. See *The Times of India*, 6 May 1959.

90. See item 273, p. 562.

91. The CWC resolution, drafted on 8 May, and published on 10 May, said: "The Working Committee accords its full support to the policy of the Government of India as enunciated in the Prime Minister's statements in Parliament and to the granting, on humanitarian grounds, of asylum to Dalai Lama and the refugees from Tibet."

We realise, however, that any kind of controversy will do no good to Tibet or to us. At the same time, we shall adhere to our basic position even though the Chinese do not like it. As you say, the presence of the Dalai Lama and thousands of refugees in India is a continuing affront to the Chinese Government.

6. It might be kept in mind that the publication of maps in China showing large parts of North-East India as Chinese territory, has been a constant irritant to India, whatever the reasons the Chinese may give for it. There is widespread feeling here that the Chinese Government often act as a bully, India for all her moderation and restraint, has also a good deal of pride and self-respect.

7. Anyhow, so far as we are concerned, we shall let matters remain as they are and leave the next step to the Chinese. I do not expect any such step to come soon. Meanwhile, the Dalai Lama, not fully appreciating the situation, imagines that we can issue demands and bring pressure on the Chinese Government. I am trying to explain to him that this does not fit in with the facts of life.

8. It is worth noting that the Soviet Union and other Communist countries have on the whole been silent about Tibet. This does not mean any love of Tibet. Probably it indicates their feeling that China has gone too far. Also, to some extent, their friendly relations with us lead to some restraint. As for other countries, in Asia or Europe, they have become more anti-China than before. Thus as a result of Chinese action in Tibet, there is a certain isolation of China in regard to world opinion. I realise that in the present mood of China, this has no great effect. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored.

9. We have no authentic news about happenings in Tibet and elsewhere. But I rather doubt if it will be easy for the Chinese to put an end quickly to the hostile elements in Tibet. Vague reports reach us also of trouble elsewhere.

10. There is an impression here that Mao Tse-Tung being a man of wisdom, had exercised a restraining influence, but his influence has been waning since his "hundred flowers" speech<sup>92</sup>, and more aggressive people have come to the front. Progressively Mao has been pushed aside from major seats of authority.

92. On 2 May 1956.

**298. To J.B.S. Bist: Tibet Trade and Bhatiyas<sup>93</sup>**

May 10, 1959

Dear Shri Bist,

Your letter of May 9th about trade with Tibet. I can well understand that there is much dislocation of this trade and that the Bhotiya community in Almora and Garhwal are the sufferers.<sup>94</sup> I am afraid, however, that we can do nothing in this matter, more especially now when our relations with the Chinese Government are rather strained. If an opportunity arises, we shall raise this question.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**299. To Twain Michelsen: Help to Tibetans<sup>95</sup>**

May 12, 1959

Dear Judge Michelsen,

Thank you for your letter of May 2nd.

The editorial comments which you have sent to me, about our attitude to Tibet, were evidently not based on any knowledge of the situation here of what we have done. I am sure you must have learnt later of the steps India has taken and how we have given shelter not only to the Dalai Lama but to about ten thousand other refugees from Tibet.

All good wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

93. Letter to Bist, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Almora, UP.

94. A *Hindustan Times* report of 2 May noted: "The present unrest in Tibet has caused anxiety to the Bhotiya traders of Niti and Mana Valley in North Garhwal. It is feared that barter trade with Western Tibet would be affected. Indian traders take grams and clothes and get in exchange wool, rock salt, skins, drugs, musk, and goats."

95. Letter to Michelsen, Judge, Superior Court of California, San Francisco.

300. To Chester Bowles: Helpful on Tibet<sup>96</sup>

May 14, 1959

Dear Chester Bowles,

Thank you for your letter of May 5th. I have read reports of your speeches and your article with great interest. Indeed, we have been following your speeches in the House of Representatives with gratitude. Through your efforts and the efforts of other friends, it seems that the thinking of the American public in regard to India has changed considerably. We are very happy about this.

It is difficult to forecast the future of China and the Chinese people. As neighbours of this enormous State, we are naturally concerned with what happens there. The whole Tibetan episode does little credit to China. Even though in a military sense, they may record victories. I think that in the long run, their reputation will suffer considerably. Even the biggest and most powerful countries cannot afford to suffer in the eyes of the rest of the world. All good wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

*So Near, Yet So Far!*



*The Tibetan affair does not alter India's stand in favour of a U.N. seat for Red China.—News.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 17 MAY 1959)

96. Letter to Bowles, Member of the US House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.



### 301. To Subimal Dutt: Tibetan Academy at Leh<sup>97</sup>

Shri Kushak Bakula,<sup>98</sup> the head Lama of Ladakh, came to see me today. You will remember that he has been wanting to start a kind of Tibetan Academy at Leh and we have promised him some support for this. Previously, a considerable number of Lamas and others from Ladakh used to go to Lhasa and other places in Tibet for study in Buddhist scriptures etc. Kushak Bakula thought that it would be desirable to have some academy in Leh itself. This would be much more convenient and would save much expense to the people who have to go to Tibet. Also, because of the new developments in Tibet, it had become increasingly difficult for people to go there.

2. This proposal was made last year or even earlier.<sup>99</sup> This was broadly accepted by us subject to its being worked out properly. This involved at that time obtaining the services of some well-known professors or teachers from Tibet for this academy in Leh.

3. Kushak Bakula said to me today that now that so many eminent Lamas and learned men had come from Tibet, it should be quite easy to choose a few of them for this academy. I agreed with him.

4. In this connection it struck me that perhaps we might be able to send a relatively small number of these Lamas to Ladakh—say fifty or a little more.

I would not like to send a large crowd, and, of course, this will depend on the consent of the Kashmir Government. Probably they would not have any objection to a few dozen going there.

5. Kushak Bakula also said that the Dalai Lama did not have some necessary articles and books for his daily worship. He had sent him therefore some articles from Delhi and he proposed to send him some books from Ladakh.

6. He also told me that long ago an order had been sent from Leh to Lhasa for a biggish image of Buddha, gold-plated. They had been informed that this image was ready, but they required some gold for it to plate it over. I told the Kushak Bakula that there was no question of their getting this image now or sending any gold for this purpose. We will have to wait till conditions are more favourable.

97. Note, 16 May 1959.

98. He was also the Minister for Ladakh Affairs in the Kashmir Government.

99. The proposal was made when Kushak Bakula was the Deputy Minister for Ladakh Affairs in the Jammu and Kashmir Government. See SWJN/SS/36/p. 230.

### 302. To Subimal Dutt: Circulating Pamphlets in Yatung<sup>100</sup>

I agree with you that a special note in Tibetan should not be circulated at Yatung or elsewhere. The pamphlet that Shri Apa Pant<sup>101</sup> is preparing can certainly be used among the Tibetan population in India.

I think, however, that Tibetan versions of the statements made by me in Parliament should certainly be prepared. These will be necessary not only for Tibetans in India, but may be sent to Yatung and perhaps elsewhere. I agree that these statements will not be much good for the illiterates and semi-literates in Tibet. But some literates will be able to understand them and even the others will know that we have said something and not accepted the charges.

I do not suggest that such a pamphlet should be distributed or widely circulated at Yatung or elsewhere. Some copies can be kept in our Mission reading room and possibly given to some others. But it should be confined to my statements.

I saw the reading room at Yatung when I was there. It is quite good though perhaps it is not frequented by Tibetans now.

### 303. To Subimal Dutt: Continuation of Panchsheel<sup>102</sup>

Foreign Secretary should send for the Chinese Ambassador and speak to him on the following lines. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, an informal note of what the Foreign Secretary has said should be handed to him.<sup>103</sup>

“The statement made by the Chinese Ambassador to the Foreign Secretary has been considered. The Foreign Secretary has been directed to make the following reply to the Chinese Ambassador:

100. Note, 18 May 1959. On Yatung, and Nehru's visit, see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 19-27.

101. Political Officer of India in Sikkim and Bhutan from 1955 to 1961.

102. Note, 22 May 1959.

103. See, Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959*. White Paper (n.p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 68-69.

The Government of India have learned of this statement with regret and surprise.<sup>104</sup> It is not only not in consonance with certain facts, but is also wholly out of keeping with diplomatic usage and the courtesies due to friendly countries. It is a matter of particular surprise and disappointment to them that a Government and people noted for their high culture and politeness should have committed this serious lapse and should have addressed the Government of India in a language which is discourteous and unbecoming even if it were addressed to a hostile country. Since it is addressed to a country which is referred to as friendly, this can only be considered as an act of forgetfulness.

2. We have no desire to enter into a lengthy argument about facts or opinions, much less about the discourteous language used in the statement made on behalf of the Chinese Government. It has been the consistent practice of the Government of India, to treat other countries with courtesy and friendliness even though any country might express opinions opposed to theirs. With China they have endeavoured to maintain and develop friendly relations, and they propose to continue to do so in spite of the discourtesy shown to them by the Chinese Government. This is in consonance with India's past culture and background and Mahatma Gandhi's teachings.

3. In so far as facts are concerned, the Prime Minister made a statement in the Lok Sabha on April 27 as well as on some subsequent occasions.<sup>105</sup> These statements give a correct narration of facts, and the Government of India stand by them. They can only regret that the Peoples' Government of China is unable to accept these facts.

4. The Government of India realise that the system of Government in China is different from that prevailing in India. It is the right of the Chinese people to have a Government of their choice, and no one else has a right to interfere; it is also the right of the Indian people to have a Government of their choice, and no one else has a right to interfere. In India, unlike China, the law recognise many parties and gives protection to the expression of differing opinions. That is a right guaranteed by our Constitution and contrary to the practice, prevailing in China, the Government of India is often criticised and opposed by various sections of the Indian people. It is evident that this freedom

104. The Chinese Ambassador alleged that the "armed rebellion" of 10 March 1959 in Tibet was "caused by India." For the Ambassador's statement of 16 May 1959 to Dutt, see Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements signed between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper* (n.p. n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 73-76.

105. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 503-510.

of expression, free press and civil liberties are not fully appreciated by the Government of China, and hence misunderstandings arise. So far as the Parliament of India is concerned, it is a sovereign body, and each one of its 750 members has perfect freedom to express his or her opinion under the protection of the law, whether anyone likes it or not. The People's Government of China should understand that this is a sovereign Parliament of a sovereign country and it does not submit to any dictation from any outside authority.

5. From the statement made on behalf of the Peoples Government of China, it appears that, according to them, the Panchsheel or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence may or may not be applied according to convenience or circumstances. This is an approach with which the Government of India is not in agreement. They have proclaimed and adhered to these Principles as matters of basic policy and not of opportunism. They will continue to hold to these principles and endeavour to apply them according to their own thinking.

6. The Government of India does not consider or treat any other country as an enemy country, howsoever much it may differ from it. It is their constant endeavour to develop friendly relations with all countries and try to remove tensions, bitterness and ill-will, while adhering to the policy they consider right. In particular, they have endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of the Chinese people and Government in spite of differences of opinion. They have avoided interference with China's internal affairs. They will continue this policy, but this must not be understood to mean that the Government of India will discard or vary any of its own policies under any pressure from outside."

### **304. To MEA: Talk with Ellsworth Bunker on Tibet<sup>106</sup>**

Two days ago, the United States Ambassador<sup>107</sup> came to see me as he was going away on fairly long leave to the United States.

2. We talked about various subjects, including the recent discussions with the World Bank President on Canal Waters, the Foreign Ministers'

106. Note, 22 May 1959.

107. Ellsworth Bunker.

Conference at Geneva,<sup>108</sup> our planning in India and our approach to the third Five Year Plan, and the Tibetan refugees in India.

3. In regard to the Tibetan refugees, the Ambassador told me that the American people were anxious to help in giving relief.<sup>109</sup> In fact, considerable pressure had been brought to bear on his Government to help officially. He wanted to know what they could do in this respect. I told him that these refugees were the Government of India's responsibility and we were looking after them. Probably they will have to stay in India for a considerable time. We hoped to disperse them as far as this was possible. We might even arrange for some work for them. As for relief coming from America for them, I suggested that, for the present, this might be chiefly in the form of medicines and other forms of medical relief. I also said that the American Relief Committees should deal directly with the Indian Relief Committee. The American Red Cross should deal with the Indian Red Cross.<sup>110</sup> In fact, medicines, etc. should normally be sent to the Indian Red Cross. There was some mention of food supplies. The Ambassador said that foodgrains could be made available to the Tibetan refugees from existing stocks in India, and the U.S. Government would replace them. I said then that we would consider this matter. Later, when I discussed this matter with the Food Minister, we found that the quantity of food-grains required was a relatively small one and there was no particular point in our accepting a gift of foodgrains for this purpose from the U.S. Government. This matter, therefore, should not be pursued.

4. But there is one other form of relief that could be accepted by us. This is milk powder, tinned butter and tinned meat of various kinds. It must be remembered that the Tibetans consume large quantities of meat of every kind.

108. The Council of Foreign Ministers of The USSR, the United States, the UK, Britain and France, formed after Potsdam agreement in August 1945, was authorized to draw up treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland and to propose settlement of territorial questions on the termination of the Second World War including a peace settlement for German unification. This conference, the ninth in the series held in Geneva from 11 May to 20 June and 13 July to 5 August 1959, failed to reach agreement on Germany.

109. *The Hindustan Times* reported on 21 May 1959 that Ellsworth Bunker had personally donated Rs. 2000 to the Indian Red Cross Society for Tibetan refugee relief.

110. According to *The Hindustan Times* of 9 May 1959, Lowell Thomas, the Chairman of the American Committee for Tibetan refugees, informed the Indian Relief Committee that more than \$ 700,000 in supplies and food had been approved and that the medical supplies had been sent to Acharya Kripalani, the Chairman of the Central Relief Committee for Tibetan Refugees. General Alfred M. Gruenther, the President of the American Red Cross, had donated \$ 5,000 to the Indian Red Cross.

5. In the course of my general talks with the U.S. Ambassador, I said that while our relations with the U.S. Government and people were very friendly, the fact of their continuing to give military help to Pakistan was ever present in our minds and created adverse reactions in our people. Recent reports were to the effect that the U.S. Government was supplying about 400 amphibious vehicles to Pakistan. By no stretch of imagination could it be thought that these amphibious vehicles could be used against the Soviet Union. They can only be used against India. In fact, General Ayub, before he became President, had said something about the use of such vehicles in the rivers. I had a vague recollection that the leader of our Delegation to the UN<sup>111</sup> last year had referred to this remark of General Ayub. Thus for the U.S. Government to give these amphibious vehicles to Pakistan could have only one meaning, that they were supplying Pakistan with something for possible use against India.

6. The Ambassador said that he did not know about the supply of these amphibious vehicles. He would enquire. But in regard to the general question of military aid to Pakistan, he had long been greatly distressed and he had repeatedly drawn the attention of his Government to the undesirability of this aid and to the reactions in India. He proposed to take up this matter again on his return to Washington.

111. V.K. Krishna Menon.

### 305. To Rameshwari Nehru: Afro-Asian Solidarity and Tibet<sup>112</sup>

May 23, 1959

Thank you for your letter<sup>113</sup> of the 23rd May and the report of the National Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity.<sup>114</sup> I have partly read your speech and also glanced through the resolutions. There are so many resolutions that it is a little difficult to grasp them all.

Your resolution on Tibet was, considering all the circumstances, fairly suitable.<sup>115</sup>

### 306. To Subimal Dutt: Tibetans' Haj Pilgrimage<sup>116</sup>

Please see the attached picture and the note on it about Tibetans wanting to go on Haj pilgrimage. I think that we should try our utmost to facilitate their going on this pilgrimage. They have come from a tremendous distance, braved many obstacles and spent a lot of money. They should certainly be given some priority. There are not many of them.<sup>117</sup>

112. Note, 23 May 1959.

113. She said: "...I shall be grateful if you will kindly glance through it which will give you an idea of what our movement stands for... I had much difficulty in getting it through both from the Chinese fraternal delegates and from our Communist friends as well as the P.S.P. friends. The former did not want any reference to be made at the conference as they held it to be an internal problem of China and the latter wanted to bring resolutions asking for independence of Tibet as well as condemning the treachery of the Chinese and the cruelty perpetrated by them on the innocent Tibetans. The conference had to find a via media and I am glad that we succeeded in our efforts to get our resolution passed by a large majority."

114. The conference, second of its series, took place in Calcutta from 2 to 5 April 1959. Congress and INTUC participated.

115. See fn 113 in this section.

116. Note, 25 May 1959.

117. *The Hindustan Times* of 26 May reported that sixty-five Tibetan Muslim Haj pilgrims were stranded in Bombay for not having "proper", that is, valid international travel documents. The Chinese Consulate in Bombay refused to entertain them; hence the appeal for help to Nehru.

### **307. To Subimal Dutt: Institute of Tibetan Culture<sup>118</sup>**

Please see the attached letter from Dr. Raghu Vira.<sup>119</sup> His ideas are usually rather airy. I am not sure that his present idea has much realism about it.

Nevertheless, there is something in it which appeals to me. In all likelihood, we are likely to have the Tibetan Lamas in India for an indefinite time. We shall try to disperse them and all that. It might be worthwhile considering the feasibility of starting an Institute of Tibetan Culture, Religion, etc. It should be run almost entirely by them. We may start in a relatively small way. If it functions properly, it will grow.

If there is anything in this idea, it, could be discussed with the Dalai Lama.

Nalanda is hardly a place suited for this purpose. So far as Tibetans are concerned, they would find it difficult to live there because of the heat.

Has anything been done about the Huan Tsang Institute at Nalanda for which the Chinese Government gave us about Rs.5 lakhs?

### **308. To Tsung-Lien Shen:<sup>120</sup> Calls for Restoring the Dalai Lama**

June 14, 1959

Dear Professor Shen,

Our High Commissioner in London has forwarded to me your letter of the 1st June. Thank you for it.

Should you come to India, I shall gladly meet you. I am not going out of India during the next few months, but, of course, I have to travel frequently in India. The best place to meet me would be in Delhi itself as I am usually here, apart from my visits to other parts of India.

I do not understand what you mean by suggesting that the Dalai Lama should be promptly restored to Tibet. He came to India of his own free will and we have assured him that he can go back to Tibet or anywhere else or stay in India as long as he likes. As for the smuggling of arms into Tibet, I am sure there has been no such smuggling from India. I cannot guarantee some individual

118. Note to the 6 June 1959.

119. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay.

120. Letter to Professor Shen, Lynchburg College, Virginia, USA.



taking some small arms secretly but even that is difficult. Whether there is any smuggling from other countries to Tibet, I cannot say. But certainly there is no possibility of this taking place via India.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**309. To Suniti Kumar Chatterji: Panchsheel Ignored<sup>121</sup>**

New Delhi,  
15th June 1959.

My dear Dr Chatterji,

I have received your letter of June 13 reminding me of the anniversary of the Declaration of the Five Principles and asking me for a message for this occasion. I do not quite know what kind of a message to send you, because we have seen repeatedly cases of the violation of these Five Principles by those very countries which spoke loudly in their favour.

The Government of the People's Republic of China accuses us of having violated these Principles because we have given shelter to the Dalai Lama and other Tibetans and because the Indian press as well as some others have criticised Chinese policy in Tibet. We think that China has offended against the spirit of those Principles on several occasions.

What then am I to say in a message? I do not wish to go on criticising the Chinese Government. That does not help. At the same time, I can hardly shout in praise of something which is not being acted upon.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

121. Letter to Chatterji, the President, India-China Friendship Association, West Bengal, Calcutta.

### 310. To Subimal Dutt: On Visiting China

There is nothing that we can do about this matter. I rather doubt if any invitation would be coming to me from China, more particularly after the Dalai Lama's statements today.<sup>122</sup> Also, I think that the October celebration is not a good time. It is by no means easy for me to rush off to China then or indeed at any time. Merely an invitation to go there would hardly be enough unless there was some further advance made otherwise.

(J. Nehru)  
20-6-1959

### 311. To A.D. Mani: Futility of Empty Protests<sup>123</sup>

June 26, 1959

Dear Shri Mani,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th June. I have read your article. Many people in India and abroad have criticised our policy in regard to Tibet. I fail to understand, however, what exactly they expect us to do more than what we have done except that we could have shouted more loudly and condemned people right and left. Such shouting and condemnation does not seem to me to be the right basis of any policy. We have done everything we possibly could in this matter short of the shouting.

Yours sincerely,  
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

122. His first press conference after his escape to India was held at the Birla House, Mussoorie, on 20 June 1959, and reported in all newspapers on 21 June. He said he would return to Lhasa only after he had obtained the "rights and powers" the Tibetans had enjoyed before 1950. He noted that the Sino-Tibetan agreement "imposed" by China had been "violated." He described the Government headed by the Panchen Lama as a "deceptive government" with all powers in the hands of the Chinese and was confident that the people of Tibet would never recognise that government. He hoped India would help Tibet in the manner it had other countries like Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.

123. Letter to the Editor, *The Hitavada*, Nagpur.

**312. To Subimal Dutt: The Dalai Lama's Treasure<sup>124</sup>**

I am, for the present, keeping the letters from the Dalai Lama.<sup>125</sup> I should like to discuss them with you. Broadly, I agree with what you have written in your note on them.

2 But there is one matter to which I want to draw your attention immediately. This is about the gold and silver bullion which was deposited at Gangtok and which the Dalai Lama now wants. I suppose this will have to be given to him. But we should not agree to private sale of this bullion. You should consult the Finance Ministry about it. Also about the Customs Duty which might be applicable to this bullion.

3. I told you today that some silver or other commodities had been brought by the Dalai Lama's party with them and they wanted to dispose of them. Here also we should know exactly what these things are and consider whether Government should buy some of them before we allow private traders to purchase them.

**313. To Sundarlal: JP is Troublesome<sup>126</sup>**

June 28, 1959

My dear Sundarlal,<sup>127</sup>

I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging your letter of the 16th June.<sup>128</sup> I read of your talks in various places abroad with much interest.

I am afraid that the developments in Tibet and the presence of the Dalai Lama in India do come in the way of normal friendly relations with China. So far as we are concerned, we shall adhere to the policy we have expressed. Unfortunately, Jayaprakash<sup>129</sup> and some others are adding to our difficulties.

124. Note, 27 June 1959.

125. For Dalai Lama's letter to Nehru, 23 June 1959. Appendix 26.

126. File No. 40(168)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

127. Chairman, All India Peace Council, New Delhi.

128. See Sunderlal to Nehru. Appendix 24.

129. According to *The Hindustan Times* of 27 June 1959, Jayaprakash Narayan addressed a public meeting in Dehra Dun on 25 June 1959 when he demanded Nehru's resignation over his handling of the Tibetan issue. He regretted GOI's "original mistake" of accepting Chinese suzerainty over Tibet.

As for the Standard English-Hindi dictionary which you have been preparing, I really do not know what to do or say. I have mentioned this matter to Dr. Shrimali.<sup>130</sup> I can hardly go into all kinds of details or objections which Audit have raised. Even if I did go into them, it would not be usual or proper for me to deal with such matters. The best way is for you to deal with Dr. Shrimali directly. Dr. Tara Chand's<sup>131</sup> association in these talks will be good.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) USSR

### 314. To Swaran Singh: Soviet Aid<sup>132</sup>

May 12, 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,<sup>133</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 12th May.<sup>134</sup>

I understand that Mahalanobis, who is in Moscow now, has had some general talks with the Russian leaders including Khrushchev, about big scale aid to India.<sup>135</sup> Our Ambassador reported this yesterday.<sup>136</sup> I have told him that in

130. Union Minister of Education.

131. The historian and a former Ambassador to Iran.

132. Letter. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

133. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

134. See Swaran Singh to Nehru. Appendix 9.

135. According to *The Hindustan Times* of 9 May 1959, these were meetings at the Soviet Academy of Sciences and with scholars and officials at the Institute of World Economy and the State Commission for Economic Cooperation.

136. K. P. S. Menon's telegram to Nehru on 11 May 1959 said: "Just returned from Budapest. MAHALANOBIS had long interview with KHRUSHCHEV on Thursday last [7 May]. He has sent full report to PITHAMBER PANT which you will have to see. KHRUSHCHEV's reactions encouraging. MAHALANOBIS tells me that KHRUSHCHEV envisaged possibility of further talks and pointedly asked whether Ambassador was in the picture. Subsequently academician DEGTYAR told MAHALANOBIS that KHRUSHCHEV would be prepared for further discussions. So far I have been keeping out of these talks but it will be odd if I am not present if and when MAHALANOBIS sees KHRUSHCHEV again. Grateful for instructions. We shall make it clear that talks are purely exploratory and will not commit Government of India in any way."

future talks, he should also be present. The report said that Khrushchev's reactions were on the whole favourable, whatever that might mean. When you go to Moscow, you will have further information on this subject from our Ambassador.

You cannot obviously discuss any projects there at this stage. But there seems to me to harm in your mentioning some of the major lines of our development in which help would be useful. The main thing is particularly the quantum of help that they can give and the period of the credits or loans which, as you have said, is important.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **315. To N.R. Pillai: USSR in WHO's South East Asia Regional Committee<sup>137</sup>**

Looking at these various Regional Committees of the WHO, it seems to me that there is not very much logic about them.<sup>138</sup> Anyhow, the inclusion of Portugal in South East Asia is not only objectionable, but almost insulting, more especially when Portugal is already represented in the European Region.

2. It is not clear to me whether any number of countries can be added to a Region or there is a limit to these Committees. Apparently, there is no limit. Therefore, to oppose the inclusion of any country is not on the basis of some other country in its place, but just to exclude it. That does not seem to me a proper attitude to take up almost in regard to any country, unless there are very strong reasons for it. For instance, we will certainly oppose Portugal in any Region excepting Europe.

3. The reasons given by the Health Ministry do not impress me at all. To say that some countries might then ask to be included, is not an adequate reason. Further, to say that thus far India is the most important member and if the Soviet Union comes in, it will lose this place of importance and its position will be undermined, also does not seem to me a valid argument. We must remember that this is not a political committee but a Health Committee, and the Soviet Union will be presumably a country which gives help instead of

137. Note to the Secretary General, MEA, 12 May 1959.

138. For notes of S. Sen of 11 May and N.R. Pillai of 12 May, see appendices 7(a) and 7(b) respectively.

receiving it. As for the argument about the cold war, there may be something in it. On the other hand, an express refusal to allow the Soviet Union to come in itself smacks of the cold war.

4. While, therefore, I think that there are some valid arguments for the Soviet Union not joining the South East Asia Regional group, I do not think that these are adequate for our taking the positive step of voting against it, if the name of any of the Soviet Asian Republics is put forward. All we can do is to point out some geographical reasons (not the other reasons given by the Health Ministry), but if, nevertheless, the name of a Soviet Republic is brought forward, I think we should support it. I do not think we should oppose it. We need not argue about it. But if it comes to voting, we should vote for it.

### 316. To K.P.S. Menon: Swaran Singh's Soviet Visit

May 13, 1959

My dear KPS,

Sardar Swaran Singh and party are leaving tomorrow morning for Moscow.<sup>139</sup> I am giving him a letter for Khrushchev, copy enclosed.

I have told him about Mahalanobis's talks with Khrushchev and others in Moscow. Indeed, this afternoon Pitambar Pant received a long letter from Mahalanobis giving full details of his talks with Khrushchev. Pitambar Pant gave this to me and I have shown it to Sardar Swaran Singh, as I thought this would help him to know exactly how matters stood. He will exercise his discretion in talking to Khrushchev on the question of future help. Naturally he will not go into any details, but the broad issues might well be mentioned.

I think you might inform Khrushchev when you see him, perhaps when you go to him with Sardar Swaran Singh, that Professor Mahalanobis has given you an account of his talks with Khrushchev.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

139. *The Hindustan Times* reported on 12 May 1959 that S.S. Khera, the Secretary in the Department of Fuel, and L.K. Jha, the Additional Secretary in Department of Industry, accompanied the Ministers. The visit was from 14 to 30 May 1959.

## 317. To N.S. Khrushchev

May 13, 1959

My dear Mr. Khrushchev,

I am taking the liberty of sending this letter to you through my colleagues, Sardar Swaran Singh, our Minister for Steel, Mines and Fuel, and Shri Manubhai Shah, our Minister for Industry. They are leaving tomorrow morning for Moscow and they are greatly looking forward to this visit to your great country.

My colleagues will be greatly interested in seeing the great advance made by the Soviet Union in many directions and, in particular, in industrial development. The great scope of your Seven Year Plan has been followed by us with the greatest interest. I am happy to learn that even during the first three months, your Seven Year Plan has been over-fulfilled to the extent of five per cent. That is not only a remarkable achievement, but is also the promise of greater things to come. May I congratulate you on this remarkable success.

We are anxious to learn from the Soviet Union's great experience in planning as we are ourselves engaged in the hard task of planning for our own country and its four hundred million inhabitants. Being in the early stages, the task is all the more difficult. But we are, I think, laying a sound foundation for our agricultural and industrial development. In agriculture, the Suratgarh State Farm,<sup>140</sup> with the mechanical equipment which you were good enough to give us, has already proved a success, and we have great expectations from it. In industry, the Bhilai Iron and Steel Plant is now nearing completion and is a symbol not only of our future, but also of Indo-Soviet collaboration. Sardar Swaran Singh has been the Minister in charge of the Bhilai Plan. Among other things, we are anxious to develop our oil industry as rapidly as possible. Soviet technologists and experts, who have come here, have assured us that, in their opinion, there is every possibility of our discovering large quantities of oil in India. Some evidence of this has already been discovered. We have now to drill in many places to make sure of the extent of these oil regions.

Our two Ministers, who are going to the Soviet Union, are fully acquainted with our development schemes. They are now engaged with us in drawing up a provisional draft of our Third Five Year Plan, which is going to mean so much to us. I trust that they will have opportunities of discussing our plans with Soviet experts who can give them good advice from their long experience.

I earnestly trust that the conference going on in Geneva now will lead to what is called a Big Power Conference and that this will lay the foundations for

140. SWJN/SS/46/pp. 441-444.

a stable peace in the world.<sup>141</sup> Nothing will be more welcome to people all over the world than this assurance of peace so that they can devote themselves to social and economic growth.

I send you my regards and good wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 318. WHO South East Asia Regional Committee<sup>142</sup>

The telegram from our WHO Delegation does not give much information as to other delegations and the number of them who intend supporting this move for postponement.<sup>143</sup> This is obviously a move on behalf of some of the Western Powers to prevent the USSR from becoming a member of the Regional Committee for South East Asia. I do not myself see what kind of study is required of the various aspects of this question. I could understand a study not only of the Russian proposal but of the entire question of membership of Regional Committees, that is, how far one country can be a member of two Committees.

2. My view of this matter is that, in regard to the WHO Regional Committees, if any country wants to be a member, it should not normally be opposed. I will have no objection to the USA as well as the USSR both becoming members of the Regional Committee for South East Asia. They are great countries which can help in health programmes.

3. I am inclined to think that our Delegation does not particularly favour any major country coming into this Regional Committee because they feel, indeed they have stated as much, that India should be the leading country there. I do not agree with this position.

4. I think the following telegram should be sent:

“Your telegram 66 of May 14th from WHO Delegation. It is not clear to us what kind of study by the Executive Board is required or whether the study is merely for the Russian proposal or generally in regard to principles governing

141. See item 17, pp. 177-178.

142. Note to FS, 15 May 1959.

143. S. Sen, the Joint Secretary in the MEA, noted on 15 May 1959 that the telegram no. 66 from the Indian delegation to the WHO at Geneva indicated that several delegations wished to defer a decision until the question had been studied by the Executive Board. He added: “It will be difficult for us to oppose such a proposal and, perhaps in the circumstances, we should abstain.”



membership of Regional Committees. If there is a broad consensus of opinion to postpone decision, you may abstain from voting. But you should say that in your opinion the proposal for Russia joining this might have been accepted, as you will be prepared to accept any other country joining. There need be no rigidity about it. Having explained this, you may then abstain.

### 319. To B.K. Nehru: Uncertainty About Soviet Aid Figures<sup>144</sup>

New Delhi,  
30th June 1959

My dear Bijju,

N.R. Pillai has, I believe, sent you a copy of a letter which Mr. Khrushchev wrote to me recently and which was handed to me by the new Soviet Ambassador Benediktov.<sup>145</sup> In this letter, you will have seen that Khrushchev has made an offer of credits amounting to Rs. 240 crores. This includes some previous credits agreed to amounting to Rs. 60 crores.

This figure is considerably less than that had been mentioned to him by Sardar Swaran Singh. It is true that Khrushchev had indicated that whatever might be given at this stage need not be the final figure and that this could be added to as circumstances permitted in future.

Benediktov told me, as he was going away, that the Soviet Government had no objection to the publication of Khrushchev's letter to me. The question now is as to whether we should publish this letter or the figure now or soon. What would be the reaction of this on your efforts in the US and elsewhere? Would it tend to scale your figures down? Anyhow, some time or other we shall have to state the fact of this offer from the Soviet Union. We shall await your reply.

Your sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

144. Letter to B.K. Nehru, Commissioner General for Economic Affairs, Embassy of India, Washington. File No. 17(214)/56-66-PMS.

145. For N. Khrushchev to Nehru, 15 June 1959, see Appendices 23 (a) and 23 (b).

**320. To K.P.S. Menon: Soviet Aid Negotiations<sup>146</sup>**

New Delhi,  
30th June 1959

My dear KPS,

N.R. Pillai has already written to you and sent you a copy of the letter Khrushchev wrote to me and send through the new Ambassador Benediktov. When Benediktov was leaving me, he said that the Soviet Government would have no objection to our giving publicity to Khrushchev's letter.

The credits proposed in Khrushchev's letter, though substantial, are considerably less than we had hinted at.<sup>147</sup> These credits in all amount to Rs.240 crores, including the amounts previously agreed to. Mahalanobis in his talks with Khrushchev had vaguely mentioned the figure of 300 to 500 crores. Sardar Swaran Singh had mentioned bigger figures. The amount now mentioned in Khrushchev's letter, is considerably less.

The question that arises for us to consider is what the reaction of our publication of this letter and figure would be in other places, such as America, etc. Would it tend to scale down the figures we have been discussing with them? We are considering this matter and I have sent a copy of Khrushchev's letter to B.K. Nehru in Washington and asked him for his reactions.

Both Mahalanobis and Sardar Swaran Singh indicated to me that Khrushchev had suggested that no final figure of help need be fixed now. They would give some substantial help to begin with and possibly add to it at later stages. That, however, is not indicated in this letter to me.

I should like you to convey my thanks to Mr. Khrushchev for his generous offer of aid and tell him that I shall be writing to him a little later on the subject. We shall have to fix up consultations as to how to use this aid. This will partly depend upon the progress of our planning which is going on now.

When I have heard from B.K. Nehru and consulted our colleagues here, I shall let you know about the publication of the letter.

You may remember that at one time Khrushchev himself said that the help they give should not be publicised at this stage as this might affect our negotiations in the US.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

146. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

147. See item 319, p. 591.

## (e) Indo-China

**321. To Dag Hammarskjöld: Laos Commission<sup>148</sup>**

27 May 1959

My dear Mr. Hammarskjöld,<sup>149</sup>

You will no doubt recall that, when you were in Delhi in March, we exchanged views on the international situation with particular reference to South-East Asia and the Indo-China States.<sup>150</sup> I remember your telling me at that time that it was your considered view that the Indo-China States should be permitted to develop free from the pressures of the Power Blocs so that these States concentrate their energies on economic and social development programmes while remaining non-aligned. You also kindly mentioned to me and to some of my colleagues that you intended to convey your views to the State Department in Washington and also to the Canadian Government, and persuade the latter to nominate their representative on the Laos Commission to enable mediatory counsel or action to be taken to ease the tension between the Royal Laotian Government and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

We do not know whether you have taken such steps as you indicated. Meanwhile, the situation has deteriorated considerably in the last two months. The reports received by us show that there is considerable tension and conflict inside Laos, political murders have occurred, and leaders of the opposition parties have been under house-arrest. There have been reports about firing involving casualties. The relations between the Royal Laotian Government and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are almost at breaking point and we have had reports of movement of troops along the Laos-North Vietnam border. We have also received reports about import into Laos of U.S. telecommunication equipment, trucks and technical military personnel though in civilian clothes. If this situation is not dealt with promptly by the mediating counsel or action of the Commission and the Geneva Agreement is rendered inoperative, it will no doubt be fraught with serious consequences not only for Laos but for all the States of Indo-China.

I have sent messages to the two Co-Chairmen<sup>151</sup> of the Geneva Conference to consider this very grave situation immediately and to devise and advise on

148. File No. 1701 (1)-SD/59, Vol. III, p. 79/Corr., MEA.

149. Secretary General, United Nations.

150. On 18 March 1959. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 448-449.

151. Soviet Union and Britain, Co-Chairmen.

measures for maintaining peace in Indo-China and to present the Geneva Agreement being wrecked. I have also addressed a message to Prime Minister Diefenbaker, requesting him to nominate the representative of Canada on the Laos Commission so that the Commission can be reconvened and necessary mediatory measures initiated by it to ease the tension in Laos and in the relations between the Royal Government of Laos and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.<sup>152</sup>

I feel sure that you will do your best both at Washington and at Ottawa to urgently promote a constructive approach so that peace may be maintained in Indo-China and grave conflict averted.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **322. To Diefenbaker: Asking Canada to Appoint Representative to Laos Commission<sup>153</sup>**

27th May 1959

My dear Prime Minister,<sup>154</sup>

As you know, both Canada and India readily responded to the request of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and undertook, along with Poland, the arduous task of controlling and supervising the execution of the Geneva Agreement on Indo-China and make our contribution towards the maintenance of peace in the Indo-China States which had been ravaged by conflict for several years. We have in association with your country carried on this task for nearly five years though this has involved considerable strain on our limited resources of trained manpower and finance.

The developments in Laos in the last few months and the serious deterioration in the relations between the Royal Laotian Government and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have created a grave situation. The present situation and the trend to conflict involve far reaching

152. On 21 June *The Hindustan Times* reported that Macmillan and Diefenbaker had written to Nehru on 20 June that the Commission could not operate against the "expressed wishes of the Royal Laotian Government which did not see any need for reconvening it."

153. Letter. File No. 1701-SD/59, Vol. III, p. 78/Corr., MEA.

154. John George Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada.

consequences not merely for Laos but for all the Indo-China States and, I may add, for South-East Asia.

In view of the gravity of the situation and its rapid deterioration, I have today addressed messages to the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. Copies are being airmailed separately for your information.

I met Mr. Hammarskjöld in Delhi in March on his way back from his visit to Laos, Cambodia and some states in South-East Asia. He gave me his appreciation of the situation in the Indo-China States. I gathered from him that it was his considered view that free from the intervention of the Power Blocs, the Indo-China States should be enabled to concentrate on their economic and social development plans remaining non-aligned with either of them. He must have mentioned this to you as well.

You will recall that after much negotiation we came to agreement to adjourn the Commission sine-die and that it may be reconvened in accordance with the normal procedure. As Chairman country it is our duty to desire to reconvene the Commission in the normal way.<sup>155</sup> We can do this if Canada appoints her representative to the Commission as repeatedly requested by us.

In view of the prevailing situation which can and may easily degenerate into actual conflict and spread, I would most earnestly request you to take immediate steps to appoint the Canadian representative on the Laos Commission so that our representatives on the Commission can take necessary measures to ease the tensions and conflict that prevail and continue their contribution towards the maintenance of peace in Indo-China.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

155. SWJN/SS/40/p. 627; SWJN/SS/43/p. 444; SWJN/SS/46/p. 600.

**323. To Selwyn Lloyd and Andrei A. Gromyko: Reconvening the International Commission in Laos<sup>156</sup>**

New Delhi,  
May 27, 1959.

You will recall that on 10th March our Representative on the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos addressed a letter,<sup>157</sup> in his capacity as Chairman of the Laos Commission, setting out the developments since the Commission adjourned. He referred therein to the fact that the Commission could not be reconvened to deal with urgent problems as Canada had not appointed her representative on it. We have also kept the Government of Canada informed of subsequent developments. No Canadian representative, however, has so far been appointed on the Laos Commission.

The reports we receive indicate serious tension in Laos and in the relations between Laos and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Opposition members of the Neo Lao Haksat and the Santiphab parties of the Laotian National Assembly, which latter has been prorogued for a year since 12th January, have been under house arrest during the last fortnight. The two Pathet Lao battalions, which were to be integrated under the agreement arrived at between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao, have not yet been integrated and are, according to reports received, being subjected to various pressures. There are also reports that some firing has occurred involving casualties. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have sent several complaints against alleged violations of the Geneva Agreements by the Royal Laotian Government. The latest message from the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of 18th May, copies of which were given to your representative here on 19th May and which must by now have reached you, would inform you of the grave tension in Vientiane-Hanoi relations.

You must have also received a letter sent a few days back by the Government of the People's Republic of China inviting the attention of the Co-Chairmen to the latest developments in Laos and requesting the Co-Chairmen to adopt measures to uphold the Geneva Agreements and peace in Indo-China and to instruct the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos to meet and resume its activities.

As Chairman country of the Commission, entrusted by you and other Geneva Powers with the responsibility of controlling and supervising the

156. Letter to Selwyn Lloyd and Andrei A. Gromyko, 27 May 1959.

157. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 448-449 and 539-540.

execution of Geneva Agreements and assisting in the maintenance of peace in Laos and in the other Indo-China States in terms of the said agreement, we have from time to time brought to your notice, through your representative in Delhi, the difficulties and the dangers of the situation. The developments in Laos and the serious deterioration in the relations between the Royal Laotian Government and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have created a situation which, unless it is sought to be resolved promptly, may lead to conflict and breach of peace in Laos and even in the other Indo-China States. It is important, if the patient and strenuous efforts made since 1954 to maintain peace in Indo-China are not to prove infructuous with the consequences that it entails, that immediate consideration should be given to the situation that has developed and necessary measures devised to reduce and progressively ease the tensions and seek to resolve the conflict in Laos as well as in the relations between Laos and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

It is my earnest request to you that you will take steps to consult with your colleague, the U.S.S.R./U.K. Chairman, and that the two Chairmen between them will devise and advise on measures which are imperative if peace in Indo-China is to be safeguarded. It must be obvious to you that the first and the one essential step is to reconvene the Laos Commission. The appointment forthwith by the Government of Canada of their representative on the Laos Commission and the cooperation of the Royal Laotian Government with the Commission are urgent and indispensable. It is the view of the Government of India that this will materially contribute towards the easing of tensions and resolving the conflict in Laos and to the improvement of the relations between the Royal Laotian Government and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which is essential to the restoration of peaceful conditions which emerged as a result of the Geneva Agreement and its operation in several years despite all difficulties and obstacles.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**324. To the Prime Minister of Laos<sup>158</sup>**

27th May, 1959

My dear Prime Minister,<sup>159</sup>

I am aware of the difference of views between our two Governments regarding the implementation of the Geneva Agreements which however sought to secure unity and peace for the people of Laos and thanks to cooperative efforts succeeded in great measure. I know that the Royal Laotian Government have definite views about the role and competence of the Commission on matters affecting the sovereignty of the Government of Laos. I take the liberty and venture to address this message to you with the sole desire to assist in maintaining peace in Laos and in Indo-China States to enable the people of these war-ravaged countries to concentrate their energies on essential tasks of social and economic development and raise their living standards.

We have been receiving reports of grave tension and impending conflicts. I would, therefore, most earnestly request you to do all in your power to see that the authorities concerned exercise all restraint and moderation so that the relations between the people of Laos themselves and between them and their neighbours do not become unduly strained.<sup>160</sup>

Our President who paid a visit to your charming country recently has told me about the great welcome and lavish hospitality accorded to him.<sup>161</sup> I take this opportunity of thanking you for receiving our President and making his visit such a success.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

158. File No. 1701 (1)-SD/59, Vol. III, p. 77/Corr., MEA.

159. Prime Minister of Laos.

160. For Phoui Sananikone to Nehru, 2 June 1959, see Appendix 18 (a).

161. Rajendra Prasad visited Laos from 25 to 26 March 1959 as part of his 12-day tour of the Indo-China States.



**325. To Selwyn Lloyd: The Laos Commission<sup>162</sup>**

New Delhi,  
6th June, 1959

On my return to Delhi today after a week's absence, I found waiting for me the personal message you have been good enough to send me on the situation in Laos.<sup>163</sup> I am grateful to you for writing to me so fully and frankly about your own assessment of the situation and about your attitude to the question of the reconvening of the International Commission.

I regret that you should have been led to the conclusion that the request made in my letter of May 27 amounts to asking you "to impose the joint will of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom as Co-Chairmen upon a small state very jealous of its own sovereignty". Nothing could be farther from my intention. As I said in my earlier letter, the cooperation of the Laotian Government is essential for the proper functioning of the International Commission, and it remains my hope that it will be possible to secure the consent and cooperation of that Government if an appeal in this sense is made to them by the two Co-Chairmen and is supported by friendly counsel and advice from countries close to them. Their fear of the possibility of Laotian sovereignty being jeopardized is without foundation. The existence and active operation of the Commission in their territory until July 1958 did not endanger the sovereignty of the country. The reappearance of the Commission would likewise no more derogate from Laotian sovereignty than does the continued existence of similar International Commissions in Vietnam and Cambodia from the sovereignty of those States. On the other hand, if the Commission were enabled to resume functioning, that could not but be a clear advantage to the Laotian Government themselves, for the Commission would then be in a position to assist in the ascertainment of facts, which are now themselves in dispute and therefore a continuing cause of conflict, and would also be able to report on, prevent, developments likely to worsen the situation. In all that the Laotian Government may do to discharge their obligations under the Geneva Agreement, the Commission could not fail to be a source of help and support to them.

You have in your message indicated the risk of a deterioration in the situation and the possibility in that event of some international action, and you have referred in this context to an approach that I have made to Mr Hammarskjöld. I

162. Letter to the British Foreign Secretary.

163. See Selwyn Lloyd to Nehru; Appendix 18 (b); the letter was sent through Malcolm McDonald, the British High Commissioner in New Delhi, on 4 June 1959.

must explain that my letter to him was prompted by the talks I had with him a few months ago in Delhi which disclosed a similarity of approach between us on this question, and my purpose in writing to him was to re-emphasize the importance of the steps which he had expressed his intention of taking in connection with our proposal for reconvening the Commission. As the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is not a member of the United Nations, any form of U.N. action which bypassed the International Commission would be so much the less effective. The suppression of the Commission, which such action would involve, would weaken the position of the other International Commissions in Indo-China and raise immediately the question of whether in these circumstances they should be continued at all.

Reports are continuing to reach us of fresh incidents and consequent aggravation of tension. The risk of the situation getting out of control is thus progressively becoming more grave.

You have suggested that our correspondence on this subject should be treated as confidential. I would, of course, agree that your message to me and my present reply should be treated as confidential and personal exchanges of views. My earlier letter of May 27 to you and my identical letter to Mr Gromyko were intended, however, as an official approach by me as Prime Minister of the Chairman country of the International Commission to the two Co-Chairmen, and do not therefore fall in the same category. However, I would agree that it is premature at this stage to consider the question of its publication. That question can be considered at a later stage on the conclusion of the official correspondence between me and the Co-Chairmen in the light of the situation then existing.

You and the other Foreign Ministers now meeting at Geneva are engaged upon a task which is of supreme importance to the peace of the world, and I send you my very best wishes for the success of your joint efforts.<sup>164</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru

## 326. To Dag Hammarskjöld: The Laos Commission

30th June 1959

My dear Mr Hammarskjöld,

I am grateful to you for your letter of 11th June on the situation in Laos,<sup>165</sup> which reached me some days ago, and for your cooperation and helpful

164. See item 17, pp. 177-178.

165. See Dag Hammarskjöld to Nehru. Appendix 20.

suggestions. Since the receipt of your letter I have been out of Delhi frequently on tour, and in the meantime replies have been received also from Mr Diefenbaker, Mr Selwyn Lloyd and Mr Gromyko to my letters to them on the same subject.<sup>166</sup>

We have carefully considered the various reports and points of view. On the Western side the main difficulty is stated to be the declaration of the Government of Laos that they would not agree to the reconvening of the Commission which in their view completed its work when the agreements with Pathet-Lao were signed in 1957. They put forward the argument that, with the conclusion of these agreements, the problem of their relationship with the former Pathet-Lao (now called Neo Leo Haksat) comes exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the Government of Laos and that the reconvening of the Commission will constitute an interference with the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Laos. Some of the statements made by the Government of Laos also leave the impression that they no longer consider themselves bound by the Geneva agreements. In this line of thinking the Government of Laos seem to have the support in varying degrees of the Western Powers principally concerned.

In our view, which was explained to you at some length during your last visit to Delhi, this approach is an over-simplification of a difficult problem. You will recall that the agreement for the cessation of hostilities in Laos was a part of the solution arrived at Geneva in regard to all Indo-China States. In the agreements made in 1954, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was a signatory on behalf of the Fighting Forces of Pathet-Lao, and these agreements were accompanied by a number of declarations, including one by the Government of Laos indicating in general terms that Laos would remain outside the activities of the power blocs. Again, as a signatory at Geneva on behalf of the Pathet-Lao, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is interested in the various agreements later arrived at between the Royal Government of Laos and the Fighting Forces of Pathet-Lao. Charges and counter charges have been freely made that these agreements have not been fully carried out in good faith and in conformity with the broad objectives of the Geneva agreements and related documents. In the circumstances, we are not justified in assuming, and it would be unrealistic to assume, that the conclusion of these agreements render the problems there, which have become increasingly ominous, solely the internal affairs of Laos. The International Commission, despite its adjournment, stands charged with the responsibilities assumed under the Geneva agreements. The kind of developments and situation which obtain at present were envisaged when the Geneva agreements were made, and these were brought

166. See items 323 & 325, pp. 596-597 & 599-600.

within the authority and the functions vested in the International Commission and the arrangements arising there from to which the Royal Government of Laos is a signatory.

We may disregard these considerations if tension and difficulties do not exist in the area and the situation did not call for remedial approaches, and it is our considered view, based on an objective assessment of the various forces and factors operating in Laos, that the situation there remains grave and is likely to deteriorate into hostilities with incalculable consequences. Unless therefore an approach of mediation and conciliation emerges as soon as possible the situation may well be beyond control.

It follows, therefore, that the International Commission should be convened at the earliest possible date with the participation of all the three members and not abdicate its functions. It would draw your attention to the fact that the Commission was only adjourned—*sine die*—with the proviso that it may reconvene according to normal procedures, and not abolished. As late as January this year, the two Co-Chairmen decided that the Commission could so reconvene. The present immediate difficulty arises from the fact that the Government of Canada has not yet nominated its representative on the Commission.

I agree, however, that having regard to the expressed views of the Government of Laos, it would not be possible for the Commission to function to any purpose unless that Government is moderately satisfied that the Commission is not seeking to insist upon the fullness of its rights or functions, or raise technical or logical issues, but is seeking instead to bring about a relaxation of tensions through mediation and conciliation. It has never been our intention that the Commission should discuss the activities of the power blocs even though it is clear that these activities are at least in considerable measure responsible for the deteriorating situation in Laos. If our assessment and appreciation are shared by the principal powers concerned, a way should be found to obtain the agreement of the Governments of Laos and Canada to the reconvening of the Commission. We do not consider it essential that the Commission be reconvened in Laos; it can meet in Saigon or any other place acceptable to the Governments concerned.

Once the Commission is reconvened, it can be depended upon to discuss only those problems which in its agreed opinion will be of help in reducing the present difficulties. Since any decision of the Commission, if it is to be effective, has to be arrived at by common consent of the three member-countries, any one of the three of them will be free to point to the difficulties which in his view would make any particular solution impracticable or undesirable.

It is to be expected, therefore, that the Commission on being reconvened, will address itself, perforce, to the tasks of mediation and conciliation and discuss

what measures can appropriately be taken, to that end. The actual task of mediation may then be undertaken, by common consent of the commission, by someone who need not necessarily be a member of the Commission or its Secretariat.

The Commission derives its origin and functions from the Geneva agreements, and it cannot exist except in terms and because of that agreement. It is difficult to see how it can meet only on an informal and unofficial basis although some of the discussions among its members can and will doubtless be conducted informally and even privately. The Commission itself can, and should be left to, decide by common consent what particular measure it should adopt so that the approach of medication and conciliation as amongst the parties may ensue. If any mediator is appointed by the Commission, he will undertake his work as directed by the Commission and will report the results of his efforts to it. We would not wish to consider now what should be done if the mediatory efforts failed, for it is our earnest hope and wish that they will succeed.

I am not clear about the significance of the phrase "territorial conflict" in your letter. We have consistently taken the view that the territorial integrity and unity of Laos is basic to the Geneva agreement in respect of Laos. Any problem of "a territorial conflict" between the different political groups within Laos is not envisaged by the Geneva agreement. If, however, the "conflict" relates to the dispute between North Vietnam and Laos, it will be in the nature of a border problem which can well form the subject of discussion and of mediation by and through the Commission.

In substance, our proposals are—

- (a) that the Commission should meet as soon as possible under the usual procedure and at any place acceptable to all its members;
- (b) that the Commission should decide by common consent what approach may be adopted for proper mediation and conciliation;
- (c) that it shall be open to the Commission to pursue its approach of mediation and conciliation through any person at its request and to receive from him a report on the result of his efforts;
- (d) that the Commission is not specifically concerned to discuss the activities of the power blocs;
- (e) that since the Commission owes its existence to and derives its functions solely from the Geneva agreements, it cannot function except in the context and terms of those agreements.

I would like to emphasise once again the serious situation developing in Laos. Unless timely steps are taken to remove the present difficulties, the area of conflict may spread. This is a dangerous situation, and I have every hope that with your deep concern in this matter you will be able to persuade the

Governments concerned to agree to the reconvening of the Commission with a view to working out measures which will help to safeguard peace and stability in this sensitive part of Asia and the world.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(f) Ceylon

### 327. To M.J. Desai: Economic Bandung Conference, Colombo<sup>167</sup>

I am inclined to agree with our High Commissioner in Ceylon.<sup>168</sup> I do not think this conference is likely to achieve anything or even to function satisfactorily. The mere fact of Burma dropping out completely itself is a blow.<sup>169</sup>

2. I do not think you should go there. In fact I am rather doubtful how far it is worthwhile for Shri J.J. Anjaria to go.<sup>170</sup> Still, in the balance, he might go.

3. The High Commissioner suggests that only two persons need go from here - Anjaria and Satarawala.<sup>171</sup> That is to say that R.V. Subramanian might also drop out.<sup>172</sup> On the whole, I think the High Commissioner's advice should be accepted. The deputation should, therefore, consist of Shri Gundevia, High Commissioner, Leader, Shri J.J. Anjaria, Shri K.T. Satarawala and Shri Vijaya Raghavan<sup>173</sup> from the High Commission. If on arrival there Shri Anjaria thinks that Shri Subramanian should also go, he should be prepared to join immediately. But he need not go to begin with.

167. Note, 18 May 1959.

168. Y.D. Gundevia.

169. Gundevia wrote to M.J. Desai on 14 May 1959, "The Burmese had agreed to participate; but I learnt yesterday that they had now informed the Ceylon Ministry of External Affairs that Burma would not even permit their Minister in Colombo to participate in the deliberations. The excuse given, I am told, is that Ne Win's Government is only a 'caretaker' Government and they do not wish to commit the country and any future Government to anything."

170. Chief Economic Advisor to the Planning Commission and the Finance Minister.

171. Joint Secretary, Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

172. Deputy Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Union Ministry of Finance.

173. Commerce Secretary to the High Commissioner for India in Ceylon.

328. Tamil Nationalism and Ceylon<sup>174</sup>

## “Ceylon as part of Tamil State: Nehru Deprecates Talk”

New Delhi,  
May 28.

Prime Minister Nehru has stated that the fear in some people's minds in Ceylon that India might absorb or swallow Ceylon is quite unjustified and that it is absurd to think so.

Mr. Nehru made this remark in the course of an informal chat with a delegation of Delhi University students who are going to Ceylon on a goodwill mission and educational tour.<sup>175</sup>

According to a Press release issued by the Delhi University, Mr. Nehru said: “I have been trying to dispel Ceylonese fear of India but sometimes some Indians' speeches frighten them”.

The Prime Minister said that one of the parties in Madras had stated that it wanted to establish a Tamil State with Ceylon as part of it. Although this is all fantastic, this type of talk creates a fear in the Ceylonese minds, Mr. Nehru said.

Mr. Nehru, according to the Press release, explained to the students the problems of Indians in Ceylon and asked them not to confuse Indians in Ceylon with people in that country who are of Indian descent.

Answering a question as to how he managed to concentrate on problems, Mr. Nehru said that it was a question of mental training.

“You should start practicing writing”, Mr. Nehru told the students. When one had to write, one had to think well. Another tip he gave was the process of summarising. Mr. Nehru said that summarising and getting the essence of a book had proved to be very beneficial to him.

Asked how he kept himself fit in spite of very hard work, Mr. Nehru said that two things were essential, food for the body and food for the mind. Amplifying this he said that food should be good in quality and overfeeding should be avoided.—PTI.

174. PTI report of informal chat with Delhi University students. *The Hindu*, 29 May 1959.

175. *The Hindustan Times* on 8 June reported that the delegation would be led by Narinder Mehta.

### 329. To M.J. Desai: Proposed Colombo Plan Conference<sup>176</sup>

I have received your note and the report of the Indian Delegation which went to the Colombo Conference.<sup>177</sup> I have read these papers. If we receive a letter from the Prime Minister of Ceylon, on this subject, we shall naturally consider the attitude to be adopted.<sup>178</sup>

2. I think that a preliminary meeting of the Colombo Plan Ministers is necessary before the full conference is decided upon. Having gone thus far, I presume that a full conference has become inevitable.

3. It is not possible to decided many preliminary matters by correspondence between the Prime Ministers of the Colombo Plan countries. It might perhaps be possible to prepare the agenda. The agenda suggested is fairly comprehensive. But one important and difficult matter to consider will be as to who should be invited to the full conference. Presumably all the thirty Bandung countries will be invited. In the present context, I do not know what the position of China will be. Then there is the question raised at the last Bandung conference of inviting Australia and New Zealand. I rather doubt if these two countries should now be invited in view of the attitude of the Australian Government. Also, proposals have been made that the Asian countries of the Soviet Union should be invited. Probably the safest policy would be to invite the old thirty Bandung countries.

4. Then there is the question of the venue of the full conference and the date. Also, of course, the venue of the preliminary meeting of the Colombo Plan Ministers. I do not at all like the idea of having to go to Karachi for any meeting. I do not mind going to any other country.

5. So far as the full conference is concerned, Delhi will certainly be the most convenient from the point of view of making arrangements, etc. No other Colombo country is capable of it. Even in the Bandung Conference, a good deal of preparatory work was done by our people who were sent there.

176. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, Raj Bhavan, Ootacamund, 1 June 1959.

177. Desai's note of 30 May to Nehru said: "It will be desirable to keep to the original programme of the meeting of Prime Ministers of the five Colombo countries—Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, before the bigger economic conference of Bandung countries is decided on."

178. Bandaranaike wrote to Nehru on 13 June, and among several procedural issues, asked Nehru's opinion on the presence of Israel, the Soviet Asian Republics, and Australia and New Zealand. These had been suggested by some as either participants or as observers.



6. It is, I think, right that wherever the conference might be held, the expenses should be shared by the five Colombo countries. This was the practice adopted at the Bandung Conference. Even so, the host country will have to meet many extra kinds of expenditure.

7. I am giving the report and other papers of the recent official conference held at Colombo to the Finance Minister who is here.

(g) General

### 330. To the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Soviet Military Aid to India<sup>179</sup>

I would submit to Mr. Speaker that it is not necessary for me to make a statement about this matter. The report apparently published in *The Pioneer* about Soviet military aid is wholly without foundation.<sup>180</sup> No reference to it was made by Mr. Khrushchev to our Ambassador. To make a statement about this matter would attract unnecessary attention to a false report. It is perhaps not always desirable to pay attention to every odd statement in a newspaper.

179. Note, No. 1031-PMH/59. 5 May 1959.

180. On the basis of information from the *Daily Mail's* New Delhi correspondent, James Mossman, *The Pioneer* of 1 May 1959 reported that Khrushchev had offered India all military aid it might need to counter American arms to Pakistan; that Nehru's cabinet had decided not to accept the offer but to keep it open "in view of India's delicate relations with Communist China;" and that Khrushchev had assured K. P. S. Menon that India could rely on the Soviet arms "whatever India's relations with China might be." Mossman felt Khrushchev's move might be closely linked with the events in Tibet and "is intended to prevent India swinging publicly against the Communist bloc as President Nasser of Egypt has done." He claimed Khrushchev was unable to restrain China in Tibet and that, in case of a clash between India and China, he could not stand idly by while India "was forced into the Western camp."

### 331. To Josip Broz Tito: Survey of World Affairs<sup>181</sup>

May 10, 1959

[My dear Tito]

Your letter of April 5, 1959 reached me exactly a month ago on the 10th April. I owe you many apologies for this delay in answering your letter. I was anxious to write to you at some length and at leisure. But our sessions of Parliament and various events brought several new and additional burdens upon us, and it was with difficulty that we could keep pace with developments. We have two Houses of Parliament, and Ministers here have to attend both. As usual, there is an element of friendly rivalry between the two Houses. Whatever one does the other wants to do. If there is a debate in one House on any subject, the other insists on having it also. And then, in our Parliamentary procedure, there are innumerable opportunities for the Members of Parliament to keep the Ministers on the move. We have about 750 Members of Parliament in our two Houses, and you can well imagine how much time they consume.

The sessions of our Parliament ended yesterday and now there will be an interval of nearly three months before the next sessions begin. Even now, we are having numerous Committees and a meeting of our All-India Congress Committee is going on.<sup>182</sup> But I am taking this first opportunity, after the adjournment of Parliament, to write to you.

It was very good of you to write at length about your travels in various countries and the impressions that you gathered there. These impressions are very helpful to me in understanding this changing scene in some parts of the world. It is true that since you wrote there have been many further developments.

Tomorrow the Foreign Ministers of the so-called Big Four are meeting in Geneva.<sup>183</sup> I do not expect much from this meeting, but it seems to me clear now that a Summit meeting of the Heads of these Governments will follow. That itself is a good thing though repeated failures make one a little cautious in expecting good results. Nevertheless, it is true that slowly the situation in regard to Germany has improved. That improvement may not be very great yet, but it is noticeable, and the fear of war is certainly less. There appears to be some confusion among the Western Powers about the policy to be pursued vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, and the resignation of Dulles has perhaps added to the confusion in the United States of America. Macmillan's visit to the Soviet Union

181. Letter to President of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.

182. The AICC meeting was held in Delhi from 10 to 12 May. See items 159 and 161, pp. 399-410.

183. See item 17, here pp. 177-178.

was certainly helpful though it did not produce any marked results.<sup>184</sup> I think that Macmillan, in his rather round-about way, does want to achieve results. But France and Western Germany are much more rigid, and finally it will be the American attitude that will make a difference. Even in Western Germany, as you will note, the changes taking place are towards a less rigid policy.

What you told me some years ago about the German problem has been confirmed by subsequent events. There can be no quick solution of it and it is only a gradual and step by step approach to a solution that can be made. So far as a union of West and East Germany is concerned, it seems to me that, in spite of all the loud demands for it, very few people in the East or the west really want a union, as each party is rather apprehensive of the consequences which might follow such a union. The only course, therefore, appears to be for West and East Germany to develop more contacts and for the Western Powers to recognise the fact of these two countries. Anyhow, we are on the eve of these conferences, and we shall know before very long how far they can help.

I have read with particular interest your account of the talks with President Nasser and your reactions to your visit to Syria.<sup>185</sup> You know that our relations with Nasser have been very friendly, and we have looked upon him as the outstanding leader of Arab nationalism. During these past years, he has shown a good deal of wisdom in his dealings with other countries and in strengthening Egypt. I had felt a little doubtful about the wisdom of the union with Syria, but I had felt that it was inevitable in the circumstances. Indeed, Nasser himself, I believe, was not very keen on a union with Syria and would have preferred a looser federation, but public opinion pushed him into the union.

When the revolution took place in Iraq, I felt again that any attempt at a union with the U.A.R. would raise difficulties and bring conflicts. Certainly a friendly association between U.A.R. and Iraq was desirable. But Iraq, being a relatively richer country with greater resources than Egypt, would not have liked submerging its separate existence into a larger union. This was more or less the view of President Nasser. Nevertheless this very issue became a cause of conflict later which has had very unfortunate results.

In India, we have always tried not to use strong language against other countries, even though we may differ from them completely. On the whole, we have succeeded. Because of this approach of ours, we react adversely to the language of abuse and cold war, whenever it is used. We were distressed, therefore, when this kind of language began to be used between the U.A.R. and Iraq, and later between the U.A.R. and the Soviet Union. Apart from our dislike of such language, it seemed to us peculiarly unfortunate from the point of view

184. 21 February to 3 March 1959.

185. In February 1959.

of practical consequences. It played into the hands of the enemies of Arab nationalism. We tried generally and in a friendly way to convey our views both to Nasser and to Kassem.<sup>186</sup> Whether this had any marked effect or not, I do not know. On the whole, it seems that the situation between the U.A.R. and Iraq is slightly better now. I hope that these tensions will lessen and a realistic view of the situation will be taken by the Arab countries. Unfortunately where abuses are hurled by one country against another, they are not easily forgotten and they wrangle in the mind.

I was glad to read in your letter about your impressions about the Sudan. As for Ethiopia, I have previously spoken to President Nasser as well as to the Emperor of Ethiopia and urged both of them to develop friendly contacts. Anything else would be injurious to both.

Ceylon, I am afraid, is in an unhappy state. I think the situation there has worsened since you were there. The question of people of Indian descent in Ceylon, though an important one, is rather in the background, and the conflict is among various groups in Ceylon.

In Burma also, the situation has become much worse, and our friend U Nu has practically declared war, in a peaceful sense, against the present military regime,<sup>187</sup> there, which is supported by U Nu's old colleague and present rival, U Ba Swe. I am afraid the outlook in Burma is not at all a good one.

I now come to Tibet. We have naturally been much concerned about developments there. We know broadly of discontent in Tibet against Chinese authorities. But the actual upheaval there came as a surprise. Events followed each other fast, the Dalai Lama escaped from Lhasa and soon after there was fighting in Tibet between the Chinese forces and the Tibetans. After an arduous journey, the Dalai Lama and party reached a remote corner of the Indian frontier and we gave them asylum. Since then about 10,000 Tibetan refugees have entered India. This itself is a great burden on us. We have made some temporary arrangements for them near the mountains, and we shall have to think as to what we can do with them later. Being used to the cold climate of the high altitude of Tibet, they can hardly live in the plains of India. We have, therefore, to keep them somewhere in or near the mountains.

Yon will have observed the virulent attacks by the authorities and the press in China on India.<sup>188</sup> You and Yugoslavia have had some experience of this type of language from China. It was our first experience, and I confess that it

186. Prime Minister of Iraq.

187. Presiding over the May Day Celebrations in Rangoon on 1 May, U Nu said that Burma would become a dictatorship if the present situation was allowed to deteriorate and asked all citizens to wage a non-violent struggle to save democracy.

188. See items 1 and 17, pp. 5-6 and 172 respectively.

distressed me greatly. Our replies to it were restrained though firm, and we have avoided the language of abuse. Even so, the Chinese authorities have been very angry with us for giving asylum to the Dalai Lama and others and because we ventured to criticise some of their activities. Lately there has been a slight toning down of the language used in China in regard to India. But, even so, an element of threat remains.

I am afraid the authorities in China have developed a peculiar habit of using abusive language and adding to it some kind of a threat. They have been doing this for years against America especially, later against Yugoslavia and now against India. In spite of everything, however, we have made it clear that we want friendly relations with China even though we adhere to our own views and policies. Some of the charges made by China against India are frivolous and without foundation.

Although there is a slight improvement in the previous tension between India and China, the fact remains that the presence of the Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetan refugees in India is a constant irritant to China. We have, after all, done nothing against China except to give asylum to these people. We are certainly not going to push them away simply because China does not like their remaining here. Therefore, I imagine that some tension between India and China will continue, even though it may not take an acute form. We are not interfering, and indeed cannot interfere in Tibet. We recognise the suzerainty of China over Tibet. We realise also that Tibet is socially a very backward country and that reforms are needed, but the best of reforms, if imposed by an alien authority, are seldom accepted with good grace.

In a military sense, Tibet of course is very weak and China strong. But it may not be very easy for China to deal with guerilla tactics in some parts of the Tibetan highlands. These have been carried on for more than three years and are likely to continue. Some reports reach us of trouble in some of the Chinese provinces adjoining Tibet.

It is interesting and significant to note that the Soviet Union and the other East European countries have said very little about Tibet. Partly this may be due to the feeling that China has gone too far and is becoming rather aggressive. Partly it may be due to their desire not to create resentment in India.

It is rather difficult to judge of internal conditions in China. It would appear, however, that during the last year or so, gradually, Mao Tse-tung has been pushed away from the centre of things. Mao represented a more moderate tendency. Chinese policy has, during this period, become much more rigid, and the success obtained in production programme has added to this rigidity and self-confidence. The history of China shows that the Chinese do not care over much for the opinion of other peoples. With the growth of power, this tendency

has become more marked. And yet, they cannot ignore the fact that recent events have reacted against them all over Asia, and also elsewhere.

While all these matters inevitably engage our close attention, we are really far more concerned with our Five Year Plan and developmental schemes. We are in the middle of our Second Plan now, but we are already giving a great deal of thought to the Third Five Year Plan. We have no desire to be entangled in external affairs when we have so much to do in our own country. We shall continue our broad policy of non-alignment and of keeping aloof from military blocs. Our approach to other countries will also continue to be friendly, though it will be firm where we think principles and our interests are concerned. Even so, we shall express ourselves in moderate and restrained language.

I enclose, for your information, a copy of a statement I made in Parliament about Tibetan developments on the 27th April last.<sup>189</sup> This is an old statement, and perhaps you have seen it.

I must thank you again, dear President Tito, for your very interesting and helpful letter. It is a matter of deep gratification to us that the relations of our respective countries are so close and friendly.

My regards and good wishes to you, and my homage to Madame Broz.

Jawaharlal Nehru

### 332. To Morarji Desai: Manufacturing Aircraft in India<sup>190</sup>

May 22, 1959

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of the 19th May about the proposals to manufacture aircraft in India. I have had fairly long talks on this subject, first with Air Marshal Mookerjee<sup>191</sup> and Dr. Kothari<sup>192</sup> and today with a large number of people including our technical Air officers, Defence Ministry people and some Finance Ministry people, including Wanchoo.<sup>193</sup> I have asked for a full paper to be prepared which we can consider at an early date, soon after coming back from Ootacamund.

189. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 503-510.

190. Letter to Union Finance Minister.

191. Chief of Air Staff, Subroto Mukherjee.

192. D. S. Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence.

193. N. N. Wanchoo was the Secretary of Expenditure in the Ministry of Finance.

The position appears to be this: Since we are committed to using aircraft, whether for military or civil purposes, it is obviously desirable for us to manufacture it. Specialised military aircraft may vary and improvements may be continually made even in civil aircraft. But, for transport purposes, whether civil or military, we have to develop a basic type of simple aircraft and to manufacture it. This should be used both by Defence and civil authorities for transport. The longer we delay this, the more we lose money and are dependent on others for something which has almost become an essential requirement to our daily lives.

This is a basic proposition, apart from specialised military aircraft which can be considered separately if and when necessity arises and we are in a position to do so.

If we are to manufacture this basic transport aircraft in India, it follows that we can only do so with the cooperation of recognised aircraft manufacturers and under licence from some one of them. We cannot start from scratch and design and build one ourselves.

The next point to be considered is the choice to be made between these aircraft manufacturers who might be prepared to cooperate with us in this. As you have said in your letter, there are four firms who have made offers – Hawker Siddeley, Fokker Friendship, Handley Page and Lockheed. Apparently the real choice lies between Hawker Siddeley and Fokker Friendship. Handley Page is ruled out by our Air Force people completely for a variety of reasons into which I need not go. Lockheed was not discussed today also because apparently it is ruled out by our Air Force people.

The Fokker aircraft are flying while the Hawker Siddeley has to be developed. While apparently this gives an advantage to the Fokker, both from the point of view of saving time and proved performance, our Air Force People and more especially our Scientific Adviser, Dr. Kothari, would much prefer to be associated with the design stage of an aircraft they are going to manufacture as they will learn very much from this than from accepting an approved design. It is true that this is likely to take eighteen months or two years longer. That is really a question for the Air Force to decide, that is, if they are prepared to accept delayed production. There can be little doubt that Hawkers Siddeley can and will produce it as they are an old and well-established firm. The Air Force point out another point in favour of being associated with the earlier stage. This is that in designing etc. Indian conditions will be borne in mind.

We discussed the financial aspects also, but I did not quite understand the position except that the Air Force officers said that Hawker Siddeley was much cheaper.

I have told these people to prepare a comprehensive note dealing with every aspect and more especially the financial aspect.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 333. To Raghunath Singh: A Second Bandung<sup>194</sup>

June 26, 1959

My dear Raghunath Singh,

I see that you have sent a notice of a Resolution in the Lok Sabha suggesting that a conference of Bandung countries of Asia and Africa be called and Afro-Asian problems be again discussed so that mutual friendship and cooperation will be strengthened.

This question of having a second Bandung Conference has been considered repeatedly by many of the countries concerned. We have corresponded about it and we have had personal discussions. Every such discussion has led to the conclusion that such a conference in the foreseeable future is not desirable. In fact, that if such a conference was held, it would result in cleavages and conflicts instead of the advancement of mutual friendship and cooperation.

Let us look at the present situation in the so-called Bandung countries. A number of them have military dictatorship or something like it. There is Pakistan, Burma and to some extent Indonesia. In Ceylon there have been grave internal troubles. Among the Arab countries, there has been an intense conflict between Iraq and the U.A.R. and the whole Arab world has been affected by this. In Indo-China, situation is a very difficult one in Laos and as between North Vietnam and South Vietnam. You know that relations between India and China have been strained.

In Africa there have been entirely new developments. So also in Malaya.

If we are to hold a second Bandung Conference, the first question that would arise would be as to who are to be invited. This itself would create difficulties. If the conference met, even the agenda would not be agreed upon. The fact is that apart from internal difficulties and troubles and conflicts, the cold war has come to some of these countries, and the conference, instead of being a scene of mutual coordination, will become a battlefield of these rival approaches. All the good work done at the first Bandung Conference would be

194. Letter to Raghunath Singh, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Barmer, Rajasthan.



washed away and our internal conflicts and animosities would be placed before the world.

I do not, therefore, see what good such a conference can do and, on the other hand, it would do a great deal of harm. If so, then it is obviously not a wise course to ask for it. It was because of these considerations that some of the Bandung countries decided not to press for such a conference. It is even doubtful if all the countries invited will attend.

One step has recently been taken at the instance of Ceylon. The idea is ultimately to hold a conference of more or less the Bandung countries to consider economic issues only. A meeting at official level was held in Colombo recently to consider possible agenda etc. This was to consist of the original Colombo countries, that is, Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan and India. Even to this restricted meeting, Burma refused to send a representative. Pakistan was casually represented by its Ambassador. In effect, all the work was done by the Indian official delegation. The next step is supposed to be for the Prime Ministers of these five countries to meet to consider the agenda, the place of meeting and the countries to be invited etc. If such an economic conference is to be held, it will take many months for preparation.

Therefore, I do not think that your Resolution will serve any useful purpose. It is likely not only to embarrass our Government, but some other Governments.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(h) Other Countries

**334. To Maurice L. Perlzweig: World Jewish Congress<sup>195</sup>**

May 8, 1959

Dear Dr. Perlzweig,

Thank you for your letter of May 1st.

It is not usual for me to send special messages to Congresses held in other countries, but I gladly send you my good wishes for the session of the World Jewish Congress which will be held in Stockholm in August next.<sup>196</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**335. To Subimal Dutt: British Arms Sales to Iraq<sup>197</sup>**

I do not think it is desirable for me to send a personal message to President Nasser or to Kassem. But you should, I think, inform our Ambassador in Cairo<sup>198</sup> about the British approach to us. He might, at his discretion, bring this to the notice of President Nasser in such form as he thinks proper. It is really an explanation of the British attitude which, of course, must have reached Nasser from other sources. Mr. Black, the President of the World Bank, was telling me tonight that he was in Cairo when news came that the British were going to sell arms to Iraq and this had irritated the Egyptians very much. The usual explanation, of course, was given. The U.K. Foreign Minister, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, had also spoken to Mr. Black about it, giving the same reason. He had said that it was, no doubt a risk, but they thought the risk was worth taking.

2. Our general attitude both to the Egyptian and the Iraqi Governments should be to say gently, without any element of interference, that from the point of view of Arab unity and of keeping out the Great Powers from the Middle East, it would be desirable for the animosity between Egypt and Iraq to be toned down and more normal relations to be established.

3. In regard to Iraq, our Ambassador<sup>199</sup> should be informed of the message

195. Letter to the Convener, World Jewish Congress, New York.

196. The Fourth Plenary Assembly of the Congress was held from 2 to 12 August 1959.

197. Note, 15 May 1959.

198. R.K. Nehru.

199. I.S. Chopra.

we have received from Cairo. He need not communicate it as it is, of course, to the Iraqi Prime Minister, but he should express the hope, on my behalf, that present tensions with Egypt might be lessened and an effort made for more normal relations. President Nasser evidently desires this in spite of what has happened.

### 336. To MEA: Indians in South Africa<sup>200</sup>

Here is a letter from the President, South African Indian Organisation.<sup>201</sup> My impression is that they represent only a small section of Indian opinion in South Africa. If we accepted their advice, we would probably irritate the majority of Indians there, as well as probably the Africans. Only this evening I heard on the radio that the South African Union Government is going ahead with further steps to separate the Europeans from the others. They have reserved nine-tenths of the Union territory for the White population, leaving one-tenth or so as reserves for the Africans. Where exactly Indians come into the picture is not clear to me.<sup>202</sup>

### 337. To Eisenhower: Condolences on Dulles's Death<sup>203</sup>

Ambassador from Prime Minister.

Please convey following message to President Eisenhower:

I have just heard with deep sorrow of the death of Mr. John Foster Dulles. Please accept, Mr. President, my sincere condolences at the passing away of a great servant of the State who laboured throughout his life with devotion to serve his people and the great causes he had at heart.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

2. Please also convey my deep sorrow and condolences to Mrs. Dulles.

200. Note, 19 May 1959.

201. A.M. Moolla, the President of this organisation, wrote to Nehru on 13 May 1959 advocating diplomatic and trade relations with South Africa citing a "change of heart" in South Africa.

202. On 15 May 1959 *The Hindustan Times* reported that on 14 May Nehru had ruled out any possibility of reopening diplomatic relations with South Africa directly or indirectly.

203. Telegram, 24 May 1959. Died in Washington, D.C. on 24 May, 1959.

### 338. To MEA: Poland and Laos<sup>204</sup>

The Polish Ambassador<sup>205</sup> came to see me yesterday. He spoke at some length about the Laos situation. He was anxious that we should do something in this matter. I shall not write about this.

He told me that the Prime Minister of Poland<sup>206</sup> will be visiting Delhi from the 20th to 22nd of October.

He said that our present Ambassador, Shri K.P.S. Menon, would be leaving his post in September or so. The Polish Government hoped very much that at the time of this change a separate Ambassador would be sent to Warsaw. They attached great importance to this and they had themselves had an Ambassador in Delhi for a long time.

I told him that I quite appreciated his argument and we would very much like to send an Ambassador there.

I think we should keep this matter in mind and explore the possibility of sending a separate Ambassador there in September or October. Poland is important from many points of view and in a sense is nearer to us than any of the East European countries.

Then he informed me that a meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union was going to be held in Warsaw early in August.<sup>207</sup> The Polish Government was anxious that our Parliament should send a delegation to this meeting. Apparently at the last two meetings India had not been represented. The Ambassador said that in this Inter-Parliamentary Union the Soviet Union had also come in and the presence of India would be very helpful.

Our Parliament apparently attaches more importance to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Union to which representatives are always sent. Personally I think that this Inter-Parliamentary Union is in some ways more important and, as far as possible, we should attend it. An enquiry might be made from the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha Secretaries about this matter. Are they thinking of sending representatives to Warsaw for this meeting?

204. Note, 26 May 1959.

205. Julius Katz-Suchy.

206. Jozef Cyrankiewicz.

207. From 27 August to 4 September 1959.

### 339. To MEA: Czech Candidate for UN General Assembly<sup>208</sup>

The Czech Ambassador<sup>209</sup> came to see me this morning. He said that his Government would like to set up a candidate for the Presidentship of the UN General Assembly. At no time since the formation of the UN had a person from the East European countries presided over the UN General Assembly. This was not fair, geographically or otherwise.

2. He went on to say that there was some talk of Peru setting up a candidate for this election for the UN Presidentship. All kinds of efforts were being made behind the scenes. The Czech Government would much prefer having a President chosen either unanimously by the UN or by a very substantial majority. It was not a good thing to have a very contested election with a narrow margin. Therefore, the Czech Government was prepared not to set up a candidate for the Presidentship this year and to do so next year. This year, however, they would like to have the Presidentship of the Political Committee.

3. I told him that generally I agreed with him that the East European countries should have their turn in these high offices and it was not fair to keep them out. We would, therefore, welcome a Czech President of the UN. But exactly what the position was, I did not know, and we shall have to consider this matter in all its aspects.

4. He asked me if he could discuss this matter further with the Secretary General or the Foreign Secretary. I said that he could certainly do so.

5. He then asked me what I thought of the proposal for Czechoslovakia to join the Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva.<sup>210</sup> I said that we would have no objection to this and in so far as the question of Germany was concerned,<sup>211</sup> it was obvious that Poland and Czechoslovakia were deeply interested. But the moment it was open to Poland and Czechoslovakia, Italy would also come in and so the conference would become bigger. The bigger it was, the less likely it was to have any real and effective talks it will be more like a public meeting.

208. Note, 27 May 1959.

209. Jiri Nosek.

210. See item 17, pp. 177-178.

### 340. To the Earl of Home<sup>212</sup>

New Delhi,  
28th May, 1959

My dear Secretary of State,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th May which was handed over to me by your High Commissioner in Delhi on the 19th May.<sup>213</sup> I did not reply to it earlier as I was waiting for the official reply to our aide memoire on the developments in the Central African Federation, to which you made a reference in your letter. This official reply was received by us two days ago.

As you have mentioned in your letter, the evolution from colonial to fully self-governing independent status is more difficult and complicated in East and Central Africa because of mutual fears and suspicions of the various racial groups who have settled down in these African territories. I agree with you that the first requisite to progress is the removal of these fears and suspicions and the growth of a well-integrated healthy society based on social, political and economic equality. The progress towards the building up of this well-integrated society has, however, been very slow and one can well understand the impatience and frustration of the Africans in these regions. I hope you will agree that some of the policies followed by the Federal and regional administrations have not only retarded progress, but have sometimes put the clock back and made the Africans suspicious of the policies pursued by these administrations.

The position all over Africa is made exceedingly difficult, by the example of what is happening in the Union of South Africa where a clearly expressed policy of apartheid is being followed. You know the powerful reactions to this policy not only in Africa and Asia, but elsewhere also. It is well-known that there are strong elements among the European settlers in Central Africa who approve of this apartheid policy and want to adopt it in their own areas. Indeed, to a considerable extent, it is being practiced in these Central African territories and attempts are constantly being made to extend it. Thus, the question is not merely of slow progress towards a desirable end, but of going back and going

211. *The Hindustan Times* in its 23 May issue reported: "The Foreign Ministers of East and West met on 22 May at the end of the two weeks of 'fruitless' talks on Berlin, German reunification and European security. The meeting marked the end of the first phase of the conference which has brought an East-West deadlock on rival plans for a German settlement."

212. Letter to Alec Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, London.

213. For Home's letter of 14 May and the UK High Commissioner's note of 26 May, see Appendices 11 and 17.

towards a goal which is bitterly disliked among Africans and indeed among many others outside Africa. This aspect of the matter makes the situation in Central and to some extent in East Africa different from the case of the normal colonial territory. Statements have been made from time to time by leading men in Rhodesia, such as Lord Malvern,<sup>214</sup> which have led to extreme bitterness and a feeling that nothing good can be expected from people who have that outlook.

Whether a further period of experiment and adaptation, such as you have suggested, for testing the usefulness of the federal political structure will secure the objectives we all have in view, is by no means clear. Perhaps there is no other way, but the objectives will have to be clearly stated and every attempt to undermine them will have to be resisted.

I can well appreciate the feelings of the Federal Government about their being "twelfth man" so far as their status in the Commonwealth is concerned. That position is, however, inevitable during this period of experiment and adaptation while a well-integrated and healthy society based on equality, tolerance and understanding is being built up. But, if I may carry further this analogy, this process can only succeed if everybody recognises that cricket is being played and that there is a serious and well-intentioned effort to reach the objectives in view. As you know, there have, been comments from many quarters that, occasionally, what is happening in the internal politics of the Federation does not support this belief.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

214. Chairman, Council of University College, Rhodesia.

### 341. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Cotton Exports to the UK<sup>215</sup>

Last evening I received message from Macmillan about Indian cotton exports to United Kingdom.<sup>216</sup> This matter is essentially one of agreement between the Cotton Textile Industries of India and United Kingdom. It has been discussed for a long time without an agreement being reached. Proposals made by UK Government have been considered by our textile magnates as grossly unfair to India putting India on a lower level than even Hong Kong.

2. Previous UK offer was 140 million yards for India. Now MacMillan has increased this by 10 million yards making a total of 150. He has said that this matter must be settled by 4th June as Parliament will be discussing a Bill on Cotton Textile Industry then.

215. Telegram to Indian High Commissioner in London, 28 May 1959. File No. 44(48)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

216. His letter dated 27 May 1959 said: "I sent you a message in January expressing the hope that you would do what you could be bring about an early confirmation of the provisional agreement between our cottage industries on the level of imports of Indian cotton textiles into the United Kingdom. Subsequently you told Alec Home when he saw in Delhi on 5th February that you felt it was desirable for the Indian industry to enter an agreement and that you would see what could be done to achieve this end. Since then there have been further discussions between our Cotton Board and representatives of the Indian textile industry. But, unfortunately, the matter is still unsettled. I am reluctant to trouble you personally with it again, but I am concerned that a situation may arise which you would be embarrassing to us both and might lead to a result which neither of us desire. On the 4th our Parliament will be discussing a bill to give effect to measures already announced for the rehabilitation of our cotton textile industry. In this connection the question of our imports is bound to be raised. Since it is generally assumed that the provisional agreement with the Indian and Pakistan industries reached last year will be confirmed, we shall naturally be pressed for information as to the position. We might face demands for some measures of restriction if we cannot reassure Parliament on this subject. If during the debate we could announce that agreement had been reached, the best possible impression would be created in Parliament and in the country at a time when attention generally was directed to this matter. It would be taken as substantial evidence of India's good-will to this country and of the desire of her Government and industrialists to act in the spirit of the Montreal discussions. In an effort to bring matters to a rapid conclusion the Cotton Board, at my request, have agreed to accept an increase of 10 million yards over the provisionally agreed figure of 140 million yards a year for India. I would like to ask you most earnestly to use your influence with your industrialists to secure a happy outcome to the years of patient negotiation which have benefitted so much by your personal interest and help."



3. Immediately we got in touch with Kasturbhai Lalbhai by telephone.<sup>217</sup> He reacted strongly against this proposal and was not in favour of accepting it. However, he suggested going to England immediately with Neville Wadia<sup>218</sup> for further discussions with British Textile Industry. Both of them will be leaving Bombay on 30th May and reaching London next day.

4. Separately I am sending a reply to Macmillan which please communicate to him immediately.

### **342. To Naranjan Singh Gill: Goodwill message to Haile Sellassie<sup>219</sup>**

Ambassador from Prime Minister.

Your telegram No.11 June 16th,<sup>220</sup> Please convey following message to Emperor.<sup>221</sup>

Your Imperial Majesty, I thank you for the kind message conveyed through our Ambassador, on the eve of your State visit to Cairo. I am very happy to know of your decision to pay a goodwill visit to the U.A.R. and take this opportunity to discuss matters of common interest with President Nasser. I am sure that these discussions will remove misunderstandings and lead to mutual cooperation and better appreciation of each other's problems. May I wish Your Imperial Majesty all success in your efforts to strengthen the friendly relations between the two countries?

217. The Ahmedabad based mill owner.

218. Chairman, Bombay Mill Owners' Association.

219. Telegram to Gill, Indian Ambassador to Ethiopia, 20 June 1959. File No. REP2/59-AFR-I, p. 51/Corr., MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

220. The message telegraphed at the Emperor's request said: "We recall that in the course of our exchange of views which took place during our visit to India, three years ago, Your Excellency expressed the desire to see promotion of understanding and the strengthening of the age old relations between Ethiopia and Egypt. We had then expressed to Your Excellence of the fact that we also...have always desired to promote friendly relations, mutual understanding and respect with the people of the United Arab Republic. It is with this objective and in order to show our goodwill that we will be paying an official visit next week to the U.A.R. During our visit we wish to discuss with H.E. President Gamal Abdel Nasser all matters of common interests leading to better understanding between the two countries. We have therefore found it proper and desirable that Your Excellency be informed of this effort in pursuit of the objective we have both sought to see achieved."

221. Haile Sellassie.

### 343. To Subimal Dutt: Signing Memorandum for the UNGA<sup>222</sup>

I have spoken to the Defence Minister on the subject.<sup>223</sup>

2. We agree that we should sign the memorandum for the General Assembly.<sup>224</sup>

3. The proposed memorandum for the Security Council can only be signed by us if certain modifications are made as you have pointed out. But the Defence Minister thinks that it is not good tactics or a wise policy to approach both the General Assembly and the Security Council at the same time. Indeed, he thinks that it would not be to our advantage to take it to the Security Council. Nothing much can happen there, but if once this appears on the Security Council agenda, it may prevent the General Assembly from considering it.

4. If the others want to address the Security Council also, they may certainly do so. But it is better for us not to associate ourselves with the memorandum to the Security Council. There is another point to this. If the

222. Note, 28 June 1959.

223. Subimal Dutt wrote to Nehru on 8 June: "The main point is whether we should sign the letter to the Security Council. The situation in Algeria is very serious and if we keep aloof, our attitude is bound to be misunderstood by most other Asian-African countries. As against this, it has to be said that Gen. de Gaulle is following an independent policy against the opposition of the Colons in Algeria and many reforms have recently been effected. He will also be meeting the King of Morocco shortly and there is popular expectation that some concrete result will follow this meeting. Also the PM is aware, de Gaulle has been going out of his way to refer to India in a particularly friendly manner. There is the risk, de Gaulle being what he is, that a complaint to the Security Council may very well result in the stiffening of his attitude. On the whole, however, I feel that subject to some minor alterations in the memorandum intended for the Security Council, we should sign it." Dutt added: "Before a final decision is reached, Prime Minister would no doubt like to discuss the matter with the Defence Minister." The Asian-African group in New York intended to raise the issue on the agenda of the fourteenth session of the UNGA to be held from September to December 1959.

224. A copy of the memorandum was enclosed with Dutt's letter. The memorandum emphasised the "legitimate demands" of the Algerian people and the declaration of the Bandung Conference. It also drew attention to the "continued refusal" of the French Government to enter into negotiations with the representatives of the Algerian people. The African-Asian countries added: "The latest reports from French sources concerning the forcible displacement of 1,000, 000 persons compel us to call the attention of the Security Council to the fate of these Algerians whose physical condition is such that, there are cases where medication can no longer help."

Arab countries address the Security Council, they can use any strong language they like. If we are brought into the picture, their memorandum will have to be watered down.

5. Broadly I agree with what the Defence Minister said. We should inform our Representative to sign the memorandum for the General Assembly and point out the reasons why we do not at present wish to associate ourselves with the memorandum for the Security Council. This double approach is not very logical. Also that if we sign the latter memorandum, we would have to amend it at several places. We have no objection, however, to a strong memorandum to the Security Council being sent by the Arab countries and others. But we do feel that the discussions should really take place at the General Assembly and not at the Security Council.

### (i) Miscellaneous

#### 344. To J.D. Bernal: On World Peace<sup>225</sup>

May 16, 1959

Dear Dr. Bernal,

I must apologise to you for the great delay in acknowledging your letter of the 15th April. During these past few weeks, I have been rather overwhelmed with work and quite unable to keep pace with my correspondence. I could, of course, have sent you a brief acknowledgment but I did not think this good enough. And now, looking at your letter again, I have suddenly realised that it is too late to send you any kind of a message for the session of the World Peace Council at Stockholm. That session must have ended three days ago.<sup>226</sup>

At the back of my mind there was another difficulty. What exactly was I to write? Certainly I am all for peace and think that war would be not only a terrible catastrophe but also the height of folly. We are wholly for the abolition of nuclear weapons and against aggression, military pacts and intervention. You have referred to the Panchsheel and the Bandung principles. I believe in them now as I did then. But I find that in the name of peace and these very principles aggressive language and war-like gestures are frequently made. They

225. Letter to Bernal, the Vice President, World Council of Peace, Stockholm, Sweden.

226. It was held from 8 to 13 May 1959 to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the World Peace Movement.

seem to me totally out of keeping with these basic principles. It seems to me that peace can only come through peaceful approaches and the cultivation of a spirit of tolerance and non-aggressiveness. Even though we have many failings and often err, we still bear the impress, to some extent, of Gandhi's teachings.

So what am I to say? Certainly I wish well to all those striving for peace and I hope that their efforts will succeed. I am wholly opposed to military pacts and to intervention of one country in another, and we have always stood for the freedom of subject peoples.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 345. Nehru's Greetings to the President of Yugoslavia <sup>227</sup>

New Delhi, May 24 - The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has sent the following message of greetings to his Excellency the President of Yugoslavia on the occasion of the latter's birthday.<sup>228</sup>

"The Government and the people of India join me in sending to your Excellency our warmest congratulations on the happy occasion of your birthday. Please also accept our best wishes for a long and happy life to your Excellency and for the continued prosperity of the people of Yugoslavia.

"We are confident that your Excellency's recent visit to India has further strengthened the bonds of friendship which already so happily exist between our two countries."<sup>229</sup>

227. From *National Herald*, 25 May 1959.

228. On 25 May.

229. From 13 to 19 January 1959.

**346. To George R. Schafer: One World Idea<sup>230</sup>**

June 30, 1959

Dear Mr. Schafer,

I have received your letter about the Advance Committee for United Nations. I have read the papers you have sent me with much interest.

Broadly speaking, I agree with your aims. Intellectual courage is always desirable, but even more so in the present age. Most of us are too much tied up with old or new dogmas to be able to think or act with intellectual courage. It is clear that the world is passing through one of the most revolutionary periods of its existence, and we have to adapt ourselves to these changes that are following in such quick succession, that does not mean a rejection of all that is old or a blind acceptance of every new fad or fancy. But it does mean a certain freedom from dogmas.

Inevitably, because of modern trends, the one world idea develops and a sense of uniformity creeps in. But there seems to be no valid reason for us to try to make the world after one pattern. I like the variety of the world, and I think that in the search for truth, we must be a little humble and not imagine that any of us is in full possession of it. This means that we must not impose our will on others, but allow them to grow in accordance with their own ways of thinking. It means a large measure of tolerance, which is so sadly lacking in the world today.

You have been good enough to invite me to become a patron of this organisation. I confess that I do not like this proposal as I am far away and can do little for it. To associate myself with an organisation without being able to do much for it does not seem to me to be desirable. But you have my full sympathy, and I should like to keep in touch with your activities.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

230. Letter to Schafer, Chairman, Advance Organisation for the United Nations, Ottawa.

## VI. MISCELLANEOUS

### 347. For B.D. Jayal : Nehru's Name and Fund-Raising<sup>1</sup>

You can reply to this letter as follows after acknowledging it.

“The Prime Minister has seen the copy of the pamphlet which you have sent.<sup>2</sup> He has certainly not authorised anyone to start a fund. He does not know who Shri Chandra Dutta Senani is. It is of course possible that he might have met him somewhere as he meets many people. The Prime Minister is entirely opposed to his name being used for any fund. In particular, the programme of the fund is an odd one with which he does not agree.<sup>3</sup> He suggests, therefore, that Shri Chandra Dutta Senani should be informed of this and asked to stop his activities in this direction.”

### 348. Interview<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Nehru

“Not Thinking of Retiring Now”

Washington,

May 4

Prime Minister Nehru said in a filmed interview here last night that he was not thinking of retiring now.

He said that when he had considered retiring some time ago, he did not contemplate that he would cut himself off from the Indian people.

The world premiere of the 45-minute interview called “Conversation with Nehru” was held here on the eve of a conference called to study ways of assisting India's economic development.

Several hundred representatives of business, citizens' groups and government agencies in India and America saw the film at a reception held by

1. Note to PS, 4 May 1959. File No. 9/40/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. B.D. Jayal, Joint Secretary in the UP Government, reported to C. R. Srinivasan on 30 April 1959 that Chandar Dutta Senani of Pratapgarh district was distributing pamphlets entitled *Sri Jawaharlal Nehru Janta Uddhar Andolan Fund* to collect subscriptions from the public.
3. It was for “glorious economic, political and social revolution without shedding a drop of blood.”
4. From *The Hindu*, 6 June 1959.

the sponsors of the conference, the Committee for International Economic Growth.<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Nehru was seen sitting in an easy chair in the living room of his home talking to American television producer Arnold Michaelis<sup>6</sup> who has also produced a gramophone record "conversation" with leading American personalities, including Mr. Chester Bowles, former U.S. Ambassador to India.

The climax of the conversation was Mr. Nehru's re-reading of a brief typed speech which he made at midnight on August 15, 1947, when India became independent of British rule.

Mr. Nehru in a philosophical mood said that at times he felt a loneliness within himself as great as the loneliness he experienced twenty-five years ago when he was in prison fighting for India's Independence.

He appealed for a spirit of goodwill and love between peoples everywhere. Hatred was met with hatred and love with love.

He said that wherever he had travelled—the United States, the Soviet Union, Africa, China and Europe—he was liked because he showed that he liked others. He observed that nations should concentrate on finding a common ground between them and should not emphasise their differences.

Appealing for an end to the arms race, Mr. Nehru acknowledged that as a politician he knew it was not possible for any nation to disarm unilaterally.

But he said it would be a wonderful thing if a nation would announce that it intended to disarm. Only a great and brave people could take that decision, he said.

5. The first session of the two-day meeting was addressed by the Indian Ambassador, M. C. Chagla, and Senator John F. Kennedy, as well as by the Vice-President, Richard Nixon. Nixon and some leading Democrats joined in urging economic assistance for India, lest failure in that country should lead to the downfall of democracy in Asia. The need to bolster India against the pressures of Communism, and particularly against China, was expressed or implicit in most of the statements.
6. (1916-1917); interviewed some of the most important political and cultural figures of his time; filmed documentaries in Cyprus, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Pakistan.

### 349. To Kesho Ram: B.R. Nanda's Biography of Motilal Nehru<sup>7</sup>

I enclose some letters from Shri B.R. Nanda<sup>8</sup> who has undertaken the writing of a biography of Pandit Motilal Nehru.<sup>9</sup> I have agreed to his doing so and promised him such help as I can give him.

Could you please send the attached letters to the parties concerned and request them to give him facilities to see the old papers in the Archives for this purpose.

B.R. Nanda has recently written a very competent biography of Mahatma Gandhi.<sup>10</sup>

I do not know where the old files of the "*Independent*" may be found. Certainly I have not got them at Anand Bhawan. Perhaps, though I doubt it, the A.I.C.C. might have them.

### 350. To K.P.S. Menon: Godfather to Natasha<sup>11</sup>

Please send this letter, in original, to our Ambassador in Moscow.<sup>12</sup> Tell him to have a reply sent. In his letter it may be stated that I gladly agree to his request to become a God Father to little Natasha<sup>13</sup> and I send my love and good wishes for her.

I would be grateful if the Ambassador could send some little gift on my behalf for which I shall pay.

### 351. To Kesho Ram: Rafi Ahmad Kidwai Memorial Trust<sup>14</sup>

So far as the main Trust is concerned,<sup>15</sup> the capital sum cannot be touched, as far as I can remember. Expenditure from it will have to be incurred from the

7. Note to PPS, 5 May 1959.

8. (1917-2010); historian and biographer of major political figures; first director of NMML; awarded the Padma Bhushan (1988) and Padma Vibhushan (2003).

9. Published as *The Nehrus: Motilal and Jawaharlal* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1962).

10. *Mahatma Gandhi: A Biography* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1958).

11. Note to PS. 8 May 1959. File No. 9/41/59/60-PMS.

12. K. P. S. Menon.

13. Born on 18 December 1958 to the wife of Nikolai Georgiyevich Kocherg, Ulitsa Suvorova, D. 72, Tiktioretsk, Krasnodar Krai, USSR.

14. Note to PPS, 9 May 1959.

15. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai Memorial Trust.



interest only, and this expenditure is limited to a few purposes named in the Trust Deed.

2. When forming this Trust, a sum of money was left over to meet liabilities and commitments. This money was handed over to Shri M.A. Kidwai, and perhaps a little of it was left over with me. The responsibility for this expenditure was that of Shri M.A. Kidwai. After the existing commitments have been met within a few months or so, then the accounts become simple. No additional commitments will be undertaken.

3. Meanwhile, it would be desirable for you to take such steps as you have indicated to regularise the previous accounts, and get them audited. A proper audit may be difficult because of the non-availability of some vouchers owing to the death of Shri M.A. Kidwai. Anyhow, some kind of audit should be done. I think that for this purpose, we may accept the audit of the Treasury Officer, Barabanki, authenticated by the District Magistrate.

4. Shri Jamal Kidwai should be paid Rs. 500/- if Begum Anis Kidwai<sup>16</sup> writes to us to do so.

### 352. To Jean Gordon: The Rose<sup>17</sup>

May 11, 1959

Dear Miss Gordon,

It was very good of you to send me your book about "Rose Recipes".<sup>18</sup> I remember your fascinating book "Pageant of the Rose."<sup>19</sup>

It is true that I wear a rose, usually a red one, whenever I can get one. For the greater part of the year, it is possible to get a rose in Delhi. There is no particular story attached to it, although some people have invented a number of stories. I hardly remember when I started this practice. It may be that somebody had given me a rather lovely rose and I stuck it in my button-hole. Liking it, I tried to get others later.

The psychological reason for it might well have been a desire for some colour and beauty. For the last forty years or so, I have been wearing hand-spun and hand-woven clothes. In summer, these are invariably white. Although I

16. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

17. Letter.

(b. 1903); author and rose historian; founder of Rose Museum in St. Augustine, Florida, 1956.

18. (Red Rose Publications, 1958).

19. (Studio Publications in association with Crowell, 1953).

like them, the complete lack of colour sometimes was a little depressing. I found a rose gave that touch of colour and beauty and thus supplied some kind of inner want.

In India, of course, there is plenty of colour, and it is a delight to see the colourful saris or other forms of dress of our women, even in the villages. We had adopted this simple hand-spun dress long ago, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, as a symbol of simplicity and of an approach to the masses of our people.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **353. To Kesho Ram: Help for Bashir Masoodi<sup>20</sup>**

I do not know this young man,<sup>21</sup> but I know his father very well and have some regard for him. The father is at present in prison in Kashmir. I should like to help the young man.

2. You might reply to him saying that I have received his letter and I would certainly like to help him, but I cannot say at present what can be done. We are enquiring from the Ministries concerned.

3. You should write to the Ministries concerned including the Education Ministry and the Central Social Welfare Board. I think that a person who has braved the misfortune that has attended his eyes and succeeded in qualifying himself should get every help from us.

### **354. For Hans Raj Sharma: No Misuse of Nehru's Name<sup>22</sup>**

Please write to Shri Hans Raj Sharma<sup>23</sup> and say that I am surprised to learn of this request for financial help from S.N. Mangalmurti.<sup>24</sup> No help should be given. I have nothing to do with this matter.

2. Also, write to Shri S.N. Mangalmurti and say that I have learnt with surprise that he has constituted what he calls Pandit Nehru Biography Publication

20. Note, 12 May 1959.

21. Bashir Masoodi of 999 Pelham Parkway, New York 69, N.Y.

22. Note to PS, 13 May 1959.

23. Chief Parliamentary Secretary.

24. Managing Editor, Pandit Nehru Biography Publication Committee, Dhantoli, Nagpur.

Committee. Tell him that I do not approve of this at all. I am surprised to learn that he is asking for financial help for this. I consider this very improper.<sup>25</sup>

### 355. To Nathu Singh: No Time for Long Talks<sup>26</sup>

May 17, 1959

My dear Nathu Singh,

Your letter of April 30th. I can always try to see you when you are in Delhi, but it is extraordinarily difficult for me to find a long stretch of time for a leisurely talk. The kind of life I lead does not permit of this as I have to deal with far too many things. Also I have found that concisely stated points are more easily grasped than an argument which is spread out too much.

Apparently you wish to talk to me about Defence matters. It would be better if you spoke to the Defence Minister because anyhow I would refer what you might say to me to him as well as the present Chief of Staff.

You can, of course, send me a note on the subject and later talk to me about it. But for you to suggest that I should reserve a few hours for you is something quite new as I never had such a request from any one before. Anything that takes a few hours to explain cannot be very important.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 356. To K.P.S. Menon: Nehru's Royalty Account<sup>27</sup>

May 17, 1959

My dear K.P.S.,

About a fortnight ago, Mathai sent you a letter enclosing a letter from me addressed to the Bank of Foreign Trade, Moscow, asking them to transfer 37,500 Roubles by Demand Draft to the Central Bank of India, New Delhi.<sup>28</sup> This was to be from my Royalty Account with them.

Mathai had been looking after this account and more or less I have followed his advice in these matters. Some time ago I had suggested and probably written

25. See SWJN/SS/46/p. 646.

26. Letter to Bhooswami Sangh Leader and former GOC, Eastern Command, 1948-51.

27. Indian Ambassador to the USSR.

28. See SWJN/SS/48/p. 561.

to you also that you might also be authorised to draw on this account. Apparently this was not done. I am now addressing another letter to the Bank of Foreign Trade, copy of which I enclose. The original is also enclosed for you to send it on to them. In this letter I have asked them to give you 2,000 Roubles from my account. Also, I have authorised you to draw upon it whenever you consider it necessary. The 2,000 Roubles I am sending you are for two purposes. You have from time to time, at my request, sent some small presents to various Russian children who have adopted me as their God Father.<sup>29</sup> I do not know what you have spent on them as you have not told me about it. I should now like you to send all these children, if you can trace them from your papers, some gifts on my behalf.

The balance of the money you might keep with you for the present. Mathai is thinking of going to Moscow and will spend a little time with you. This money, or as much as he wants out of it, should be placed at his disposal.

I am sorry to give you this little trouble on my personal account. I hope you and your wife are well.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

You Said It  
By LAXMAN



*He has no luggage...with the exchange restrictions he couldn't afford any, he says!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 17 MAY 1959)

29. See also item 350, p. 630.

**357. To L.D. Reddick<sup>30</sup>**

May 19, 1959

Dear Dr. Reddick,

Thank you for your letter of May 12th and your book "*Crusader Without Violence*"<sup>31</sup> which you have kindly sent me. I am happy to have this book as I am following with great interest the work of Dr. King.

I need not tell you what a great pleasure it was to us to meet you and Dr. and Mrs. King. Dr. King's visit to India has created a very considerable impression here among the people he met.<sup>32</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**358. To Piare Lal: Meaningless Celebrations**

May 19, 1959

Dear Professor Piare Lal,<sup>33</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 18th May.

I like your idea of working for a composite culture as against separatism and communalism, but I do not understand how one celebrates a decade. It is far too long a period and no celebration can have much point about it unless it is a concentrated one. In the fast changing world of today, no one can say what even the near future will bring. To talk about ten years, except in the planning sense, almost indicates that we lose touch with reality and the problems of today.

30. Letter to Reddick, Professor of History, University of Atlanta.

31. It was a biography of Martin Luther King Jr. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959).

32. He arrived in New Delhi on 10 February 1959. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 648-649.

33. Associated with All-India Educational Society, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.

accident of victory or defeat. In our own Indian stories and our Indian epics it is always said that the great man should be a man devoted to action and yet above action, not controlled by action but controlling action and remaining himself whether victory comes or defeat. Lincoln to a very large extent fulfills that ideal. And he embodies in himself some things which even today, a 150 years after his birth, are very much in issue in the world, the idea of freedom, individual freedom, the idea as he put it himself in his famous address of a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the cause that all men are equal. Not one nation but we hope that every nation in the world would be conceived in liberty and dedicated to that cause. We know that although Lincoln was a great victor and so far as his ideals were concerned, yet the full realisation of it, of those ideals, still remains to be done in the world. And the battle therefore goes on in the world, a battle not so much by arms but in the minds and hearts of men. And when those who struggle in this battle for freedom think of Lincoln they are heartened and they feel stronger to face the great odds that confront them. For Lincoln was not merely a great leader of America, he belongs to the world. He is a hero of the world, one of the very select great man who have moved masses of human beings and who continue to move them. Therefore I should like on this occasion to pay my homage to his memory and at the same time to hope that the words he said on many significant occasion would be remembered by people all over the world and will move them to brave endeavours.

### **361. To Rajan Nehru: Family Meetings<sup>39</sup>**

May 22, 1959

My dear Rajan,

Your letter of the 17th May reached me yesterday. I was glad to have it.

I am going to Ootacamund for a Seminar on Planning. This will keep me busy practically the whole day for a week. I have, therefore, avoided accepting engagements in Ootacamund or round about, but I felt that I must go to the Staff College at Wellington. After I reach Ootacamund, I shall fix a date for visiting the Staff College.

I shall of course be happy to meet Vivek and Annu and see the little son. I do not remember receiving any previous letter from you giving me news of the arrival of the new-comer to the family. I asked Indu and she said she did not receive one.

39. Letter to the wife of R. K. Nehru, the Indian Ambassador to Egypt.

I am afraid it will not be feasible for me to go to a meal with Vivek and Annu. Apart from other reasons, this means going over ten miles from Ootacamund. I am not accepting meal engagements with others there. But I hope that Vivek and Annu will be able to come to a meal with us at Ootacamund. I shall get into touch with them on reaching Ooty. I hope also that they will be able to bring their little son.

You can certainly write to me whenever you feel and tell me your impressions. But do not mind if you do not receive a reply quickly. I find it exceedingly difficult to keep up with my work.

I am surprised to learn that you do not like the house in Cairo. I stayed there twice and I had rather liked it.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

### 362. To Albert Bernard Hollowood: Future of India<sup>40</sup>

May 22, 1959

Dear Mr. Hollowood,<sup>41</sup>

Thank you for your letter of May 14. You have written such a nice letter that it is not easy to say "no" to you. But I am afraid I shall not be able to accept your suggestion. The reasons for this are many. An obvious one is that I am overburdened with work and can keep pace with it only with great difficulty. Therefore, I do not wish to add to it.

Another and perhaps an equally evident reason is that being a practising politician, I would hesitate to forecast the future. Indeed, I do not see it clearly myself even though I talk vaguely in terms of it from time to time. This vagueness is perhaps not so much about India but rather of the world, and what happens to the world will inevitably affect India.

If I think of India, as I do very often, it is in terms of our development plans, so that a measure of well-being might come to all our people, something that they have lacked for so long. I think that will come, though it will require great efforts. Material well-being, advance in education, health, industry, etc. is the necessary basis for progress. But I earnestly hope that this will not be at the sacrifice of certain moral values and, if I may say so, rather vaguely, a

40. Also available in JN Collection.

41. Letter to English cartoonist, journalist and Editor of *Punch*.

spiritual outlook on life and its problems. I do not mean to say that India functions on a high moral or spiritual plane. But it has certainly thought a great deal through hundreds and thousands of years of these values, and at least in theory it approves of them. It would be a misfortune if, in the pursuit of material well-being, it forgot those values. I hope also that as we grow in strength and prosperity, as we are bound to do, our people will not give a way to the arrogance that often comes from strength and prosperity and will not forget the basic lesson that Mahatma Gandhi taught us: that means are at least as important as ends. I hope that our nationalism will always be tempered with internationalism and will, at no time, develop into anything approaching chauvinism.

These are my hopes and what I shall work for so long as I have strength to do so. I think these hopes are realisable because, in the final analysis, it will be the quality of the Indian people that will count. I have great faith in the masses of India, illiterate as most of them are. In spite of this illiteracy, which will, of course, rapidly disappear, they have a basic culture and a tenderness which makes life worthwhile for them and for others. We have many failings and we are very conscious of them, but we have some virtues also which, I hope, will survive even when progress and prosperity come to us.

I dare not look into the crystal ball any more, but I have given you some vague idea of how I look at the future of India. That gives me hope and a sense of function. After all, it will be for others to decide and to work for this future India. Already I see major changes taking place which are not perhaps so evident to outsiders. There is the process of industrialisation bringing new problems. Even more so is the spread of education, more especially among our womenfolk. Probably the biggest revolution that is taking place in India is through women's education which affects directly the home.

As you perhaps know, I function pretty often on a public stage. By long habit I go on making speeches on a variety of topics. But when it comes to writing something that is worthwhile and precise, I hesitate. Even though people may not believe it, I am rather a diffident person.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



### 363. To C.R. Srinivasan: Planning India International Centre, New Delhi<sup>42</sup>

There is a proposal to build an International Centre<sup>43</sup> somewhere adjoining the Lodi Gardens. The Archaeological Department was consulted and I gather that they have agreed subject to certain conditions. I do not know how far our Works Ministry has been consulted. I understand that Minister Reddy<sup>44</sup> is not here. I should like to visit this place in the company of the principal engineers and architects of our Works Ministry. I can go there on Tuesday, 26th May at about 9.15 a.m. I should, however, like to meet these architects and engineers in my office in the External Affairs tomorrow, 25th May, at 5.30 p.m., so that I can have a brief talk with them about this proposal. On the 26th morning we can visit the site.

If it is possible, they might bring with them someone representing the Delhi Planning Authority.

### 364. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Personal News<sup>45</sup>

May 24, 1959

Nan dear,

I have not written to you for a long time and I have not received any letter from you either. The last time I heard from you was when you sent a brief note after you met Paul<sup>46</sup> and Essie Robeson. I hope you have been keeping well.

Soon after Parliament adjourned we had a session of important meetings of the A.I.C.C. and other Committees. After that, the day to day strain of work somewhat lessened. But there was so much to do that I was kept very busy. I have now cleared some of the important arrears of work, but, of course, the major problems are constantly with us and fill our minds and take up our time.

In four or five days' time, I am going to Ootacamund to attend a Seminar of the A.I.C.C. Planning Sub-committee.<sup>47</sup> This will last about a week, and I have decided to stay there all this time, partly because the work is very important and partly as it will give me some little rest and relief from my daily work here. Delhi, as you can well imagine, is hot at present.

42. Note, 24 May 1959.

43. Inaugurated in 1968, it was designed by Joseph Allen Stein, an American architect.

44. K.C. Reddy.

45. Letter to the Indian High Commissioner to UK.

46. Renowned African-American singer, actor, peace and civil rights activist.

47. See item 164, pp. 413-422.

After I come back, I am paying a brief visit to Nepal.<sup>48</sup> Possibly I might go for a couple of days to Naini Tal for a meeting of the U.P. Congress Executive.<sup>49</sup> U.P. Congress affairs, as usual, are not in a good way. Sampurnanand is the only outstanding man there in spite of some of his peculiar notions. But he does not know how to manage his colleagues or the party.

I am vaguely thinking, if I can find the time, to take ten days or so off, probably in July, and go to Upper Garhwal, the Valley of Flowers. But all this is very doubtful and depends on so many factors. I have no intention of going out of India except for the visit to Nepal. There have been some press references to my meet-ing President Tito and Nasser. I do not see the point of any such meeting. Anyhow, I do not propose to go outside India for it. There is a faint chance of Nasser coming to India.

Indu rather frightens me because of the heavy work she is doing. Whenever she is in Delhi she is frightfully busy and spends all the day in her office at the A.I.C.C. and in the mornings and evenings she has other engagements. Frequently she goes out touring in this hot weather. Yet, in spite of all this, she is keeping fairly well, though I think she is never far from passing the limit of endurance.

The Tibetan problem is with us, but even more so the 13,000 refugees.

The Mathai affair is more or less over, so far as I am concerned, and I have reported accordingly to Parliament.<sup>50</sup> This was during the last days of Parliament, and it is just possible that some members, especially the Communists, might raise it again in the next session. Mathai has gone to Moscow to spend some time with K.P.S. Menon. After that he intends going to Nanu in Switzerland. Then to London. I think he expects to stay for some time with Nye Bevan.<sup>51</sup> I suppose this may be in July-August.

Pantji returned today from the Willingdon Nursing Home to his house. He has made fairly good progress, but of course he will have to remain more or less in bed for some weeks more.

Indu will be going with me to Ootacamund.

Love,

Jawahar

48. See items 284, 285, 286 and 287, pp. 534-542.

49. See item 9, pp. 66-67.

50. See item 112, pp. 339-442.

51. Aneurin Bevan was a British politician and Labour Party MP at this time.

**365. To Gunada Majumdar: Meeting Yogis<sup>52</sup>**

May 24, 1959

Dear Gunada Majumdar,

Your letter of May 23rd about Shivpuri Baba in Nepal.<sup>53</sup> I like to meet interesting individuals whatever their views may be and, therefore, I would like to meet this Indian Yogi. But I am not at all sure that I shall be able to do so First of all my programme is entirely in the hands of the King and his Government. Secondly, whatever I do is blazoned out to the world and a special visit outside Kathmandu to a Yogi would necessarily attract a good deal of attention. However, I shall think about it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**366. To M.K. Chitale: Nehru's Autobiography in Sanskrit<sup>54</sup>**

May 27, 1959

Dear Shri Chitale,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th May.

I have always greatly admired the Sanskrit language. It is true that Shri Kamalapati Mishra<sup>55</sup> told me that he was translating my *Autobiography* into Sanskrit and he sent me some extracts from his translation. I cannot judge of it as I do not know enough of Sanskrit.

## 52. Letter.

(b. 1909); Founder Member of Congress Socialist Party and acting Secretary of CSP, Bengal, 1937; founder of All Bengal Students Association; started secret Broadcasting Centre "Free India Radio" during Quit India Movement; retired from active politics in 1950 and engaged in social work in rural areas; joined as Chairman of Rural Development Corporation, West Bengal, at the behest of Nehru.

## 53. According to Majumdar "this Indian Yogi has no sect, no 'asram', no registered follower but has all the wisdom and the knowledge which a human soul can achieve. In him is epitomized the best tradition of Indian 'sadhana'."

## 54. Letter to President of Sanskrit Parishad, Bilaspur, Madhya Pradesh.

## 55. b. 1868.

As for Shri S.D. Satvalekar's<sup>56</sup> translation of the Vedas, full particulars should be sent directly to the Sahitya Akademi. I am afraid that in any event it will not be possible for Sahitya Akademi to give the large sum you mention, because they have not got those funds.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **367. To Syed Mahmud: Help for Sunderlal<sup>57</sup>**

June 8, 1959

My dear Mahmud,<sup>58</sup>

I have your letter of the 8th June. You have put me in a difficulty. It would anyhow be beyond my capacity to find Rs.5,000/- for Pandit Sunderlal<sup>59</sup> or anyone else. I cannot use official or semi-official funds in this way, and I am not personally in a position to find this money.

There is another difficulty. I do not know for what purpose Sunderlal requires this large sum of money suddenly. I have heard, however, that the Education Ministry and our auditors have found that his accounts of Government funds have been very badly kept and are exceedingly unsatisfactory. I do not know if his demand for money has anything to do with that. It would be embarrassing for me as Prime Minister to get tied up with this matter.

Should you so wish it, I can send say Rs.500/- to you for Sunderlal. It would be entirely a personal matter.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

56. b. 1915.

57. Letter. File No. 40(168)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

58. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gopalganj, Bihar.

59. President of All India Peace Council.

**368. To. M. O. Mathai: Gifts for Russians**

June 8, 1959

My dear Mathai,

Seshan<sup>60</sup> has shown me your letter to him of the 28th May written from Moscow. I agree that we should send some presents from India for the children of the Soviet Union of whom I have agreed to become God Father.<sup>61</sup> We shall have these articles sent from here direct to Moscow.

I hope that you had a restful time in the Soviet Union.

I wrote to Bridget asking her to let me know what the state of my Royalty Account was. Also to explain this account to you. I added that she should give any amount from this account which you might need.

Some days after writing this letter, Seshan brought to my notice a letter she had written to you some months ago in which she had stated that my Royalty Account stood at about £ 5,500/-. I was astonished to learn this, because I did not like the idea of large sums of money standing to my name in foreign countries. Subsequently I had a letter from Bridget saying that the Royalty Account now stood at about £ 6,500/-. I was rather disturbed at these accumulating balances. I had no idea about them. I have now asked Bridget to send me £ 3,000/- out of this amount for the present. Some time later, I shall withdraw another sum out of it.

In order to get authority to draw this amount, she had to write to Krishna Menon, who has sent this authority.

There is no need for you to go deeply into the accounts of these royalties with Bridget. You can just get the figures as they exist. That is enough for me.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

60. N. K. Seshan was Assistant Private Secretary to Nehru.

61. See item 350, p. 630.

**369. To. Ashok Nehru: Membership of Raleigh Club<sup>62</sup>**

June 8, 1959

Dear Ashok,

I have your letter of the 22nd May which you have written on behalf of the Raleigh Club.<sup>63</sup> I rather hesitate to become an honorary member of clubs or associations. But in the present case I would not like to say no and, if the Raleigh Club wants to make me one of its honorary members, I accept the nomination with thanks, but please do not take this acceptance as a pledge to address the Club. If I have the time and the opportunity, I would gladly attend one of its meetings, but I have no idea when it is likely to take place.

[Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru]

**370. To Sampurnanand: Horse Preferred to Car<sup>64</sup>**

June 9, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>65</sup>

I have just received your letter of June 7, giving me a tentative programme for my visit to Nainital. I agree broadly with this programme.

May I say one thing more? I do not wish to go about in a motor car in Nainital anywhere. I have long disliked the idea of cars running up and down in our hill stations. If the distance is at all long, I shall ride on horse-back.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

62. Letter to son of B. K. Nehru.

63. Balliol College, Oxford.

64. Letter. File No. 8/105/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

65. Chief Minister of UP.

**371. To Shyam Kumari Khan: Zohra Ansari<sup>66</sup>**

June 10, 1959

My dear Shammi,

Your letter of the 9th June about Zohra Ansari.<sup>67</sup> The work Zohra Ansari intends doing in regard to communal harmony etc. is worthwhile and I have promised her as much help as we can give in it. Whether it is possible for you to give her a room in Swaraj Bhawan for this purpose or not is for you to decide. If a room is easily available, it might be given to her for some months. If, thereafter, you feel that the work she is doing does not quite fit in with Swaraj Bhawan's other activities, then you can revise your decision and some other arrangement may be made for her. Whatever she does there of course will be entirely separate from the normal work of the Swaraj Bhavan.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

**372. To Calvin C. Cowden<sup>68</sup>**

Kathmandu

June 12, 1959

Dear Mr. Cowden,

I have received your letter of June 5, 1959 during my visit to Nepal. I am grateful to you for it. Naturally any person would be pleased with the high words of praise that you have used, even though they might not be fully justified.

I should like to point out, however, that no big task can succeed by the efforts of a single individual. That single individual happens to gain the limelight but, in fact, there are numerous others who shoulder the burden.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

66. Letter to the daughter of Shamlal and Uma Nehru.

67. Daughter of M. A. Ansari.

68. Letter to a resident of Abilene, Texas.

**373. To Ramdas M. Gandhi: Louis Fischer's Book<sup>69</sup>**

June 14, 1959

My dear Ramdas,

I have received your letter of the 8th June. You can, of course, see me whenever you like and whenever you can manage to meet me in Delhi, I am usually in Delhi though sometimes, as you know, I travel about.

As for Louis Fischer's book,<sup>70</sup> which you have sent me, I have read the pages you have marked. I am not an admirer of Louis Fischer<sup>71</sup> and I think that he has often exploited Bapu. His views are not mine. Whenever he has come to India in recent years, I have not cared to meet him even. I did meet him once last year because he was very anxious to do so. I would not, therefore, like to write to him on this or any other subject. Personally I do not think it would be worthwhile for you to write to him. It will serve no purpose and will not affect him at all.

I am returning your book to you and also the draft letter for Louis Fischer that you have sent.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**374. To P.T. Borale: Memorial for Ambedkar<sup>72</sup>**

June 18, 1959

Dear Mr. Mayor,

I have your letter of the 15th June in which you suggest that a memorial should be put up for Dr. Ambedkar at his birthplace at Mhow. It is not at all usual for Government to set up memorials. Normally this is done by private initiative. If some kind of assistance is required from Government and this is possible, this is given. It would be an unusual departure for Government itself to promote a memorial.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

69. Letter to Ramdas, son of Mahatma Gandhi and Manager of Bardoli Ashram.

70. *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (Harper: New York, 1950).

71. American author and journalist.

72. Mayor of Bombay, 1959-60.



**375. To Indira Gandhi: Motilal Nehru Biography<sup>73</sup>**

I do not think we should encourage in any way this proposal to have a Motilal Nehru birth centenary commemoration volume. I do not like these odd volumes which are really produced to make money.

2. As a matter of fact, a fairly competent person here in Delhi named Nanda<sup>74</sup> is intending to write father's biography. He has written a good biography of Gandhiji. I have told him that if I can help him in this by giving him any facts, I shall do so.<sup>75</sup>

**376. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Family News**

June 18, 1959.

Nan Dear,

I returned from Naini Tal this afternoon and found your letter of the 15th June awaiting me. Later in the evening I got your cable telling me that Tara<sup>76</sup> had informed you of her going to London for a brief visit. As suggested by you, I am writing to her that she should stay at least for two months in London with you and to take her children with her. I hope she does so.

I am going early tomorrow morning to Chail for a day and a half coming back to Delhi for half a day and then going to Jabalpur. From there I proceed to Kerala where conditions are very difficult. I expect to return to Delhi on the 25th evening.

I wish I could help Tara. I think she is a fine and sensitive human-being and of course I like her greatly. It is not easy to do much but sometimes it may be possible for me to help. In any event, Tara should always remember that she and her children can come to our house here whenever she feels like it and to stay here as long as she likes.

I have also received today your letter of the 12th June in which you tell me about the doings of the various princes or ex-princes in London—also about Amrit Kaur.

Love,

Jawahar

73. Note to the Congress President, 18 June 1959.

74. B. R. Nanda.

75. See item 347, p. 628.

76. Nayantara Sahgal, second daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

### 377. To Nayantara Sahgal: Family News

18th June 1959

[My dear Tara,]

I have received a letter from your mother and today a cable from her. She tells me in the cable that you have decided to go to London for a brief visit from the 28th onwards.<sup>77</sup>

When you passed through Delhi the other day, I had expected you to speak to me. As you did not do so, I did not want to take the initiative in this matter. Also, of course, we had no time. I want to tell you, however, that you should not hesitate to speak or write to me if you think that I can be at all helpful. It is true that I am pretty fully occupied with various activities. But however busy I might be, I would expect you and like you to tell me if you are in any trouble or difficulty. In such matters, of course, it is not easy for me or indeed for anyone to do very much. Still sometimes we can help a little.

Please also remember that whenever you choose to come here, you will always be welcome with your children and you can stay here for as long as you like. No notice is necessary. Although I do not want circumstances to arise which push you into any such action, the fact of your coming here will always give me joy.

I am, however, writing you now more particularly to suggest that since you are going to London, you should stay there for some time, say, two months or so and also you should take your children with you. There is little point in your taking this long journey for just a brief visit. I hope, therefore, that you will spend some considerable time in London and that you will take your children with you.

If you think that I should write to Gautam about this or any matter, I shall do so. I shall abide by your advice.

I have come to Delhi this afternoon from Naini Tal. Tomorrow early morning I am going to Chail returning the next day. On the 21st, I go to Jabalpur and from there on the 22nd to Trivandrum for two or three days.

Indu is going on her own account to some place in South India on the 20th from Delhi, returning I think on the 23rd.

This is a hastily written letter as I have to face a lot of work after my return today and I am leaving early tomorrow.

[Yours,  
Mamu]

77. See item 376, p. 649.

**378. To Subimal Dutt: Rameshwari Nehru's Japan Tour<sup>78</sup>**

I enclose a letter from Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru.<sup>79</sup> It seems to me wholly unnecessary for as many as twenty persons to travel to Japan to take part in the proposed Conference against A & H Bombs.<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, she says that they do not require any money from us and very little in the way of foreign exchange. But anyhow I think it should be pointed out to her that it seems to us rather extraordinary for large numbers of people to go out of India to attend this conference when we are limiting other visits abroad rather strictly.

**379. To Subimal Dutt: "Peace Army" Proposal<sup>81</sup>**

I think the following answer should be sent:

"So far as the Prime Minister remembers no proposal for a 'Peace Army' was discussed by Dr Luther King when he saw the Prime Minister. The question, therefore of the reaction of Government, does not arise. Such subjects, as also Acharya Vinoba's Shanti Sena, cannot be dealt with by Government as such.

It is submitted that the question is hardly a proper one for the Lok Sabha."

**380. To Subimal Dutt: Monument at Nathu La<sup>82</sup>**

I am inclined to think that this is not a suitable time for us to undertake the construction of this elaborate structure.<sup>83</sup> Apart from the high costs suggested, there seem to me to be political reasons also for not undertaking this at present.

2. But we might have some kind of an idea as to the cost etc. in case we take it up in future. The present estimates are obviously on the very high side.

78. Note to the Foreign Secretary, Trivandrum, 23 June 1959.

79. Wife of Brijlal Nehru, and a well-known social worker.

80. Campaigned from 1955 for a total ban on nuclear weapons, support for victims of nuclear bombs and tests and organiser of a World Conference on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 6 and 9 August.

81. Note, 26 June 1959.

82. Note, 27 June 1959.

83. Commemorative monument arch on the top of the Nathu La.

I agree with the Additional Chief Engineer and Shri Rahman<sup>84</sup> that any building should be such as to fit in with local architecture.

### 381. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: State Visits

June 27, 1959

Nan Dear,

Your letter of the 17th June came a few days ago. In this you told me about your talk with Lord Home<sup>85</sup> when the question of inviting the President to visit the U.K. arose.

I do not think it is possible for the President to go to England this year. His health is not too good and there is always a risk in these long journeys full of engagements. His doctors have told us privately that there is an element of risk. The President will be 75 years old this year. There are other reasons also which rather come in the way of his undertaking these long distance State visits. You should, therefore, inform Lord Home or Scarborough that while we entirely appreciate the Queen's wish to invite our President, it will not be possible for him to consider such an invitation in the foreseeable future. Therefore it would be best not to send it.

As for the King and Queen of Nepal, we have absolutely no objection to their being invited by Queen to visit England. When I was in Nepal a short while ago, I asked the King if he was thinking of going abroad. He told me that he was expecting an invitation from President Eisenhower to visit the U.S. If this invitation came, he was likely to go to America, probably some time in the late autumn. In view of this visit, which is likely to take place, he might well go to England before or after. His Queen will accompany him. You can make it perfectly clear that there is nothing inappropriate from our point of view in the King and Queen of Nepal being invited to visit the United Kingdom.

Love,

Jawahar

84. Habib Rahman (1915-1995); worked in several architectural firm in Boston and New York, 1943-46; Senior Architect in West Bengal, 1947-53; Senior Architect in the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply; designed more than 100 large buildings all over India, including Rabindra Bhawan, Maulana Azad's Tomb; Indraprastha Bhawan; WHO building and Delhi Zoological Park.

85. Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, UK, 1955-60.

**382. To B. P. Chaliha: Flood Relief<sup>86</sup>**

27th June 1959

My dear Chaliha,

I enclose a cheque for Rs.50,000/- from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. I hope this will help you somewhat in dealing with the people who are suffering from the tremendous floods. I hope to send you some more money later.

I receive telegrams from different people of Assam and from different places asking for help. I think it is best for this help to be channelised through you as you will be in the best position to judge.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**383. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Kidwai Fund<sup>87</sup>**

June 29, 1959.

My dear Ajit,

I am writing to you about the Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial Fund. Please see my PPS's note as well as the Auditors' note.

It appears that the procedure we have been following has not been a correct one. All we can do now is to try to remedy the past defects insofar as we can.

So far as scholarships, etc. were concerned, the matter was left to you, though perhaps this was not stated clearly in our minutes. I think that you should look through all these past payments and certify them. Thereafter, we might circulate a paper with your certificate to the present members of the Fund for their ratification. When the next meeting of the Trustees is held, this matter could be put up for final ratification and disposal.

As for the Seva Nidhi Trust Account, we should obtain a copy of its Accounts with the Auditors' note.

I am sending you the file containing these various papers.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

86. Letter to the Chief Minister of Assam.

87. Letter to the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

**384. To Chandralekhha Mehta: Family News<sup>88</sup>**

June 29 1959

[My dear Chandralekha]

I was happy to receive your letter of June 16th after a long long interval, and to have news of you and the children. You have given me some kind of a programme, but no dates are mentioned. I have no idea when you will be leaving Vienna. I am glad you are going to Dubrovnik<sup>89</sup> and Venice. Spain is a country which has rather attracted me, not politically, but in a vague romantic sense. I suppose I shall never be able to go there.

I am glad that you spent these two years in Vienna. That still remains one of the most beautiful of cities full of charm and grace. Karachi will no doubt be more strenuous and duller, but then one cannot have too many of the good things of life. A minor advantage of being at Karachi will be that you will be nearer to us and perhaps can come over to see me from time to time.

[Yours,  
Mamu]

**385. To Kesho Ram: Contractors and Construction Costs<sup>90</sup>**

Please reply to this letter from the Builders' Association of India as follows:

Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 26th June.<sup>91</sup> You refer to certain remarks that he made in regard to contractors. He does not know what the report of these remarks was, but obviously he was not condemning all contractors or the contracting community in India. Contractors certainly play a very useful role in India today.

88. Letter to the eldest daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, married to Ashok N. Mehta, the Charge d' affaires in Vienna.

89. Presently in Croatia.

90. Note to PPS, 30 June 1959. File No. 17(374)/59-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

91. H. J. Shah, the President of the Association, requested an interview to express their anguish over certain remarks made by Nehru about contractors and to present their case."

What the Prime Minister has said on several occasions is that the present cost of construction is very heavy. This is partly due to the contract system and partly to rather out of date methods and designs which we follow. In view of the tremendous amount of construction that is to be done for our various projects, it is of the utmost importance that these costs should be lowered. One of the obvious methods of lowering them is to reduce middleman's commissions and profits. Another method is to have simpler and more up-to-date designs.

The Prime Minister was especially speaking about some of our public works being carried out by the Bharat Sewak Semaj. During the last two years, this organisation has done very good work in the construction of embankments etc. Their cost was much less from that of contractors; the work was done efficiently and such profit as there was sent to the village communities.

The Prime Minister is glad to learn of your Association. Such associations can certainly help in keeping up standards of work and public morals.

The Prime Minister hardly thinks it necessary for this subject to be discussed in the course of an interview. In any event, he is going out of Delhi for some time.

Yours faithfully,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **386. To Ramdas M. Gandhi: Rights to Gandhi's letters<sup>92</sup>**

June 30, 1959

My dear Ramdas,

I have received your letter of 27th June.

It is difficult for me to enter into legal arguments or to interpret the Trust Deed you have sent me. Prima facie, I do not see how the Navjivan Trust has any right in regard to letters written by Bapu to others. Thus, I have a number of letters from Bapu addressed to me. I do not think anyone else has a right to them. I have, as a matter of fact, placed these letters in the National Archives.

92. File No. 2(114)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi is the right organisation to deal with such matters. I am, therefore, sending your letter to Shri R.R. Diwakar, President of the Nidhi.<sup>93</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 387. To John A. Morsell: Racial Discrimination<sup>94</sup>

June 30, 1959

Dear Mr Morsell,

I am glad to learn from your letter of June 15th that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is celebrating its Jubilee this year.<sup>95</sup> On this occasion I send you my greetings and good wishes. I need not tell you that you have my full sympathy for your objectives and the ideals you seek to serve.

Among the many difficult problems that confront us in the world today, I think that probably the question of racial relations and racial discrimination is of vital importance both in the present and the future. Indeed, I do not see how democracy can ultimately survive on a basis of racial discrimination. We in India have been guilty of something rather like racial discrimination in the past. This took the form of the caste system. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi we opposed this discrimination. So far as law is concerned, we have put an end to it; in practice it takes longer to deal with an old deep-rooted problem, but much progress has been made.

While I can understand that deep-seated prejudices cannot be suddenly removed, what is distressing is that some governments base their policies on racial discrimination and segregation. It is clear that this policy can never be accepted by large parts of the world and can only lead to conflict and disaster.

93. Nehru wrote to R. R. Diwakar the same day that "although I cannot express any firm opinion, it seems to me that the Navjivan Trust has been taking a very limited view of Gandhiji's papers and letters."

94. Letter.

(1912-1974); author and civil rights activist; joined NAACP as Assistant to the Executive Secretary, 1956; Assistant Executive director. 1964; fellow of the American Sociological Association, he served as Chairman of the Citizen Advisory Committee to the New York City Housing and Development Administration, 1968-70; member, New York City Board of Higher Education, 1970.

95. Founded on 12 Feb. 1959, it is USA's oldest and largest African-American civil rights organisation.



Your Association has a fine record of good work in the cause of equal citizenship. I wish it success in the future.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**388. To K. M. Panikkar: Thanks for a Book<sup>96</sup>**

June 30, 1959

My dear Panikkar,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th June and the little book you have sent me. I hope to read this book. It is true that any one dealing with these subjects is bound to say much that has been said and is fairly well known at least to those who are interested in them. But you have often fresh ideas which are very helpful.

I am feeling very tired and stale, and I think I require a little freshening up. It is difficult to find time, but I shall try to get out of Delhi for a week or ten days soon.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

96. Member, Rajya Sabha, 1959-1961.

## APPENDICES

1. **Mulraj Kersondas to Nehru***[Refer to item 116]*

Bombay

16 April 1959

I had received yesterday a telegram from the Secretary of the one man commission of Nathdwara Enquiry, asking me to appear before the commission; but I have wired to him of my inability to go as per copy enclosed. The fact is that the Rajasthan Government was requested to do two things by the public. One was that the Mahant should be deposed and other was that the Government should take over the management of the temple by an independent board by an ordinance. The first question of deposing the Mahant has been put off on the plea that the lawyers do not think that it will be legal to do so. This excuse of Rajasthan Government is really surprising because both in 1878 and 1935 two of the predecessors of the present Mahant were deposed by the then rulers of Udaipur State, and one wonders that now the powers of Udaipur State are held by Rajasthan State, how is it possible that Rajasthan State has legal difficulties in disposing of such an untrustworthy and dishonest man from such a highly responsible and sacred post? The other request of the public has been accepted by Rajasthan and they appointed a controlling board of 3 persons but unfortunately there also a partiality to the Mahant is openly showed by the controlling board consisting of 3 persons, who have all been on the past committee who have always openly favoured the Mahant. They had made various public statement trying to white-wash the Mahant's actions and misleading the public by stating in the press that only what was shown by the Mahant was recovered by him and that also rightly. It was against this misleading statement by Mr. Thakersey one of the new Board that I resigned from that Committee because their statements were absolutely contrary to facts and records could be seen from the correspondence passed between Mahant and Thakersey on one side and Executive Officer and Thakersey on the other side, copies of which I have submitted to you when I called on you in October last. The other member of the Committee Mr. Vandravan Purshottam has been Maharaj's nominee, appointed by him on the last 2 committees for the one seat that was reserved for his nominee.

You will thus appreciate that with such a committee in charge management no staff of the temple would dare to give correct evidence for fear of losing his job. Besides Mr. Thakersey and Mr. Vandravandas were the two members of the Bombay Committee of the Padyatra, that was proposed a few months ago,

under the leadership of Dhikshitji Maharaj, who was one of the suspects of the late Mahatma Gandhi murder case. So you can very well imagine the type of people who are selected by Rajasthan Government for management of the temple. It really means that they have put Mahant in charge management through his nominees. Under such circumstances the staff of the temple who were the only witnesses present at the incident of the jewellery removal will not dare to come out in the open to give correct evidence against the Mahant and therefore I think it will be futile for me to waste my time and energy on attending in the commission.

I am writing this detailed letter to you so that in case you are told by interested parties that I did not cooperate with the commission then you may not be misled that my attitude is not non-cooperation at all and I am sure you will kindly not misunderstand my action.

## **2. Morarji Desai's comments on the Cabinet Secretary's Report**

*[Refer to item 112]*

After having gone carefully through the report of the Cabinet Secretary on the allegations against Shri M.O. Mathai, I had a discussion with the former on the subject matter of the enquiry and the enquiry held by him and have come to the following conclusions.

The Kulu Orchards were purchased from some Scottish ladies in a proper manner and there cannot be any question of an improper dealing in this case. There was nothing wrong or improper in the sale of this property to a company which dealt in fruit canning as the sale price was not more than the price paid for the property. Shri Mathai had informed the Prime Minister before entering into both transactions.

I find nothing irregular in the insurance policies of Shri Mathai. There does not seem to be anything unaccounted for as regards the premia paid for the various policies. The payment made by Shri Mathai in this connection were from his salary income and the moneys possessed by him before he joined the Prime Minister in the beginning of 1946. The large policy for which a lump payment of Rs. 48,000/- was made was paid for out of provident fund receipt and sale of savings certificates.

The moneys sent by him to his brothers and sisters during the last 10 years amount to about Rs. 1,25,000/-. These were sent by registered and insured postal parcels which were sent through the clerks in the office and there was no

secrecy about these remittances.

The question which arises from these transactions is how Shri Mathai came into the possession of all these moneys, that is, whether the possession was legitimate or whether the moneys were obtained in an illegitimate manner. The total amount of the following five items comes to Rs. 5, 75,000/-.

(1)	Living expenses at the estimated Rs. rate of Rs. 250/- p.m. for 13 years	...	39,000
(2)	Insurance premia paid	...	1,38,466
(3)	Money spent on acquiring existing assets	...	2,47,000
(4)	Remittances to brothers and sisters	...	1,25,000
(5)	Bank Balance on 24-2-59	...	25,781
			5,75, 247

Shri Mathai's statement shows that he had Rs. 3,90,000 out of which Rs. 1,25,000 were set apart for his brothers and sisters, before he joined the Prime Minister early in 1946. His net income from salary and investments up to date amounts to Rs. 2,31,074. The total of the two amounts comes to Rs. 6,21,000/-. This will show that the original assets plus the income from salary and investments exceed the disbursements and the bank balance by Rs. 45,753. The explanation, that this amount would represent personal expenditure other than living expenses as well as some remittances which would be in addition to Rs. 1,25,000/- mentioned earlier, appears quite reasonable.

The question that would arise would be whether the statement that Shri Mathai had with him Rs. 3, 90,000 including Rs. 1, 25,000 earmarked for his brothers and sisters before he joined the Prime Minister is acceptable. Shri Mathai was serving in the American Red Cross before he joined the Prime Minister. We have been told that Shri Mathai's work was very much appreciated by the Red Cross Authorities. It is stated that as a mark of their appreciation they gave him some part of the surplus stocks which they were disposing of at the conclusion of the war. Much of this surplus stock was destroyed, part of it was given to their Indian officials. I had heard of this method of disposal from different sources in 1946. There is, therefore, no reason to disbelieve Shri Mathai's statement in this matter, especially when it is remembered that Shri Mathai had told the Prime Minister, at the beginning of his service with him, that he had in his possession about rupees two to three lakhs. His income tax and wealth tax returns after 1947 are in order.

Shri Mathai has stated that he has no other properties or moneys and nobody has given any material to show that he has any other assets. The explanation is, as I have said above, reasonable and there is no evidence whatsoever to the

contrary. It would not, therefore, be right for anybody to say without any reasonable evidence that Shri Mathai obtained these assets by improper means or by abuse of his official position.

He had reported to the Prime Minister his assets before he joined him and also reported to him the transactions regarding the Kulu Orchards. If he did not report his insurance policies, he did not do so because he had no idea that he had to do so. Many highly placed Government officials have not reported their insurance policies as they did not think that the rules required such report. This has been clarified only recently. Moreover, Shri Mathai was a temporary Government servant and would have left Government service with the Prime Minister, that is, he would not be a permanent servant at any time. He was not in ordinary Government service. In any case, the point of substance is not reporting, but whether they were proper. I have already commented that the payments were fully explained.

The only question that remains to be dealt with is that of the Chechamma Trust. Shri Vishnu Sahay's inquiry has shown that there was nothing irregular in this Trust and that the moneys obtained were obtained through the efforts of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. The correspondence between one of the donors and Rajkumariji supports this contention. Shri Mathai while writing to the Home Secretary in 1954 to find out if there was anything wrong in being a Trustee of this Trust had stated explicitly that he would not be collecting any funds for the Trust. The giving of Shri Mathai's mother's name by Rajkumariji to the Trust and Shri Mathai's agreeing to it may be called imprudent but cannot be called an abuse of official position or immoral in any sense.

The Home Minister had stated in the Rajya Sabha that anybody who has any information and evidence as regards any allegation against Shri Mathai should give it to Shri Vishnu Sahay. The fact that nobody has come forward with any reliable information or evidence is significant. In view of this and the facts given above as elicited in the enquiry by Shri Vishnu Sahay, it is obvious that Shri Mathai cannot be held guilty of any abuse of official position as alleged or of any illegitimate section.

Morarji Desai

6 May 1959

### 3. (a) G. Parthasarathi to Nehru<sup>1</sup>

[Refer to item 297]

You would have seen the long article published in *People's Daily* yesterday. It is the culmination of the campaign against us and argues the Chinese case with dialectical skill of a particular variety. Obviously it has been prepared at the highest level. It needs careful study and analysis not only because of its relevance to the present controversy but for the insight it gives into the working of the minds of the Chinese Communists.

2. An offer is made in the article to stop mutual recrimination and the argument coupled with the threat that the Chinese campaign will continue so long as criticisms in India do not stop. It seems that from our point of view the time has come to limit ourselves to refuting definite charges of interference. You have stated our position in regard to Tibet with sincerity and goodwill towards China but it has made no impact on Peking which is determined to go its own way in bringing about a "peaceful revolution" in Tibet. There is no meeting ground in our respective approaches to problems of nationalities, autonomy, social reforms and progress. Further efforts on our part will only earn us more ill-will. It is not that we need to give up what we consider to be correct but there seems to be no point in engaging in a fruitless controversy.

3. The presence of the DALAI LAMA and thousands of refugees in India is not only an affront to the Chinese but it is bound to make reconciliation of Tibet more difficult. It is up to the Chinese to approach us to help in the solution of their problems if they so desire. They are not however now in a mood to seek our good offices relying as they seem to do on the correctness of their newly enunciated policy of "democratisation and socialization." It is better for us to wait and see what they do.

4. The news that Lok Sabha is to debate Tibet tomorrow has been received with indignation. I believe that CHOU EN LAI complained to MALALSEKARA yesterday (Ceylon's Ambassador to Moscow who was here at the invitation of the Buddhist Association) that whereas he had spoken on Tibet once in the People's Congress you had made eight statements on Tibet in our Parliament. It is not appreciated here that under our parliamentary system such discussions are unavoidable and much criticism is made of our interference in the internal affairs of China.

5. Taking all factors into account it appears to me that the stage has been reached for us to let the Chinese make the next move. Our relations are bound

1. Telegram No. 87, 7 May 1959.

to be tense for some time to come. In the last few days I have noticed that Chinese leaders are polite but do not engage in conversation with us but we are not unduly concerned about it.

6. Russian Ambassador YUDIN had a long talk with me on Tibet on Tuesday evening. He is friendly to us personally but as you know he has got a doctrinaire mind. His approach to the Tibetan question was similar to that of the *People's Daily*. He had also some fantastic notions about Kalimpong and about the Indo-Chinese frontier being a British creation. I hope I succeeded in disabusing him of some of his ideas.

### 3. (b) G. Parthasarathi to Subimal Dutt<sup>2</sup>

[Refer to item 297]

In the last two days there were very few anti-Indian items in the Press. Yesterday a critical summary of the Rajya Sabha debate of 4<sup>th</sup> May was published. News items stating Lok Sabha was to discuss Tibet and that the India's Embassy had released the Dalai Lama statement were published with a note of disapproval. But the denunciatory articles and letters have stopped. Newspapers today published Indian press criticism of Pakistan's offer of common defence. *People's Daily* carved eulogistic article on Tagore.

2. Press carries long reports from Tibet to show that

- (a) mass of people welcome reforms and ending of serfdom and
- (b) enthusiastic cooperation is being given to Chinese PLA units in rounding up rebels. Panchen Lama's activities in Peking are kept very much in public eye.

3. General impression is that anti-Indian campaign is in retreat and process of disengagement in terms of *People's Daily* article of 6th May has begun. But Chinese are watchful of Indian reactions and it is too early to say that the campaign against us has ceased.

2. Telegram No. 88, 8 May 1959.

#### 4. Dalai Lama to Nehru

[Refer to item 296]

7 May 1959

At this moment the entire monk and lay people of Tibet are undergoing unbearable sorrows and miseries of tremendous magnitude which can be seen by the fact that thousands of Tibetans are rushing out of their country seeking refuge in India. In this connection, I would refer to Your Excellency's excellent suggestion during our recent meeting that Government of India would seek to find a peaceful approach to solve the problem and with which I had entirely agreed. Accordingly, I have been giving deep thought to every aspect of this problem. I would, however, like to submit the following four points for the time being which could form the basis of peaceful talks in the future. It would be extremely difficult to put any credence in anything promised by the Chinese until these four points are brought clearly into practice. We have no one except the Government of India to whom we can look for help and guidance and to the Government of India we would like to bring the following for their very kind consideration;

1. The communists should stop their diabolical activities in Tibet which has resulted in enormous bloodshed from a fixed date and should also immediately set free all the Tibetans who are either imprisoned or set to heavy manual task.

2. The entire Chinese military force should be withdrawn from Tibet and not a single soldier be left behind.

3. An enquiry should be made whether damage has been caused to Buddhism in Tibet, its institutions including precious scripts and idols, congregation of monks and the means of Tibetan people's livelihood, etc. A committee representing the countries having common boundaries with Tibet under the leadership of India with representatives of some neighbouring Buddhist countries accompanied by some of our Tibetan officials should be sent to all parts of Tibet equipped with wireless transmitting sets in order to make a thorough enquiry and ensure that the two points mentioned above are properly observed.

4. In order to give medical aid and assistance to the wounded persons and patients of Tibet and to prevent the outbreak of epidemic and famine as a result of the present sanguinary clash, the International Red Cross should be permitted to open a branch in Tibet to serve all parts of Tibet.

May these requests meet with Your Excellency's favourable consideration and sympathetic help so that these may find realisation.



## 5. M.S. Sivaraman to C. R.Srinivasan<sup>3</sup>

[Refer to item 178]

8 May 1959

Dear Shri Srinivasan,

In their recent report on agricultural Production the Ford Foundation Team have observed that the Ministry of Food & agriculture has proposed a "sound" but "conservative" target for consumption of fertilisers by 1965-66 and that the estimates are based on the results of numerous field experiments. In a note 2 copies (enclosed) dated 28.4.59 prepared by me at the instance of the Deputy Chairman, I have pointed out that the Ministry's estimate is neither sound nor conservative as the areas that can use fertiliser and the dose of fertilisers to be applied have varied from time to time and are clearly excessive and unduly optimistic.

2. A tacit assumption has been made that the response of the crop to the fertiliser governs the response of the cultivator to the use of fertiliser and ten times the quantity now in use will be required by the cultivators in seven years time so that every acre of irrigated area and some of the area under "assured rainfall" will get the benefit of the use of fertilisers. I have drawn attention to the fact that in some of the most favourable areas for use of fertilisers like the deltas of the Cauvery, the Godavari and the Krishna, the spread of fertilisers covers only a fraction of the area that can use the fertilisers even after 40 years of experience among the cultivators of these areas in the use of fertilisers.

3. I have also commented on a growing tendency to belittle the part which organic manures can play in the matter of food production. I have mentioned how in recent years cultivators have taken more kindly to these than to fertilisers after the introduction of a new method of production of green manure seeds.

4. If the soil is made a living organism by increasing its organic content through the cultivator's personal efforts instead of depending on outside supplies of fertilisers, we should have laid the real foundation for agricultural development. The cultivator's pride in overcoming age-long difficulties through self-help will have to play a great part in stepping up agricultural output. In my considered view production can be raised to the required level in 1965 even with a consumption of fertilisers not far above 4 lakhs of nitrogen targetted for the second Plan.

Yours sincerely,  
M.S. Sivaraman

3. File No. 17(335)/59-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

**6. (a) Gurdial Singh Dhillon to Nehru***[Refer to item 74]*

Chandigarh

8 May 1959

For some time past the working of the Regional Committees in the Punjab has been taking a shape and a course which has not only created an awkward and embarrassing situation for the Government but has also made us all think seriously about the future of the State. I have never bothered you so far either by personal interviews or correspondence on the subject. I, however, conveyed my impressions to the Home Minister and the Congress President, whom I happened to meet in Delhi about a year back. I have also been discussing the day-to-day problems created by the Regional Committees with Sardar Partap Singh and I hope he has kept you duly informed about them. When I write to you directly today, I hope you will not, in view of the urgency of the matter, take it as an unnecessary intrusion on your time.

Regional Committees were created as a result of negotiations between the Government and the Akalis who were agitating for the Punjabi Suba and the representatives of the Haryana region of the Punjab who were agitating for the Haryana Prant. These agitations were for a political settlement of Punjab which would satisfy the separatist tendencies and regional claims of the agitating elements. With the development of the idea of Regional Committees, representing the two regions, these agitations for separate states were abandoned and it seemed that we would have the necessary atmosphere for our development plans.

Late in 1957, and early in 1958, however, some members of the Committees, backed up by their respective Chairmen, took up the assailable but adamant position, while framing their bye-laws, that these Committees, unlike the other committees of the House, were semi-sovereign, independent of the Assembly and were in fact, sub-legislatures, and that it was not the Assembly Rules as amended by the Presidential Order that were applicable to them but that they should have a whole body of independent Rules to regulate their procedure. I referred this matter to the Punjab Government and also spoke about it to the Governor. A clarification was also sought on the issue from the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. The Home Ministry informed the State Government vide their D.O. letter No. F 40/2/57-SR(R), dated the 14th December, 1957 that these committees were essentially committees of the Legislative Assembly and the Rules relating to committees of the Assembly will generally apply to them subject to the modifications contained in the Presidential Order and further that in respect of matters not covered by the modifications, the Regional Committees were governed by the same rules as

were applicable to any other committee of the Assembly.

Notwithstanding this clear advice the Hindi and Punjabi Regional Committees provided in their bye-laws for a regular "Question Hour". The Punjab Government disputed the Committees' right to do so and accordingly made a reference to the Home Ministry vide their letter No. 5393-P1 (C)58/31989, dated the 14th October, 1958, who have agreed vide their letter No. 40/8/58-SR(R) dated the 11th December, 1958, with the position taken up by the State Government.

In the meantime, another point had arisen, creating a fresh difficulty. The proceedings of the Regional Committees are required by the Presidential Order to be held in private, like any other committee of the Assembly. But the proceedings of both the Committees were being regularly published in all their details, not as a result of official handouts but in consequence of being divulged by interests that had the aim of working these Committees for a purpose other than that of development. Some elements in the Assembly feeling that the trend these Committees were taking being rather separatist moved a motion for referring the question of such publication to the Privileges Committee on the ground that it was a breach of Privilege of the House, and that was done. This matter is consequently pending before this Committee. One of the issues which is under examination in that Committee is, contrary to all established legal opinion, whether the Regional Committees are Committees of the Assembly or Sub-legislatures. Though all this is, as it was sub judice, yet I feel that in the larger interests of the State, and, shall I say, of the country, there would be no harm if I convey to you, on whom in the last analysis rests the solution of all the complicated problems that beset the country, the strange position that has arisen. I have been confidentially informed as the Speaker that four members (all Sikhs of the Congress Party, among them the Chairman himself of the Punjabi Regional Committee) belonging to the Punjabi Region are developing their argument somewhat on the following lines:

- (i) These Regional Committees, unlike other committees of the House, have a special statutory position and are Sub-legislatures and the rules applying to the other committees do not apply to them;
- (ii) These committees are neither elected/appointed by the House nor nominated by the Speaker;
- (iii) They are statutory bodies created under the States Reorganisation Act and the Constitution (Amendment) Act, and that in view of this they have an existence independent of the Assembly;
- (iv) In the matter of legislation the Assembly is not superior to them; for though they consider only such Bills as are referred to them—and on scheduled matters the Assembly has to refer all Bills to them—yet in

the event of the Assembly differing from them both, or either of them, the Assembly's will does not necessarily prevail, which, in fact, would have been the case, if their position had been one of inferiority to the Assembly like that of the other Committees.

The other four Members, belonging to the Jan Sangh and other Groups have taken up the position that the status of the Regional Committees, in the legal sense, is no higher nor lower, than that of the other Committees of the Assembly and that to regard them as Sub-Legislatures is a gross misreading of the law.

All the clarifications and interpretations, both of the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Law Department of the State, regarding the status of the Committees and the Committees' competence to provide for a "Question Hour" in their bye-laws was duly brought to the notice of the Members of the Privileges Committee but I was very unhappy to learn from the Chairman of this Committee (Chaudhri Sarup Singh, Deputy Speaker) that some Members have refused to recognise, leave alone accept, these clarifications and interpretations, ostensibly on the ground that it is they who are legally competent to interpret provisions relating to themselves and not the Ministry of Home Affairs. Any honest, straightforward legal opinion or advice tendered to them which happens to run counter to their own wishful, subjective interpretations appears to them, as to a biased mind to have ulterior motives and they ascribe it as a challenge to their independence. All this is, of course, very sickening.

It would perhaps not be out of place here to mention that the Chairman of the Hindi Regional Committee approached the Speaker of the Lok Sabha to obtain his interpretation as to whether these Regional Committees were or not Sub-legislatures, and further with a request that since these Committees were Sub-legislatures, their Presiding Officers should be treated at par with the Speakers and Chairmen of Legislatures and invited to the Conference of Presiding Officers which are held from time to time. Now would it surprise you when I state that I have frequently approached by the Chairmen of these Regional Committees to get for them a separate Sub-secretariat or at any rate, for the time being, to create separate wings of the Assembly Secretariat for them.

What is more distressing in all this is that Master Tara Singh and others of his way of thinking for whose satisfaction and reconciliation these Committees were created have taken every possible opportunity of renouncing and denouncing them. The other section of the Akalis, led by Giani Kartar Singh and some Akali members in our Assembly, while characterising Master Tara Singh's demand of a Punjabi Suba as a hoax on the people, proclaim that it will be they who will create a real Punjabi Suba by seeking more and more powers

for the Regional Committees, strengthening them in this devious way and ultimately shaping them into regular Sub-legislatures, thereby attaining Master Tara Singh's objective in a more practicable, acceptable and yet subtle way. I cannot say, for I do not know, whether it is a mere counter argument to Master Tara Singh's to weaken his stand in the public, and improve their own position; but one thing seems evidently clear that both take their stand on the creation of a Punjabi Suba. Unfortunately the Sikh Community, by this calculated, unpatriotic and rather short sighted propaganda is in constant danger of being weaned away from the rightful approach on nationalistic and patriotic lines for forging ahead with singleness of mind and purpose for all round progress and economic development of our State.

The trouble does not end here. These selfish, anti-national elements in our State get some measure of support from some Members of the Congress Party itself—the so-called dissidents—who take every conceivable opportunity to oppose and thwart the Government of the State and embarrass it to the best of their might and ability in these Regional Committees, disregarding all party whips and discipline and shedding all canons of political morality. Under such circumstances, it is practically impossible for any Government to work in a normal way.

As though all this is not enough turmoil in the State, recently the Assembly's incapacity to assert its will against that of one of the Regional Committees, when the Governor recommended that a Bill, regard to which there was a difference between the Assembly and one of the Regional Committees, be withdrawn, has led to the strengthening of that unhealthy political opinion which is looking forward to these committees in the real and acknowledged role of two legislatures, one in the so-called Punjabi Suba and the other in the so-called Haryana Prant.

Besides this muddle-some, complicated and delaying procedure of the Regional Committees, these Committees have further created a constitutional anomaly in as much as despite the overwhelming Congress majority in both of them, in one of them, due to the so-called dissidents, to whom I have made a reference above, the Government was defeated a number of times and was not able to carry through a Bill, and many resolutions were introduced in the House much against the wishes of the Government. The implications of this kind of things are far-reaching, particularly in view of the Governor's decision in the recent case mentioned above. The question that arises is: what would happen if a few members in either of the Regional Committees, choose to throw out a measure or introduce an irrelevant or unconstitutional amendment with an intransigent Chairman in the Chair, disallowing all valid points of order and explanations by the Ministers, and notwithstanding all this difficulty, some

Congress dissidents joining hands with the Opposition, and doing many things merely to embarrass the Government? Legislation would come to a stand still and the State suffers. Actually in the last session of the Legislative Assembly, on this very account important Legislative measure was left over.

It is my very humble opinion that if the affairs concerning these Regional Committees were left as they are at present, uncontrolled, unchecked, a time might come, in the foreseeable future, when there may be one constitutional crisis after another, creating deadlocks, making the Legislature inert and torpid. And also if these Committees are permitted to grow in their present mood, refractory, antagonistic to each other, imbued with the desire and ambition of making themselves into separate legislatures, playing in the hands of selfish and time-serving politicians bent upon making them political arenas, divesting them from their real intended aim of development, we will be faced with the inevitable calamity of partitioning of our present Punjab.

I have taken the liberty of venturing on your time to convey these personal views and feelings to you not in my capacity as the Speaker of the Assembly but as a Congressman basing profound faith in the unity, progress and development of my State and your ability and capacity to understand our problems and give us a lead in such awkward situations and inspire us to work for the solidarity, integrity, stability and all round economic progress and reconstruction of our State.

## **6. (b) Hari Sharma's note on the Regional Committees of Punjab<sup>4</sup>**

*[Refer to item 77]*

In his letter dated 8th May 1959, to the Prime Minister, the Speaker of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha has referred to the difficulties developing in the working of the Regional Committees because of the effort of certain elements to claim for the Committees the status of sub-legislatures, as evidenced by their -

- (a) unauthorised release of the proceedings of the Committees;
- (b) demand for provision in the bye-laws for questions; and
- (c) refusal to accept clarifications and interpretations given by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

4. File No. 40/2/59-SR(R).., pp. 3-6., MHA, 15 May 1959.

He has also referred to a recent Bill which involved disagreement between the Assembly and one of the Regional Committees and has been withdrawn on the recommendation of the Governor.

2. The Regional Committees have been set up in pursuance of the scheme for Regional Committees laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha on 3rd April 1956 (copy enclosed). Attention is invited to paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 of the scheme from which it will be seen that the scheme contemplated that -

- (a) in regard to the specified matters the advice tendered by the Regional Committees was normally to be accepted by the State Government and the State Legislature;
- (b) in case of difference of opinion reference was to be made to the Governor, whose decision was to be final and binding; and
- (c) provision was to be made under the appropriate Central Statute to empower the President to constitute Regional Committees and to make provision in the Rules of Business of Government and the Rules of Procedure of the Legislative Assembly of the State in order to give effect to the arrangements outlined in the scheme.

3. Special provision was accordingly made in Article 371 of the Constitution empowering the President to provide -

- (a) for the constitution and functions of Regional Committees of the Legislative Assembly of the State;
- (b) for the modifications to be made in the Rules of Business of the Government and in the Rules of Procedure of the Legislative Assembly of the State; and
- (c) for any special responsibility of the Governor in order to secure the proper functioning of the Regional Committees.

The Punjab Regional Committees Order dated November 4, 1957, made by the President under Article 371, under which these Committees have been constituted, was shown to the Punjab Government and was issued with their concurrence.

4. As regards the status of these Committees, while it is true that unlike other Committees of a House of Legislature, these Committees have been constituted by a Presidential Order made under a special provision of the Constitution, they are, from the constitutional point of view, Committees of the Legislative Assembly of the State. In our two letters dated 14th December 1957 and 11th December 1958 to the Punjab Government in which we disposed of the specific issues:

- (a) whether the provisions in the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Punjab Legislative Assembly relating to privilege are applicable to the proceedings of the Regional Committees; and

- (b) whether provision could be made in the bye-laws of the Regional Committees regarding interpellations,

We clearly explained the position that:

- (a) the Committees are essentially the Committees of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business relating to the Committees of that Assembly will generally apply in respect of Regional Committees subject to the modifications contained in the Presidents Order;
- (b) in respect of matters not covered by the modifications, such as Rule 285, a regional committee is governed by the same rules as are applicable to any other committee of the Assembly; and
- (c) regional committees being the creatures of the Punjab Regional Committees Order, 1957 necessarily derive their power and the said Order, and shall have powers to the extent and in the manner provided by the Order itself.

In this connection a copy of the Home Minister's letter dated March 26, 1958 to Shri Balvant Rai Tayal, the then Chairman of the Hindi Regional Committee, on the subject of the status of the regional Committees is also placed below.

5. As regards the role of the Governor, it will be recalled that during the course of the negotiations with the Akali delegation it was suggested initially that like the Scottish Committee of the House of Commons, the Regional Committees might function on the basis of a convention. It was, however, strongly urged by the Akali delegation that this would prove inadequate and that specific provision should be made for arbitration in the case of disagreement between the Regional Committee on the one hand and the State Government or the Legislature on the other. It was in this context that provision was made in Article 371 of the Constitution empowering the President to provide for the special responsibility of the Governor.

6. Regarding the manner in which the Governor should exercise the responsibility cast on him, a copy of the letter which the Home Minister addressed to the Governor of Punjab indicating the manner in which the special responsibility was to be discharged, is enclosed. This letter and our two letters to the State Government referred to in paragraph 4 were issued in consultation with the Ministry of Law.

7. There are no other issues relating to the regional committees which were dealt with by the Home Minister recently. The constitutional issues raised in the Speaker's letter are covered by the existing provisions and interpretations. Regarding the difficulties which the recalcitrant attitude of any Committee might create, it may be stated that:



- (a) the ambit of consultation with the Committee is limited only to 14 subjects, and
- (b) one Regional Committee cannot block legislation in the other region in that the Punjab Regional Committees Order provides for legislation being adopted with such variation as may be necessary in its application to the two regions, and
- (c) in matters involving disagreement between the Legislature and Regional Committee it is not obligatory for the Governor to uphold the view of the Regional Committee; he has to take a decision on merits and has been advised to seek the advice of the Home Ministry on important matters.

(Hari Sharma)  
Additional Secretary

## 6. (c) K.Y. Bhandarkar's note on the functioning of the Regional Committees of Punjab

*[Refer to item 77]*

In connection with the minute of the Prime Minister dated the 9th May 1959 and the letter of the Speaker of Punjab Vidhan Sabha to which it refers I would invite attention to a copy of the note prepared by the Additional Secretary, Home Ministry on the same subject and sent to PPS to PM. The note sets out the views taken by the Home Ministry from time to time on various matters relating to the status and functioning of the Regional Committees of Punjab, many of the views having been formed in consultation with this Ministry.

2. The question for consideration of this Ministry which arises on the letter of the Speaker of Punjab Assembly is whether the Regional Committees are sub-legislatures as claimed by some members of the Committees. The Regional Committees owe their origin to the Punjab Regional Committees Order 1967 which was made by the President under clause (1) of article 371 of the Constitution. Clause (1) of the article gives power to the President to make order providing for the constitution and functions of the Regional Committees of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Andhra Pradesh and Punjab. Clause (1) also gives a power to the President to make modifications in the rules of business of the State Government and in the rules of procedure of the Legislative Assembly of the State and power is further given to the President to provide for any special responsibility of the Governor in order to secure proper functioning of the Regional Committees.

3. It is to be noted that though the formation of the Regional Committees is provided by the Constitution itself and in that sense those Committees may be said statutory committees, article 371 (1) clearly shows that the committees are Regional committees of the Legislative Assembly and cannot claim a separate existence of their own or to be independent of the Assembly.

4. Coming next to the Presidential Order made under article 371 (1), paragraph 3(1) of the Order provides for the constitution of two regional committees of the Assembly. Paragraphs 5 and 6 of the Order indicate that while the Regional Committee has only to report to the Assembly on the Bills referred to the Committee, it is the function of the Assembly to pass the Bills. This difference establishes the fact that the Committees cannot pass any legislation but can only report to the Assembly, like a Select Committee. In other words the Committees have no legislative or lawmaking power.

5. Again, under paragraph 7 of the Order, the Regional Committees can only recommend legislative action to the State Government. The Committee does not pass any legislative measures. The only two important functions conferred on the Regional Committee by the Presidential Order are those in paragraphs 5 and 7 and in both cases the conclusions of the Committee are to be expressed in the form of report or recommendation and not of legislative act like passing of a Bill. Moreover, when the Assembly does not agree with the Bill as reported by a Regional Committee, the matter has to go to the Governor. The Governor has to consider the Bill on its merits and is not bound to accept the Bill as reported by the Committee. This is made quite clear by Rule 171A (2) of the Punjab Assembly Rules as inserted by Third Schedule to the Presidential Order.

6. It follows from what is stated above that Regional Committees are only Committees of the Assembly though constituted by a constitutional order of the President and have no independent legislative functions. There conclusions are no doubt given special importance in the sense that they cannot be ignored by the Assembly and that if the Assembly differs from the Committee the Bill goes to the Governor whose decision is, for all practical purposes, final. But these facts do not make the Regional Committees any less the Committees of the Assembly or endow them with an independent legislative authority.

7. Dealing briefly with the arguments on the other side as set out in p.2 of the Speaker's letter, Regional Committees have a statutory position but are in no sense sub-legislatures, nor is it correct that Rules applying to other Committees of the Assembly do not apply to them. The Punjab Assembly Rules apply to them subject to such modifications as are set out in the Third Schedule to the Presidential Order. The fact that the Committees are not elected by the

Assembly or nominated by the Speaker only indicates their special constitution but does not mean that they have independent status. It is already pointed out that their being statutory bodies, does not lead to the inference that they acquire an independent status as legislative bodies. The Regional Committees are not subordinate to the Assembly in the sense in which other Committees of the Assembly are, but the fact that the Assembly's will does not prevail does not mean that the Committees are independent legislative bodies. When there is a difference of opinion, the Bill goes to the Governor for his decision and since the Governor is not bound to accept the report of the Committee, it cannot be said that the Committee passes legislation.

8. Talking all these matters into consideration the conclusion seems irresistible that the Regional Committees are Committees of the Assembly with a special statutory position assigned to them but not sub-legislatures or in any sense law-making bodies independent of the Assembly. The contrary argument advanced by some of the members of the Regional Committees does not seem to be correct. It follows from the view taken in this note that any claim made by the Regional Committees of having right to exercise powers which belong to the Assembly alone or which have not been conferred on the Regional Committees by the Rules, such as the power to ask questions to be answered by the executive Government, is not tenable.

K. Y. Bhandarkar  
26. 5. 1959

### Minister

I agree with the note of the Law Secretary. I fail to see any substance in the contention of any of the Regional Committees seeking to arrogate to themselves the status of a legislature.

A. K. Sen  
28. 5. 1959

### 7. (a) S. Sen's Note to Subimal Dutt<sup>5</sup>

*[Refer to item 315]*

I attach a copy of a note which was received from the Soviet authorities by our Embassy in Moscow. This note states that the Soviet Union wishes to be a member of the Regional Committee of WHO for South-East Asia and seeks

5. File No. 13(21)-UN I/59/pp. 9-12. MEA.

our support to this proposal.

2. The 12th session of WHO opens at Geneva tomorrow, May 12, and our delegation to it is led by the Health Minister himself. It is necessary to give some instructions to our delegation on the Soviet proposal before the end of the week.

3. WHO has a number of Regional Committees and the list at Slip 'A' gives the details. It will be seen that for South-East Asian region UK and Portugal are members. This is on the ground that for the external affairs of some of the areas in this region UK and Portugal are responsible. Under the rules, the countries which are responsible for external relations of any territory within the region can be represented in that Regional Committee. UK has been made a member of the Committee for the South East Asian region because she controls the external affairs of the Maladive; similarly, Portugal is a member of this Regional Committee because of Goa, Daman, etc. From time to time WHO Assembly have drawn up rules and regulations determining the criteria for admission of different countries to regional committees. Roughly speaking, the following criteria are taken into account in deciding if a particular State should be included in a specific region or not:

- (1) The wishes of the appropriate sovereign authority of the State or territory concerned;
- (2) Geographical position;
- (3) Similarity of health problems;
- (4) Economic aspects;
- (5) Administrative considerations; and
- (6) Relations between the various regions of WHO and the regional arrangements made by other international organizations.

4. When I first saw the Soviet proposal, I noted as follows:

“In these health matters we have to take a more practical point of view. It is evident that a large territory of the Soviet Union is adjacent to the countries who are already members of the WHO Regional Committee and it would, therefore, be useful to have the Soviet Union as a member. Even, legally speaking, some of the States of the Soviet Union enjoy a degree of autonomy and, therefore, one might say that areas like Uzbekistan, Kazakstan and Turkman SSR, for whose external relations the Soviet Government is responsible, should be represented in the Regional Committee. Even in the United Nations some of the States of the Soviet Union (e.g., Byelo-russia, Ukraine) are full members. In view of these considerations I think we should support the Soviet's inclusion in the Regional Committee.”

This was written before we had received the opinion of the Ministry of Health. They point out that if the Soviet Union is brought in, there will be

pressure from other adjacent areas (e.g., Iran) for inclusion in this region. Secondly, Pakistan, who is a member of the Eastern Mediterranean Region will certainly have a cast iron case for inclusion also; in the South East Asian Regional Committee. Thirdly, with the Soviet Union coming in, the discussions in the Regional Committee will take more and more a cold war aspect. (This is a doubtful argument because the United Kingdom is already in this Regional Committee and one might argue that the presence of the Soviet Union would balance the influence of the UK). But the main reason for the objections of the Ministry of Health is that until the present India has been the most important member in this Regional Committee and has generally controlled its activities and that with the acceptance of Pakistan and Soviet Union, this position of India would be severely undermined. For these reasons, the Ministry of Health are of the opinion that we should not agree to Soviet Union joining this Regional Committee.

6. Because of the views I have expressed in paragraph 4 above, I would find it difficult to recommend an outright rejection of the Soviet proposal. It would, however, seem that the Soviet Union should perhaps be more appropriately included in the Eastern Mediterranean region (this title is rather a misnomer as can be seen from the composition of the Committee of this region). I think that we should ask our delegation to discuss this matter with the Soviet Delegation in Geneva and see if the Soviet Government would be satisfied with membership of the Eastern Mediterranean region. They can use some of the arguments given by the Ministry of Health for our reluctance to include her in the South East Asian Regional Committee. If, however, the Soviet Union does not accept our suggestion, then we shall have no alternative but to oppose the proposal after making clear our reasons before the Assembly. (I need hardly add that the Americans are opposed to the Soviet proposal).

(S. Sen)

11 May 1959

## 7. (b) N. R. Pillai's Note to Nehru

*[Refer to item 315]*

F.S., who received this file late in the evening yesterday, has asked me to deal with it. In a routine note to me he has said that he has not had time to study the papers in detail but he feels that there is little justification for lending our support to the proposal made by the U.S.S.R., however much we object to the inclusion of the U.K. and Portugal in the Committee in question.

2. The paper at slip 'A' shows the composition of the different Regional Committees of W.H.O. Certain peculiarities are easily observable:

- (1) The division of countries as between the South-East Asia Committee and the Western Pacific Committee is somewhat arbitrary. It is curious that Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam are put on the Western Pacific Committee. It is even more curious that Malaya is included in that Committee and not in the Committee for South-East Asia.
- (2) No country serves on more than one committee except the U.K. and Portugal which are members of the Committee for Europe as well as the Committee for South-East Asia. Though both these countries have colonial territories in Africa and one in the American Region in addition, neither is a member of the Committee for Africa or that for America.
- (3) Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine are separately represented on the Committee for Europe.

3. I think myself that it would be difficult to support the U.S.S.R. in its claim for a seat on the South-East Asia Committee. It would set up an awkward precedent, for the U.S.S.R. could then claim, for precisely the same reasons, inclusion in the Committees for the Western Pacific Region and the Eastern Mediterranean Region. Further, it might start a train of similar demands from other countries, notably Pakistan which could advance an even more convincing case for membership of the South-East Asia Committee.

4. The presence of the U.K. and Portugal on the South-East Asia Committee is clearly an anomaly, and thought must be given to the question of how best this anomaly can be rectified. Clearly, this purpose could not be served by making the situation even more complicated by the admission of the U.S.S.R. I think we should be candid with the Soviet Government and advise them against the proposal they have made, pointing out how this might produce a chain reaction which would affect the functioning of these Committees. We should stress in particular the certainty of a similar demand by Pakistan and the consequences that might then follow.

5. J.S. has suggested that we should enquire from the Soviet Government whether they would be satisfied with membership of the Committee for the Eastern Mediterranean Region. As we are in no position to put such a deal through, and as in any case this would open up wider problems, I am not in favour of our getting involved in such a move.

(N. R. Pillai)

12 May 1959

**8. (a) R. N. Goenka to Mahavir Tyagi<sup>6</sup>***[Refer to item 154]*

Madras

11th May, 1959

(Extract)

My dear Tyagiji,

Unless the Government of India stops encouraging the bad elements amongst Working Journalists who unfortunately have captured the leadership of the profession, we shall see the end of most of the newspapers. I shall say no more.

I have already sacrificed practically my life's work in Madras. I may have to sacrifice what is left of it in Delhi, Bombay and Madurai. This, you will appreciate, is most painful for me. But there appears to be no option left.

I had built this organisation for the last 26 years not because I expected any monetary return from it but because I had a vain feeling that posterity will remember me.

Do not be amazed when I tell you that I never received a farthing either as dividend or as interest on the money invested. In fact, I had to find money elsewhere to keep it going. But, what an organisation; 15% of the total circulation of the newspapers belonged to it.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

R.N. Goenka

**8. (b) Mahavir Tyagi to Nehru<sup>7</sup>***[Refer to item 154]*

May 13, 1959

(Extract)

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I am enclosing herein a copy of Goenka's letter to Nandaji. He has sent this to me in the hope that I would take an unprejudiced view of the situation and might try to acquaint the Government with the seriousness of the situation obtaining in the newspapers world of India today. I have read the whole note with care, and coupled with my personal acquaintance with the affairs of many other Newspaper-houses, I am convinced that in dealing with the problem of

6. File No. 43(103)/57- 62-PMS.

7. File No. 43(103)/57- 62-PMS.

journalism, we have not acted absolutely dispassionately with a firm and positive mind keeping in view the long-range prosperity of the profession of journalism. It is indeed impossible for any trade to prosper when the relations between the employees and the employer become so strained and hostile as is the case between the working journalists on one side and the Editorial and managerial staff on the other. In my opinion, the situation warrants rejudgment of the policy. Whatever the Government might think of Goenka and his behavior, we cannot deny him his rights and privileges in law.

Yours sincerely,  
Mahavir Tyagi

## 9. Swaran Singh to Nehru<sup>8</sup>

[Refer to item 314]

May 12, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I leave day after tomorrow for Moscow with Manubhai, Khera, Jha and Raghupathi. I have had a meeting with the other members of the delegation so that we are clear in our minds what the scope of the delegation is. In accordance with your wishes, we shall take the opportunity of our visit to review the progress of projects set up with Soviet collaboration and explore, in a very general way, the prospect of further collaboration in technical, scientific, economic and industrial fields.

There was also a meeting yesterday in N.R. Pillai's room with the officials accompanying me. They took the opportunity of B. K. Nehru's presence here to discuss generally, what the prospects of assistance from other countries are likely to be and what line should be taken in the USSR to ensure that our approach is a part of the whole. It was mentioned at the meeting that a figure of about Rs.2500 crores may be the likely additional foreign exchange requirement over the period of the Third Plan. It was also pointed out that in the context of increasing strain on our resources and the nature of assistance likely to be coming from other countries, credit from the Soviet Union as from other countries, would have to be for a much longer period than about twelve years to which we have so far been accustomed in our dealings with that country. Obviously, when we attempt to explore the extent of assistance, we have to be prepared to give them an idea of the kind of things for which we want this assistance. We should

8. File No. 17(214)/56-66-PMS.



also tell them what the general economic position in the country is. But it seems to me, and this is confirmed by the discussions which Khera and others have had with N.R. Pillai and B.K. Nehru, that we should not discuss any specific project or show any anxiety to prefer Soviet assistance for any particular line of industries.

As to projects and other matters which are more or less committed, but which are still under discussion or negotiation, (such as the Barauni Refinery, the Drugs Project, and so on), the delegation will attend to any marked bottlenecks or difficulties; but will not do the detailed negotiations or discussions, these being done by people who will be specially detailed separately. For future collaboration, we will have a somewhat "global" approach, and it will be a rather exploratory exercise, so as to be able to report on return to Delhi as to what would be a feasible and practical degree of collaboration and technical and economic assistance covering roughly the period of our Third Plan, with an illustrative list of the kinds of projects over which the collaboration could extend. The actual projects would have to be sorted out and selected, after due assessment of priorities and resources, on our return to India and as part of the Planning for the Third Plan period. Any semblance of a "shopping list" is best avoided at this stage. I emphasise this because as you know there is always the likelihood of the Russians taking literally whatever may be mentioned in passing and perhaps without adequate clearance and backing in respect of specific projects and items.

You will notice that this approach is no different to what we have been discussing in the last few days and I trust you agree with this. I am sending a copy of this letter to Morarjibhai and Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Yours sincerely,  
Swaran Singh

## 10. Humayun Kabir to Nehru<sup>9</sup>

[Refer to item 223]

May 13, 1959

Thank you for your letter No.1106-PMH/59 of May 11, 1959, which I received last night on return from Ceylon. It was good of you to send me the letter from Hiren Mukerjee enclosing a translation of one of Tagore's poems.

Regarding the amphitheatre or stadium at Nagarjunakonda, you will remember that we had originally asked that this may be bodily removed to the

9. File No. 1/1957-59, Humayun Kabir papers, NMML.

new site on top of the hill. The engineers were unanimous that this could not be done as it is made of brick and has already started to crumble. When I went to Nagarjunakonda about three months ago, I learnt that the Committee in charge had left it out of the list of monuments to be preserved on account of its fragile nature. I immediately asked that if it could not be bodily removed, a full scale model must be reconstructed above the water level. I mentioned this in Parliament and I am therefore a little surprised that Hiren should bring up the question once again. If anything could be done, I would certainly go all out for doing so, but where it is just impossible, I think the only things we can do is to select the second best alternative.

Regarding the translations of Tagore's poems, there will always be room for difference of opinion. I am sorry if some of mine – I don't think I have done more than three or four in all – "appalled" him. Tagore himself liked the ones he saw and you also had liked the one I did recently. Another translation of mine was the only poem of Tagore included in the India number of "Poetry" published in U.K. and U.S.A. In any case, I feel I would rather have a fairly competent translation than none at all. Translation of poetry is perhaps more difficult than writing an original poem and yet if we do not fall back upon translations, a greater part of the world's literature would remain a closed book to us. Also, I think a reader can perhaps get more out of a good translation in his own language than from the original, unless he happens to know the language of the original almost as well as his own mother tongue. We are trying to bring out as good translations as possible for the Tagore Centenary. If Hiren himself would do a few translations, it would be a greater service than if he simply criticises others who have undertaken such translations.

Hiren and I have known one another now for almost 40 years. I know he thinks I am impetuous and I have always told him that he worries over everything far too much. It is curious that while we have a basic agreement on many things, we have differed again and again on specific issues. I remember his sharp criticism when he accused me of being an internationalist and devotee of Tagore in 1924 and again in 1931 when I criticised Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya while moving a vote of thanks during his visit to Oxford. Within a few years, Hiren became a Communist and ever since been accusing me of being a narrow nationalist and placing Indian interests above those of the Communist international. I have always been telling him that he has not changed – he remains a Guruvadi as always, only his Gurus are no longer the ancient Rishis of India but the new commissars of the Soviet Union.

I am returning Hiren's letter and the translation of the poem.

(Humayun Kabir)

## 11. The Earl of Home to Nehru<sup>10</sup>

*[Refer to item 340]*

London, S.W.I,  
14th May, 1959

My dear Prime Minister,

Your Government recently sent us an aide memoire about developments in the Central African Federation and an official reply is now on its way and should reach you shortly. But knowing as I do your own deep interest in Commonwealth evolution and since I have lately been able to see things for myself on the spot, I should like to supplement the official reaction by this personal letter.

I need not rehearse to you the pattern of change from Empire to Commonwealth. It is enough to say that the vast bulk of the formerly dependent Colonies now consists of countries which are fully independent but there are some important chapters to complete and they are not easy to write especially in the East and Central Africa.

In the West of Africa, the picture is different. The European is a tenant while the African all along the coast has had hundreds of years of contact with commerce and has a considerable knowledge of administration and economic realities. Even there I am afraid that independence is going to bring some severe set-backs to democracy as it is understood in our older countries. I am going to Ghana this week and will be able to see what their intentions are with regard to the Judiciary and the Law Courts. Some of their actions have given rise to a lot of disquiet but they may not be as bad as they sound.

But when one goes to Central Africa it is clear that the traditional pattern of progress to complete independence is not open to us. Both European and African as well, of course, as the Asians claim their absolute right to have their home there and to retain the properties in their possession. It is really impossible to contest this claim, while it is clear beyond doubt that the two main communities are utterly dependent on each other for the future if living standards are to be preserved and improved.

For instance all the wealth and opportunity which the African peasant enjoys has been created by outside capital and unless there is to be an utter and complete collapse and reversion to the most primitive subsistence, political change must occur in such a way as not to disrupt the country's economy. For this reason we cannot possibly solve the problems of self-government as we have done in the cases of Ghana and will do in the case of Nigeria. Africans, Europeans and Asians must learn to live together in harmony.

10. File No: REP-11/59-AFR-II, Vol-II, pp. 181-186. MEA.

When I have visited the Federation I have found among thinking Africans and Europeans a complete acceptance that the sole future for their country lies not in the domination of one race by the other which, as an ultimate objective is to us as to you quite unacceptable, but in partnership and by that the best of them mean absolute equality, social political and economic.

The rub is, of course, in the getting there.

I have found two fears each of which has some validity. The fear of the African that the European will use wealth and experience to stymie legitimate African advance and the fear of the European that the African will use his numbers (before he had learned the responsibilities of political rights and power) to make the European position untenable.

It will take a lot of time and patience to get these fears out of the system but I am sure it can be done.

I noticed, as compared to two years ago, a very welcome change in Southern Rhodesia political circles towards racial segregation. Whitehead had three Bills going through his parliament. A multi-racial Hotels Bill – an Apprentice Bill to assist Africans – and a multi-racial Trades Union Bill. Separate entrances to Post Offices are now to be abolished and I am sure it won't be long before all over the Federation racial distinctions on the railways follow suit. Of course, all these habits seem wrong to us but the great thing is that they are disappearing fast in Rhodesia; as in the southern states of the U.S.A.

African Congress however seem to be turning towards the worst forms of nationalism. They have, although they are fully aware of the consequences, adopted the most extreme slogans as for instance Mr. Mboya's "The European must scam out of Africa" and are undoubtedly using intimidation to enlist the ignorant African to support violent tactics. It was clear to me that the moderate thoughtful African is much more afraid of these gentlemen than he is of the European.

The immediate and convenient target is the political structure of Federation. I think it is clear beyond dispute that economically it is 100% justified and that the participation of Nyasaland which benefits to the extent of £5 million a year from the Federal exchequer is fully warranted. The population of Nyasaland increases by 3% a year and industry and capital are essential if it is not to become an African slum. As part of the Federation it can have a prosperous future as it could not under any other system. Alone it could never attract capital or enjoy prosperity.

Of course bread and butter isn't everything: but it is a lot in the life of a people, and if the Africans can be assured that their rights in land and in their country's internal politics are safeguarded beyond doubt, as it is our intention they should be, then I think it is certain Federation is really the best answer.

Certainly eminent and liberal Europeans like Tredgold and Todd are convinced this is so.

If the Federation was to break by the secession of any one of its units Southern Rhodesia could put a brave face on it for a short time but economic and security situations would force them to look towards South Africa. All that would have been accomplished then would have been to bring "apartheid" up to the Zambesi.

I think I have said enough in a letter already long to show the statesmanship which will be required if we are to steer the communities in this part of Africa into solutions based on tolerance.

Sometime if you will allow me I would like to touch on the questions raised by the desire of the Federation for full Commonwealth membership. While in a practical sense they already enjoy many of the advantages of such membership there is no doubt that in other ways they feel very acutely the fact that, as the Commonwealth grows, they are always twelfth man. For Southern Rhodesia, which would have been accepted as a full member in 1953 if they hadn't tied themselves up with the two northern territories, it is particularly frustrating. But meanwhile what is needed is another period of experiment and adaptation to test the political structure.

I am afraid this letter has taken up a bit of your precious time but so much is at stake in Central Africa that I have been so bold as to inflict it on you.

Yours Sincerely  
Home

## 12. (a) D.P. Anand's Note on *Lolita*<sup>11</sup>

[Refer to item 240]

Shri D.F. Karaka in his letter dated 5.5.59 had written to F.M. forwarding cuttings from the '*Current*' regarding the book '*Lolita*'. He had stated that the book glorifies the sexual relations of a grown up man with a child of 11 or 13 years and that the whole thing was quite disgusting. The cutting from the *Current* suggested that the book should be banned as obscene.

2. As it had been stated in the cutting from the '*Current*' referred to that a consignment of the book had been detained by the Collector of Customs for examination, a report on the matter was called for from the Collector of Customs,

11. 16 May 1959. File No. 20/5/59. MHA.

Bombay. He was also asked to send a copy of the book for examination here since the book was a matter involving a major controversy. An effort was also made to obtain the book locally, as it had been stated that the book was available in the Delhi market but enquiries from all the leading book sellers in Delhi only revealed that a copy was not available here.

3. The Collector's report has since been received. He had detained the consignment on 6.4.59 for examination as the book had been the subject of international controversy. An English Edition was at one time banned in France by the French Government although the ban was lifted later on. As per the practice of the Custom house he had referred the book to the local police authorities to see if it would come within the mischief of the Ministry of Finance Notification, Customs-No. 77 dated 22.9.56, which places a ban on the import of obscene, indecent or scurrilous matter. He also referred the case to the local branch of the Ministry of Law for opinion. Both the Ministry of Law at Bombay as well as the Commissioner of Police, Greater Bombay, have held that the book does not come within the mischief of the ban on obscene literature. The Collector has also come to the conclusion that the book cannot be called grossly indecent or obscene and no action is called for under section 18(c) of the Sea Customs Act or under the Ministry of Finance, Customs Notification No. 77 dated 22.9.56.

In view of the enquiry made by us regarding this case, the Collector has not yet released the consignment and has requested immediate orders in the matter.

4. The importers of the consignment Messrs Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, have represented to F.M. in their letters dated 13.5.1959 and 14.5.1959 that Shri Karaka has suggested the banning of the book for ulterior motives. They have forwarded the comments of various eminent reviewers of books both in India and abroad such as the *Times of India*, *Indian Express*, *Shankar's Weekly*, *The Daily Express*, *The Blitz*, *The Observer*, *The Spectator*, *The Daily Mail*, etc. to show that the book is not obscene or pornographic. A news paper report states that the British Customs have confiscated a book but this is not a decision of a court. It does not seem the matter has yet been examined there and we need not be guided by this report.

5. A copy of the book is placed on the file. A brief summary of the book is contained in the review by the *Shankar's Weekly* and in the note of the Ministry of Law, Bombay Branch.

6. From the opinion given by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay and our Law Ministry (Bombay Branch) and the Collector of Customs, Bombay, it would appear that the book cannot be held as objectionable from our point of view. However, after F.M. has seen, it is proposed to show the papers to the

Ministry of Home Affairs also who are the Ministry concerned with nature of literature to be banned and orders will be issued to the Collector in the light of the advice which that Ministry may give.

(D.P. Anand)  
MEMBER (CUSTOMS)

## 12. (b) Morarji Desai's Note on *Lolita*

[Refer to item 240]

I do not know what book can be called obscene if this cannot be. It is sex perversion. Home Ministry should be consulted.

Morarji Desai  
18.5.59  
Finance Minister.

## 12. (c) N. Sahgal's Note on *Lolita*

[Refer to item 240]

Shri A.K. Roy, Finance Secretary informed me this morning that this file dealing with the import of book '*Lolita*' should be submitted to PM, as some people have requested to meet him about it.

We received the file from the Finance Ministry on the evening of the 21st May and have therefore not had time to read it and formulate our views. Since the Finance Minister has expressed his opinion, we would have to show the papers to our Minister also. We have accordingly requested the CBR to let us have a copy of '*Lolita*' to enable us to examine it, should our view be required.

PM may wish to see these papers before discussing the question of its import, with the people who desire to speak to him. PPS to PM may kindly submit the file to him.

N. Sahgal  
23.5.59  
Jt. Secy.

**12. (d) R.V. Pandit to Nehru<sup>12</sup>**

[Refer to item 240]

Bombay  
June 10, 1959

Dear Sir,

Please permit us to take this opportunity to thank you for your interest in the Lolita affair; we have just been informed by the Collector of Customs, Bombay, that the consignment of 'Lolita' is to be released forthwith.

We are ever so grateful to you for having given us a long hearing inspite of your many preoccupations. It was indeed embarrassing for us to bother you with this trifle matter, but larger issues than merely a commercial transaction were involved in this matter and we are glad to have acquainted you with the artificially contrived situation that locked up 'Lolita' for two months.

We are sending by separate post, a copy of 'Lolita' with a request to accept the same with our compliments.

Thanking you,  
Yours faithfully,  
For JAICO PUBLISHERS HOUSE  
R.V. PANDIT

**12. (e) Gajinder Singh's Note on Lolita<sup>13</sup>**

[Refer to item 240]

(Excerpt)

The Honorary Secretary of the Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Associations in India has suggested that a Censor Board may be set up on the lines of the Film Censor Board to examine imported publications suspected to be "grossly indecent or obscene" and decide whether they should be allowed to circulate in the country. While contending that Customs authorities have erred 'in more cases than one' in assessment of obscenity, he feels that such a Board might function as a guiding body for importers of controversial books and save them unnecessary expense, anxiety and loss.

Similar views have also been expressed in the *Times of India*, wherein it is categorically expressed that such a delicate matter should not be left to the

12. S. A. 5. Chairman's File Part. V, 1958-1960, Sahitya Akademi Records.

13. 20 June 1959. File No. 41/5/59-Poll., p. 2. MHA.



whim or caprice of one official but should vest in a committee of experts. Mr. Pothan Joseph in an article in the *Shankar's Weekly* also hints at a Board, and with sarcasm. *Statesman's* editorial though not very critical of the present machinery suggests that there should be surer judges of literary and artistic works – authors and critics.

P.M. has also in his minute recorded in connection with the “*Lolita*” case stated that censorship in general is not likeable and that it is an unfair burden cast upon the Customs and Police, as they have not been trained for the task.

Gajinder Singh  
Under Secretary

### 13. (a) Lal Bahadur Shastri to Nehru<sup>14</sup>

[Refer to item 202]

18th May, 1959

You had sent me a copy of the letter you wrote to Sardar Swaran Singhji. You referred to this also in one of the informal meetings of the Ministers. We had some discussions in our Ministry and we intend to draw up our proposals in accordance with the lines suggested by you in your letter. A great deal of the kind of talent and experience required for the preparation of project reports exists in the country, particularly in the public sector. Our immediate problem is to pool this knowledge. At present, the people who can undertake such responsibility by virtue of their past experience are scattered and dispersed and are often dealing with routine matters. What we think we should try to do is to build up an organisation through which their services can be mobilised for the major tasks ahead.

Without going into details, I would like to say that our general approach would be as follows:

- (a) We should set up in the public sector a consultancy organisation;
- (b) This organisation should be free to draw upon the technical knowledge and expertise existing within industrial units in India both in the public sector and in the private sector. Where these are not enough to cover the whole project, the same organization would make use of specialists outside the country.
- (c) In the case of an entirely new line of production, where there is not sufficient expertise available within the country, the engagement of

14. File No. 17(325)/58-59-PMS.

foreign agencies may have to be considered. As for example, in the case of drugs and perhaps also in the field of heavy machinery to be set up in Ranchi by the Soviet Russia, the help and assistance of the foreign consultants might become essential. However, even in this, our Central Consultancy Organisation should remain in the picture as a check on the advice and views of any foreign agencies that are engaged. They can also learn the new techniques if they keep in touch with them.

- (d) The development of designing facilities in the country should receive very high priority.

I am informed that the Committee of Economic Secretaries has also considered this subject. Sardar Swaran Singhji before he left told me that he would like to discuss the matter fully on his return and we might then put up a final scheme, which could be placed before the Cabinet also.

Yours affectionately,  
Lal Bahadur

### 13. (b) K.P.S. Menon to Nehru<sup>15</sup>

[Refer to item 161]

#### TOP SECRET

Minister Swaran Singh had two hours interview with KHRUSHCHEV this morning. MANUBHAI SHAH and I were present .

2. Minister gave concise account of our Third Five Year Plan as conceived by us. When he mentioned 25 Billiards as our probable foreign exchange requirement KHRUSHCHEV observed MAHAIANOBIS had mentioned 10 or 15 Billiards. "Evidently" he said "appetite grows with the eating." Minister explained discrepancy and pointed out that MAHALANOBIS had made underestimate. Such discrepancies occur in the Soviet Union also, said KHRUSHCHEV.

Minister asked for rough indication of extent of Soviet aid we might expect under Third Five Year Plan. KHRUSHCHEV said that he would be prepared to give an idea after consultation with organisations concerned. He advised us however to keep figures secret. It was in our interest to keep America guessing; they suffered from an anti-Communist complex and India might as well take maximum benefit from it.

15. Telegram No. 122, 19 May 1959. File No. 17(214)/56-66-PMS.

KHRUSHCHEV made some general observations such as need of flexibility in our targets and danger of placing too heavy a burden on the people. Events in Hungary and Poland were partly result of too rapid and indiscriminate industrialisation. KHRUSHCHEV added our political system was different from theirs and therefore we had to be specially careful lest there should be political complications.

5. Minister began by presenting your letter to KHRUSHCHEV. KHRUSHCHEV said that even before reading it he felt it could contain nothing but good and spoke warmly of your services for India and cause of peace.

6. Visit of delegation is proving remarkably successful. Full text of interview with KHRUSHCHEV and MIKOYAN follows by bag.

#### 14. Bhimsen Sachar to Rajendra Prasad<sup>16</sup>

*[Refer to item 186]*

20 May 1959

3. The food position in the State continues to be disturbing. Prices are steadily rising, and the common man is extremely critical that it has not been possible for the Government to control them even in this surplus State. As the press reports in this connection and the representations made to me wherever I go, continue to reveal the existence of genuine distress among the people, I obtained a note from the secretariat on the food situation in the State, and also discussed the matter recently with the Chief Minister in some detail. I give below a summary of my impressions of the case.

The Government of India issued an order on the 14th September 1957 controlling the prices of rice in the surplus districts of East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur. They also introduced a scheme of procurement in these districts at the controlled prices. These measures helped to check the upward trend of rice prices, which had become noticeable at the beginning of that year. On the 30th December 1957, the Government of India reduced rice prices by about Rs. 1.50 per maund. The State Government thereupon represented that the revised prices were very low and uneconomical to the producer, and pleaded for the restoration of the original prices fixed in September 1957. After nearly a year the Government of India agreed to increase the prices of certain fine varieties of rice, but not of the common varieties.

Ever since the introduction of price controls, there have been reports of the violation of the Price Control Order. The Government of India feel that it is the

16. Extracts from paragraph 3. File No.31 (30)/56-61-PMS.

responsibility of the State Government to enforce the Order and prosecute the offenders. The State Government, on the other hand, think that as instances of violation of the Order are detected in the course of procurement, and as procurement work is done by the Government of India officials, these officials themselves may prosecute the offenders. I might say in this connection that in January 1958 the State Government had suggested that they might be entrusted with the procurement work, but this request was negatived presumably because the Central Government staff had already been appointed and had begun their work. This year, however the Government of India entrusted the State Government with the task of procuring 4 lakh tons of rice. A scheme was prepared here to procure this quantity not only from the four main surplus districts of East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna and Guntur but also from five other districts, viz., Nellore, Nizamabad, Warrangal, Srikakulam and Chittoor. While examining this scheme the State Government realised the difficulties created for procurement work by the functioning of the Southern Rice Zone. As you know, this Zone consists of the States of Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, and Kerala, and although Andhra Pradesh itself is a surplus state, the Zone is a deficit area, and free exports of rice are permitted on private account within the Zone. It is common knowledge here that the Kerala Government has been lifting rice in sizable quantities from this State to meet its own deficit. The exportable surplus from the State is only about 6 lakh tons, and nearly half this quantity is believed to have already been moved out. Any further exports on private account would make it impossible for the State Government to fulfil its obligation to procure the required 4 lakh tons. The state Government, therefore, while forwarding their scheme of procurement to the Government of India, informed them that the procurement of four lakh tons of rice would be possible only if Andhra Pradesh was constituted into a zone by itself and exports to other States controlled. The Government of India did not agree to this suggestion, but extended the Price Control Order to the five new districts of Nellore, Nizamabad, Warangal, Srikakulam and Chittoor, and proceeded to procure rice stocks from all the nine surplus districts in the State. These procurement operations, coupled with the free exports on private account to other States of the Zone, have resulted in a heavy off-take of rice, and there has been an unprecedented and unwarranted rise in prices. The State Government have now requested the Centre that their procurement in the five new districts be stopped, and the Price Control Order withdrawn from this area. They have also renewed their request for the imposition of a ban on exports from the State. The Government of India's orders on these requests have not been received so far.

Yet another request of the State Government was for permission to procure

one lakh tons of rice from the surplus districts in the Circars to meet the emergency which threatens to arise as a result of the abnormal increase in prices. I am glad to say that the Union Food Minister has agreed to the State Government going ahead with this scheme.

I might add in this connection that the introduction of controlled prices in the districts of Warangal and Nizamabad has had a very disturbing effect. There have recently been large exports from these two districts which now face artificial scarcity conditions during the lean months from July to October. The Government of India have been requested telegraphically to issue an order prohibiting the export of rice from these two districts. In Nellore prices have gone up so abnormally, that the Collector has recommended the immediate purchase of 20,000 bags of rice from the Kesari crop which will be harvested at the end of this month.

I am very sorry to have to say that the present position is extremely unsatisfactory. The existing difference of opinion between the State Government and the Centre in regard to the prices of rice, the surplus available for export and the method to be adopted for its procurement, and the need for a ban on exports from the State, should be resolved as early as possible. My own view is that procurement work should be entrusted to the State Government who can then effectively enforce the Price Control Order and that the Export of rice to other States on private account should be banned. The difficulties pointed out by the state Government are genuine, and deserve sympathetic consideration. I am afraid there is a feeling in Government of India circles, that the State Government are not cooperating with them in implementation of their food policy. I can unhesitatingly state that this impression is not justified. The State Government are very anxious to co-operate, but feel that their difficulties are not fully appreciated by the Centre. I hope the Government of India will in consultation with the State Government, evolve a policy which a State Government can implement without difficulty, so that while the surplus rice here may be made available for the Centre, the unnecessarily complicated food situation created in the State may be resolved, I suggest very early action in this connection.

**15. N.V. Gadgil to Nehru***[Refer to item 81]*

Manali

25 May 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I arrived here this morning from Kulu. I have been touring Kangra district for the last 3-4 days and in that connection I came here. This morning I met a number of traders and prominent citizens from the Lahaul and Spiti area beyond which is Tibet. I spent about an hour with them. Some of them are members of the Tribal Advisory Committee of the Punjab. The trade between Tibet and this part of Kulu Valley or rather Lahaul and Spiti valleys is there over centuries. The trade, however, is seasonal. It begins round about the beginning of June and continues about the end of October. The total value of trade, according to these gentlemen, comes to about Rs.40 lakhs. This obviously is a very rough calculation. The important point to note is that traders and merchants from our side give money in advance to the suppliers and producers of wool and Pashmina in Tibet. These advances are to the extent of 30 lakhs of rupees. The advances are made towards the end of October and from the next June the goods are received by Indian merchants. Apart from wool and Pashmina, there are no other articles worth mentioning which are imported by India. The main exports from our side are Kut – a kind of a herb which is of high medicinal value and tea. It is exported in large quantities to Tibet. In other words, the export and import trade is round about Rs.80 lakhs per year.

2. The Lahaul and Spiti area is not green and lovely as the proper Kulu Valley and all kinds of commodities, food, clothes, etc, are sent to this area through Manali. The people live practically on meat, milk, and I am told by my visitors that 50% of them do not know the use of cereals. Any way, the fact remains that people in this area are mostly dependent upon trade with Tibet and for their supply of necessities on the adjoining part, namely, Kulu Valley. They are, therefore, very much disturbed over the events that have happened recently in Tibet. Their information is very meagre but from what little I could gather was to this effect that the Khampas have not turned to this side of Tibet and, therefore, there is no active resistance to the Chinese. The old-styled arms were surrendered. Census of property, both movable and immovable, has been done by the Chinese without any resistance. The feelings of my visitors are that the Chinese are cruel. It means that they are ruthless in whatever they do. My visitors are also afraid that their religion may not be honoured by the Chinese but none of the visitors have any recent contact with the people in Tibet. There are two ways through which trade is carried – one is Rohtang, then through a part of Kashmir territory, and then Tibet. The other is directly from Spiti into

Tibet. The visitors suggested that there was a Brigade at some place called Karlog in Kashmir territory. A contingent of Punjab Armed Police is also at Lahaul. What they suggested was that if there was any possibility of trouble, it was in the area of Spiti or near about. I merely listened to them.

3. What they are concerned most is resumption of their trade now that June is near at hand. They wanted to know whether the Government of India would allow them to resume trade and whether passport arrangements would be made as usual. I told them that they should contact the Government of India and I was informed that some of them were leaving for Delhi almost in a day or two and perhaps would see you also. If the trade is resumed and takes its normal course, there is no problem so far as people in the area of Lahaul and Spiti are concerned. If for any reason trade is not resumed, then the position of these people would be miserable. Apart from losing means of livelihood which they have had over centuries, the advances to the extent of Rs.30 lakhs made as usual will not be recoverable. It is not unlikely that the economy there and the trade pattern there will be of the nature one now finds in China. In other words, it may be State trading. From one point of view, it may be good. From the other point of view, it may be very difficult. I have, advised them, however, to form a trade association so that they could find it easier to have facilities from the Government of India and perhaps at the relevant moment from the Government of Tibet. About two years ago, they suffered great damage on account of exceptional heavy snowfall. An amount of Rs.5 lakhs was given to them by way of loan and the time has now come for its recovery. I suggest that in view of their present predicament, it would be better if the Government of India either writes off that amount or, at any rate, suspends its recovery till such time as may be considered desirable.

4. On my way to Manali this morning from Kulu, I found a number of people who obviously were not local people living in small tents at various places. While talking to my visitors, this morning, I learnt that about a thousand people, partly Khampas, partly Tibetans, have entered into Punjab through the border between Tibet and Punjab. I do not know whether the police officers have noted this. Myself, I thought that they were some tribes as we find in the whole of India who move from place to place but it was only here this morning that I learnt that they are non-Indians, as stated above, Tibetans and Khampas. I have directed the police officers quietly to make enquiries and submit to me a report about their movements. I like you to take notice of this and direct us to deal with them from time to time. The deputationists also requested that the Government of India should give more for the uplift of the people in Lahaul and Spiti area. For Himachal Pradesh, Government has given huge funds and development is taking rapidly in that area. Some development undoubtedly is

taking in Lahaul and Spiti area but if more could be done, it would go a long way off. There is no panic whatsoever except the anxiety about this trade.

5. I am writing this from the Forest Bungalow where you lived for a few days last year. The weather is excellent and the scenery, one need not say, is the best in this country. Many people are here as visitors including Justice Bhagwati and half a dozen lawyers from Bombay. They all complained about inadequacy of facilities. Some prominent citizens from Manali also met and suggested that if it was possible to introduce airplane service between Delhi and Kulu Valley, the tourist traffic would go up and that would mean some work and some money for local people also. It is for the Government of India to consider but I think we should develop this side of our activities also. Punjab can boast of half a dozen good hill stations, such as Dalhousie, Simla, Dharamsala, Kulu, Manali, etc. I will be here for another day and after stopping a day at Dharamsala where I distribute certificates to Election Officers, who did wonderful work during the last general elections, I return to Chandigarh on 28th afternoon.

**16. (a) Master Tara Singh to Nehru<sup>17</sup>**

*[Refer to item 38]*

May 25, 1959

My dear Panditji,

1. I regret to have to write to you again so soon after that agreed statement of 12th April, 1959.

2. It is in connection with the affairs of the Delhi Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. This is a registered body and all the historic Delhi Gurdwaras are administered by it. A long time back along with certain friends I persuaded this Committee to voluntarily associate itself with the S.G.P.C. which it did.

3. When Giani Kartar Singh, to earn merit in certain quarters, by a precarious majority of three succeeded in getting control over the S.G.P.C., he attempted to substitute Delhi Gurdwara Committee by a committee of supporters of his own. Giani's S.G.P.C. arbitrarily dissolved the Delhi Gurdwara Committee and illegally nominated its own ad hoc committee.

4. Delhi Gurdwara committee refused to submit to these illegal orders and took the matter of the control of the S.G.P.C. over it to court, where these cases are subjudice. Gianiji undeterred by such legal quibbles, however, marched a body of some two hundred desperadoes from Amritsar to capture Delhi

17. File No. 40/2/59-Poll., pp. 53-54, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.



Gurdwaras by force in the end of March, 1959 from this "recalcitrant" committee. That attempt on Sis Ganj Gurdwara however fizzled out, but in the struggle one man was killed. That case is subjudice and I would say nothing about it. But I cannot refrain from stating that although Gurdwara Sis Ganj is next door to the Headquarters of the City Police not a single assailant from Amritsar was taken into custody. I would request you to kindly look up the newspaper records of those days which speak for themselves.

5. Gianiji is however not a man to care for any scruples. This time he converted the Canal Rest House of the Punjab Government on Alipore Road in Delhi into his headquarters for his expedition against the Delhi Gurdwaras, where he has been staying since 20th of this month along with Sardar Prem Singh Lalpura, his President of the S.G.P.C. and his other friends. The meetings have been taking place either at Sardar Raghbir Panjhasari's quarters or in Canal Rest House, where from he has been openly directing the operations. Even the newspaper reports would bear me out.

6. This time a body of more than three hundred desperadoes has been brought in lorries from Amritsar. In broad day-light the attack took place in Gurdwara Sis Ganj at Chandni Chowk. The assailants were armed with automatic firearms which they used, what to say of swords, hatchets and barchhas. The doors of Gurdwara Sis Ganj bear witness to their violence. The attack on Sis Ganj was however repulsed, but the army of Gianiji invaded the Gurdwara Bangla Sahib on Saturday night. The locks were forced, the doors were broken open and the evidence of violence is present on spot.

7. Not content with this violence and after creating the same, he has been going round to the local officials including the Chief Commissioner trying to persuade them to take the Delhi Gurdwaras under Government control.

8. To me it is crystal clear that the whole object of these manoeuvres of Giani Kartar Singh and those who support him is not only to destroy the goodwill created amongst the Sikhs by your statement of 12th April, 1959, but to bring about a clash between the Sikhs and the Central Government and thus to make himself indispensable. It is the same old trick employed in the old North West Frontier Province by Sahibza Abdul Qayum and Sir George Roos Keppel, first to incite the tribes and then to earn merit from the Government for their suppression.

9. Panditji, hundreds of armed desperadoes are being openly and repeatedly brought to Delhi. The Gurdwaras are being attacked and possession is sought to be taken by force. It is hard for me to believe that all this can happen without the knowledge of the Punjab Government, when the attacks are being organized and led by Giani Kartar Singh, one of its ministers. Gurdwara Bangla Sahib, where these followers of Giani Kartar Singh are quartered is

hardly a mile from the Secretariat and two miles from your residence you can see everything for yourself. Can there be a worse instance of interference in Gurdwaras by Government?

10. To apprise you of all these matters and the critical situation that is being created I would like to see you if you can spare any time on the 26th instant or on 27th. I would however prefer 26th instant.

Yours sincerely,  
Tara Singh

**16. (b) Master Tara Singh to Nehru<sup>18</sup>**

*[Refer to item 38]*

26 May 1959

My dear Panditji,

Thanks for your letter of today. Under the circumstances mentioned in your letter ordinarily I would not have troubled you with a reply. But I find that somebody has been deliberately misinforming you. Therefore, I thought I should explain to you the legal position of the S.G.P.C., Amritsar vis-à-vis the Gurdwaras situated in Delhi State, or for the matter of that situation anywhere outside Punjab.

The very preliminary Section I (2) of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act lays down that the Sikh Gurdwaras Act, under which the S.G.P.C. functions, extends only to the Gurdwaras in Punjab. Therefore, under the law, the S.G.P.C., Amritsar, has no jurisdiction over any Gurdwaras outside the Punjab. As I stated in my last letter, Delhi Gurdwara Committee voluntarily associated itself with the S.G.P.C. If a registered body voluntarily associates with another statutory body of its own free will, it can also sever that connection too if it desires to do so. This is exactly what has happened in Delhi and the Delhi Gurdwara Committee has disassociated itself from the S.G.P.C., Amritsar. The matter to which I wanted to draw your attention was that the S.G.P.C., Amritsar, instead of resorting to a court of law to assert its rights, if it has any, has chosen to resort to violence under the leadership of a Government Minister Giani Kartar Singh, who has not only imported from Amritsar hired desperadoes but has also used them in his attempts to take possession of the Delhi Gurdwaras by force.

The second point to which I wanted to draw your attention was that Gianiji was not behaving like an ordinary Sikh but was using his position and authority

18. File No. 40/2/59-Poll., p.51., MHA.

as a Minister. The Canal Rest House, a Government bungalow was used both for the purpose of quartering his men and for launching his attacks on the Delhi Gurdwaras. He is using his official minister's car, petrol and employing his position as a minister to influence the local authorities. I had to draw your attention to all these matters. The position of a minister is absolutely different from the position of an ordinary Sikh. That is why I call this interference by Gianiji in the affairs of Delhi Gurdwara Committee as direct interference of the Government in Sikh religious affairs. I considered it my duty to bring the above matter to your notice; it rests with you now to do what you consider proper in the matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Tara Singh

## 17. *Aide Mémoire*<sup>19</sup>

[Refer to item 340]

The Government of the United Kingdom have received the *aide-memoire* of the Government of India of 17th March, about developments in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The Government of the United Kingdom greatly regret it if the disturbances which broke out in Nyasaland in February and March resulted in damage or loss to the property of citizens of India. The Government of India will be aware that immediate measures, including the declaration of a state of emergency, were taken by the Governor of Nyasaland to restore law and order. The events leading up to the declaration of a state of emergency on 3rd March were set out in the Governor's despatch of 18th March, which has been published as a White Paper (CMND. 707), a copy of which is attached. A Commission of Enquiry under Mr. Justice Devlin has been appointed to enquire into the disturbances and the events leading up to them.

The Government of the United Kingdom can assure the Government of India that the recent developments in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland do not, as is suggested in the *aide-memoire* under reply, represent any change in the long standing aim of the United Kingdom Government to promote the political advancement of the peoples of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In Northern Rhodesia the first elections have recently been held under a new

19. 26 May 1959. File No. REP-II/59-AFR-II, Vol, p. 188. MEA.

Constitution, designed to ensure a larger measure of African participation in the Legislature and Government. The Legislative Council of 30 now comprises 14 elected Europeans, 8 elected Africans, one nominated Asian and 6 officials. The Executive Council comprises Europeans, 2 Africans and 4 officials. In Nyasaland the Legislative Council comprises 6 Europeans, 5 Africans and 12 officials. The Executive Council comprises two Europeans and 5 officials. Discussions looking to a new Constitution in Nyasaland were impending when the disturbances broke out in February and consequently had to be postponed.

In the matter of racial discrimination in any form, the Government of India should be well aware that the Government of the United Kingdom are firmly opposed to this, and this attitude is well known. One of the aims of the foundation of the Federation was to foster partnership and co-operation between the inhabitants of the Territories comprised in it. This remains the aim of the United Kingdom Government and, they are sure, of the Federal and Territorial Governments. Much has already been accomplished since 1953. Progress in this direction is continual. The United Kingdom Government believes that, given time and goodwill on the part of all concerned, the aims of partnership can and will be fully achieved.

Insofar as the Government of India's *aide-memoire* refers to the policies of the Government of the Federation, a copy is being sent to that Government, with a copy of this reply.

Office of the High Commissioner  
for the United Kingdom,  
New Delhi.

## 18. (a) Phoui Sananikone to Nehru

[Refer to item 324]

Vientiane  
2nd June, 1959

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your message and I am grateful to you for the interest you have taken in the Kingdom at a time where certain countries are engineering to present the Kingdom in a manner contrary to the truth.

I take this opportunity to reiterate to you that if the view-points of our two governments differed regarding the execution of the Geneva Agreements and the competence of the I.C.S.C., ours was guided only by good faith and the consideration of a sovereignty that is internationally recognised.

Peace and security in the country is the first and the supreme objective pursued by my Government. Your Excellency is aware of the moderation which characterises Lao and its inhabitants. My Government is resolved to observe this moderation to the ultimate limits in resolving all problems which arise. In the search for a solution to our present problem, my Government can give the assurance that it will not depart from this line. Our task will however be greatly facilitated if certain neighbours, interpreting our moderation as a weakness and a culpability, do not make of it a pretext to incite the subversive elements and to aggravate the situation.

My Government is deeply moved by the kind words of H.E. the President of India on his visit to Laos of which we all have a cherished memory.

Please accept, your Excellency, the assurances of my high consideration.

Phoui Sananikone

## 18. (b) Selwyn Lloyd to Nehru

*[Refer to item 325]*

I have been following with close attention the question of the situation in Laos about which you wrote to me on May 27th. I agree that it gives cause for concern and I should therefore like to set out fully for your own confidential information the steps that we have already taken and how we see the situation developing.

Our information is that the Laotian Government have been genuinely trying to carry out the agreement with the Pathet Lao of November, 1957, to integrate two battalions of ex-Pathet Lao troops and that the present difficulties are of communist making. According to the agreement, the Pathet Lao were entitled to have a proportion of officers and N.C.O.'s in accordance with the establishment of the Laotian Army. This would have given those about 40 to 45 officers. The Pathet Lao were not satisfied with this and lengthy negotiations took place. Eventually in March and April this year the government laid down conditions on which the battalions were to be integrated which included provision for more than 100 officers. The Senior Colonel of the battalion (Colonel Singkapo) had already been offered integration and refused, and was not therefore included. On instructions from Prince Souphannouvong, however, the battalions refused to comply with the government's orders on the grounds that Colonel Singkapo was not included and that the provisions for back pay were not good enough. The government then gave them the choice between complying and being disarmed or demobilised. Prince Souphannouvong is then reported to have given the army a letter recommending acceptance and one

battalion complied and was integrated on May 18th. The other battalion whether on instructions from Souphannouvong or not is not clear, broke out and moved towards North Vietnam. The government have nevertheless continued their efforts to get them to accept integration without resorting to the use of force. It is now reported that North Vietnamese irregulars under ex-Pathet Lao leaders are inside Laotian territory and may soon join up with the mutinous battalion. This naturally has created a difficult situation for the Laotian Government. In our view they have acted in a conciliatory manner and strictly in accordance with the agreement with the Pathet Lao.

I wish to tell you, again in complete confidence, exactly what we have done in this situation. We have constantly advised the Laotian Government if possible to avoid the use of force and, when they were reported to be considering banning the N.L.H.S., have made strong representations to them against this course. On the last point they have agreed with us, though they are now considering taking legal action against the N.L.H.S. leaders. We have advised against this as well. Nevertheless they have been under strong provocation and claim with some justice that they must be free to take whatever measures are necessary to enforce order in their own country.

As you will be aware, the Laotian Government are deeply committed in public to opposing the return of the International Commission. They will not be ready to go back on the line they have thus publicly taken.

Considerations of 'face' would not allow it. As you will know from our High Commissioner, we tried to get them to agree to a meeting of the Commission to discuss simply the question of opening the door for mediation by the Secretary General in the dispute between them and the North Vietnamese. But this they would not accept. It follows that if the Laotian Commission were reconvened it would be against the wishes of the Laotian Government. This raises two issues, firstly whether it would lay the Commission open to the charge of infringing the sovereignty of a small state which has only recently gained its independence and, secondly, and equally important, whether a meeting held in such circumstances would be of any practised value.

— On the question of sovereignty, we are, as you know, convinced that the international status of Laos is that of an independent sovereign state and we have taken the line with all concerned that, with the achievement of the political settlement last May, the Laotian Government became entitled to dispense with international supervision though they should continue to abide by their Geneva obligations. The Laotians have recognised this latter point and we included it in our draft reply from the Co-Chairman to the Chinese Government's letter of February 19th. To go back on our position that the International Commission should meet without Laotian consent would be to infringe Laotian sovereignty.

You are really asking me to impose the joint will of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom as Co-Chairmen upon a small state very jealous of its own sovereignty. I am prepared to go a long way to urge upon the Laotian Government the necessity to observe the Geneva Agreements. I think however that this further step would be going too far. On the practical issue, the Laotian Commission could not enter Laos without the government's consent, whose goodwill and co-operation would be essential if the Commission were to make any headway. Clearly, given the present Laotian attitude, their co-operation would not, be forthcoming.

We feel that we must also not overlook the likely effects that, reactivation of the Commission against Laotian wishes (even outside Laos) would have on the stability of the present Laotian Government. We have no wish to take sides in internal Laotian affairs but we do desire to see stability. The present Laotian Government does give a real chance of that. To weaken its position would in our view produce a dangerous situation.

To sum up the position, I share your concern over developments in Laos. I have tried to set out very frankly my attitude of mind in approaching the question of the reconvening of the International Commission at this stage. The Laotian Government considers that they can deal with the situation themselves. I hope that they can do this and in a reasonable manner. I do not, however, close my eyes to the possibility that the situation may deteriorate and the point may be reached where some international action is necessary. I am glad that you have brought Mr. Hammarskjold into this discussion by your message to him. It may well be that action by him would be the most productive. In the meantime I have an engagement to see Mr. Gromyko tomorrow to discuss the whole matter. I shall, of course, inform you of the result of that discussion.

On a purely procedural aspect, I feel that I should treat your letter to me as confidential. I certainly have sent you a reply on the basis of a confidential correspondence. The Russians, I am told, wish to publish your letter. My instinct is against this. I feel we must try to get back to the position in which we can have really confidential exchanges of news. I told your representative yesterday that I was not prepared to agree to publication of your letter. I should very much like to know your views upon this point.

With my renewed good wishes,

SELWYN LLOYD

## 19. Summary record of the meeting of the Planning Commission<sup>20</sup>

[Refer to item 167]

Summary record of the meeting of the Planning Commission held on Tuesday, the 2nd June, 1959 at 9.30 A.M., in Committee Room No. 19, to consider the proposal of an American firm to set up departmental stores for the marketing of village and small industries' products and to stimulate manufacture by local small entrepreneurs.

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Present

### **Planning Commission**

Member (NR)

Member (Industry)

Secretary

Addl. Secretary

DS (G)

US (c)

Adviser (PA) – Shri Nawab Singh

Adviser (Planning)

Chiefs (PA)/(L&E)

Director ( FE )

AC (CI)

SRO (CI)

### **Ministry of C & I**

Shri K.T. Satarawala<sup>21</sup>

Shri Nagendra Bahadur<sup>22</sup>

### **Ministry of Finance**

Shri K.L. Ghei<sup>23</sup>

### **Ministry of External Affairs**

Shri S. Sen<sup>24</sup>

### **Ministry of CD & C**

Shri Abid Hussain<sup>25</sup>

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20. File No. 76(19)- AMS/59, pp. 22-24., 2 June 1959.

21. Joint Secretary.

22. Joint Secretary.

23. Joint Secretary in the Department of Expenditure.

24. Joint Secretary.

25. Deputy Secretary.



Member (Industry) stated that during his recent visit to Calcutta he was impressed by an organisation developed by a private firm for assisting small units in marketing of their products. This firm was also providing certain assistance and facilities to some small units and supplying their products against orders. On his return, his attention was drawn to the American Ambassador's memorandum wherein a reference was made, inter alia, to a proposal of the Sears, Roebuck, coming here to set up departmental stores and also to assist in development of industries through small entrepreneurs. He was of the view that the idea of setting up departmental and a network of chain stores for a large variety of goods envisaging a direct contact with the craftsmen, deserved serious consideration, particularly in view of the present policy being followed by the all-India Boards/Commission in regard to setting up of emporia for the products of different industries falling within their purview. The main point for consideration was, therefore, whether an attempt should be made to study the lines on which the departmental and chain stores were being run in the U.S.A. and South America, by the firm and also the different types of assistance given to small entrepreneurs, with a view to examining if it would be in the national interest to set up such stores in the country. Details regarding the types of stores and their location, variety of goods to be sold, methods of providing financial and other assistance to small entrepreneurs, nature of the organisation for internal and external marketing, etc., could be worked out after the proposed study.

2. Member (NR) enquired whether any action had been taken on the American Ambassador's memorandum which was received about seven months ago. Advisor (Planning) stated that action had been taken on all other points referred to in the memorandum except the proposal under consideration. In reply to another query of Member (NR) regarding an outline of a scheme of assured marketing recommended by the Karve Committee, Additional Secretary pointed out that this was not followed up because partly no precise steps were suggested and partly it was felt that the problem of providing an assumed market was more complicated than an enlarged market.

3. As regards the proposal under consideration, Additional Secretary pointed out that it would be difficult for any marketing organisation to contact all the craftsmen. He was also of the view that there might be an advantage in obtaining American expertise and perhaps also some association for promotion of exports, but no direct association was needed for developing an organisation for internal marketing. He felt that the problems of internal marketing should be analysed independently by ourselves with a view to evolving a suitable organisation. In reply to this query, Shri Satarawala pointed out that the data regarding the existing emporia and their working was already available in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. He further mentioned that the Ministry

was generally of the view that except for khadi and handloom fabrics products of other industries should be sold through common emporia.

4. Member (Industry) pointed out that the problem of evolving the type of organisation for internal marketing envisaged in the note was complicated by the present policy of various emporia run separately by various bodies in watertight compartments. Under the programmes of the different Boards/Commission, a large number of separate emporia had been established and a large amount was being spent on rent, salaries and commissions of the staff, etc., a good portion of which was being provided by the Central Government. Apart from such subsidies, Central assistance was also being given on very liberal terms in certain cases. He emphasised that the idea of setting up departmental and chain stores should be examined in the context of the present policy. Member (NR) was also of the view that the present position was not satisfactory, particularly since separate emporia had been set up at certain places in close proximity. In this connection, he also narrated a few instances.

5. Supporting the idea of setting up departmental and chain stores in the country which also envisaged assistance to local small entrepreneurs, Shri Sen pointed out that the Ministry of External Affairs was in agreement with the suggestion made in the last paragraph of the note circulated for the meeting., viz., detailed information may be obtained in the first instance regarding the different types of assistance given to small entrepreneurs and the lines on which the departmental stores were being worked by the Sears, Roebuck, in the U.S.A. and South America. Shri Nagendra Bahadur stated that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry was also agreeable to the suggestion made in the last paragraph of the note.

6. Reiterating that an organisation for stimulating internal production and distribution should be developed by ourselves independently with some assistance of the American expertise and not in association with a firm, Additional Secretary also mentioned that the proposal was not favourably considered when the memorandum was discussed some time back in the Ministry of Finance. He also felt that any attempt to obtain information about the departmental stores being run by the firm might lead to the presumption that the firm would be associated with such a scheme. Member (Industry) pointed out that the question of any association with the firm might arise only after the information proposed to be obtained had been studied in the light of the problems of marketing in this country and if it was found that some association would be in the national interests. Shri Sen was of the view that details regarding the degree of collaboration, etc., could be worked out later on if association with the firm was found desirable and necessary after the proposed study. Secretary felt that some association might be desirable for organising external marketing.

Adviser (Planning) was of the view that the proposal should not be summarily turned down without even a careful study particularly as it might assist in quickly obtaining the American expertise, rather than under some other programme of foreign assistance like the Colombo Plan. The general consensus of opinion after some further discussion was that it would be desirable to obtain detailed information about the working of the departmental stores in the U.S.A. and South America.

7. It was agreed that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the Ministry of External Affairs should, in mutual consultation, obtain detailed information regarding the working of the departmental stores in the U.S.A. and South America and the different types of assistance proposed to be given to local small entrepreneurs to stimulate production by the Sears, Roebuck, through the American Embassy and also the Indian Embassies in those countries. (It was felt that the Productivity Teams need not be asked to collect this information). Further, the information so obtained should be studied in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the light of the problems of marketing in the country. It was also agreed that Planning Commission would be kept informed from time to time about the developments and progress of work in this connection.

## 20. Dag Hammarskjöld to Nehru

*[Refer to item 326]*

11 June 1959

My dear Mr. Nehru,

Ambassador Jha has transmitted to me your letter of 27 May 1959 for which I thank you.

I have given serious consideration to the evaluation of the situation which you describe and to your suggestions for action from my side. As you will remember from our talk in New Delhi, I have for long been concerned about the possibility that the difficulties which have arisen between Laos and North-Vietnam, if permitted to continue, might lead us into a dangerous and unmanageable situation. Your judgement gives added weight to such fears, indicating, as it does, further complications. My own opinion, as expressed to you at the time on my visit to Delhi, was that it is essential to get an operation going which may bring us out of the difficulties, and it has not changed. On the contrary, I feel more strongly than before that serious efforts must be made in that direction.

Regarding the position and responsibilities of the major power-blocs, I have stated my views frankly to the Foreign Secretaries concerned. Thus, I

have argued that the Indo-China states should be enabled to concentrate on their economic and social development, free from interventions of the power-blocs and non-aligned with either of them. It is my impression that the views I have thus expressed have been carefully noted.

As to the immediate steps that might be taken, and in particular the possible role of the Commission, you will remember that it was my view that a good offices or mediation operation required preliminary action from the Commission, but that, on the other hand, I felt that the activities of the Commission could and should be limited to the minimum necessary in order to get a mediation effort underway. This stand was based on a consideration of the various elements entering the picture. The Commission had adjourned sine-die. Laos claimed that they had taken all possible steps for an integration and that, therefore, the undertakings under the Geneva agreement were met, so that the Commission should have no further function relating to what now must be considered the internal affairs of Laos. On the other hand, from the North-Vietnam point of view, a good offices or mediation action could not be given such a form as, by implication, to by-pass or liquidate a procedure which North-Vietnam considered an essential and still valid element of the arrangements made in Geneva.

The specific line of action which I had in mind at the time of our talk, scaled down its essentials was that the Commission should meet outside Laos after the assignment of the missing Canadian representative. The meeting would not be publicised and should not be considered to be a reactivation of the work of the Commission. Its purpose would be to approve that action be taken, for example by its Secretary, in Hanoi and Vientiane, with the aim of getting the two Governments to join in inviting somebody to mediate the territorial conflict. Thus, the Commission should not itself go into the substance of that conflict or related problems. This limitation already seemed indicated in view of the fact that the Commission was not organized so as to serve effectively in a good offices or mediation function. Further, the public stand taken by Laos had to be taken into account.

Since my return I have acted on the basis of this idea, and discussed with the Government of Canada the possibility that they appoint their representative in order to enable the Commission to take the suggested action. You may know what the reaction of the Canadian Government has been, as I understand that you have addressed yourself directly to Prime Minister Diefenbaker. On the other hand, it was my understanding that India would seek to determine whether Poland, on the basis of the same general idea of the significance and limitation of the step, would be willing to take part in a meeting of the Commission outside Laos.

The situation now has changed to some extent. If I understand the position

of Laos correctly, the Government feels that a meeting of the Commission for the indicated purpose would have to be "informal and unofficial", while, on the other hand, I gather from your letter that you consider substantive action by the Commission difficult to avoid in view of later developments. However, as regards your stand, I have understood from Ambassador Jha that you would consider it natural that activities should be strictly limited to the present situation and that, thus, it should be avoided that the resumption of the activities of the Commission be regarded as more than a temporary measure or as re-activating its current operations.

If I interpret your attitude correctly, we would thus have in common on the one side the opinion that the Commission cannot be by-passed; on the other side, the view that its activities should be properly circumscribed. Personally, I would consider it unfortunate if the Commission started discussing possible activities of one power-bloc, or the other, as this might bring the cold war openly into the picture. I would also hold that it would be difficult for the Commission, against the stand taken by Laos, to go into what the Government of Laos defines as a domestic problem. Whatever the legal merits of the case, the position of the Government of Laos regarding its own previous actions has to be taken into account at least as a political fact which render the cooperation of Laos with the Commission difficult.

There then remains the territorial conflict. In the light of the foregoing observations, I would appreciate it if you could indicate how you would like to circumscribe the activities of the Commission, were it to meet again. If, as I understand, you consider it impossible to limit it to what I originally had in mind, do you then consider it possible to limit its activities to the territorial question, or do you feel that the Commission must be free to go into the Pathet Lao problem and, possibly, also into such complaints as may be forthcoming regarding interventions by outside powers, contrary to the Geneva agreement?

There is one further question. Obviously, if I follow correctly your line of thinking, the Commission might go straight into the substance of the situation, or it might, in the first instance, take the formal step of getting mediation started, as originally suggested, deferring any discussion of substance – in whatever way such a discussion may be limited – until it is seen if such a discussion becomes necessary because the mediation has failed. I have no suggestions to make, for the present, in this or other respects, but would find it most helpful to know also how you look at this second question. You will appreciate that this question, like the foregoing one, is of great significance for my continued consideration of the possibilities to take further action in the spirit and in the direction indicated by you in your letter.

I assure you that I do, and will do, all that I can in order to promote a

constructive approach so that grave conflict may be averted in Indo-China. I am gratified to have the privilege of this contact with you regarding the situation and possible lines of action on it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Dag Hammarskjöld

## 21. Mannathu Padmanabhan to Nehru

*[Refer to item 45]*

Changanacherry  
12 June 1959

May I introduce myself to you as the old man of 82 whom you saw at the inauguration of the Mahatma Gandhi College. Now I have the fortune or misfortune to be the President of the Liberation Committee which is starting an agitation for the removal of the Communist Government of Kerala. I need not reiterate to you the reasons which made such an extraordinary step unavoidable in this State. I am aware of the limitations within which the Pradesh Congress Committee with an all-India background has to function in this State. I hope you have seen the resolution adopted by the Pradesh Congress Executive regarding the agitation. While I am able to understand the spirit behind the statement, I most regretfully inform you that in respect of one point we have been unable to accept the advice of the Committee. I have explained our stand at length to Sri Shankar, the Pradesh Congress President, and Sri K.P. Madhavan Nair. I believe they have been able to appreciate my view point.

The point is this. The Pradesh Congress Executive has advised us not to obstruct the conduct of those schools which are being opened by the managements or by the State.

The ultimate object of the Communist Government is to wipe out the private managements. If a major section of the managements close down their schools voluntarily and leave the fight at that, the Communist Government will only be too glad. Government being bound to provide education to all children will open new schools or provide additional accommodation in the existing schools. Naturally we will not be able to resist this also. Allowing one set of schools to function normally when another set keeps the schools closed, the guardians and the public also would gradually move on to accept the Government scheme. So as a step into the fight to remove the Communist Government we have decided to paralyse education in the State for a few weeks.

I am told that you apprehended communal troubles cropping up while

attempting to picket schools of those managements who try to open the schools. To avoid that we have decided not to picket schools belonging to Muslims and the Ezhavas (S.N.D.P.). This decision would dispel your apprehension in that direction.

Kindly view the whole thing as a step towards paralysing the Government. In this view, you will, I am sure, feel satisfied regarding the correctness of our stand.

One word from you that our stand is unjustified would take the wind out of our sails. I appeal to you therefore to pardon our not accepting the advice of the Pradesh Congress in this regard. Also kindly instruct local congressmen not to throw cold water on our agitation by frequent statements that our agitation is unreasonable, and ill advised. I can assure you that everything possible will be done by us to prevent the breakout of violence during our struggle. But I am told that units of the Communist party are gathering weapons to violently suppress the struggle. You can imagine the depths to which they are descending to subvert our movement. In spite of this, instructions have been issued to our units and open appeals are being repeatedly made to our followers to follow strictly to the path of non-violence in their struggle.

We are fighting the Communist demon. We know it would involve a great sacrifice. We would not hesitate to pay any price to drive out the demon from India. I am old enough to die. Still, I hope that with your blessings we in Kerala would succeed to eliminate communism from India.

## **22. E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Nehru**

*[Refer to item 49]*

Trivandrum

13 June 1959

At the time you issued your Coimbatore statement on the situation in Kerala, I was in Calcutta. I had then to go to Bombay. By the time I reached Trivandrum and was going to write to you my reactions on your Coimbatore statement, the report of your Press Conference in New Delhi appeared. I am, therefore, writing to you now, giving you my reactions to what you have stated on the two occasions and requesting you to use your good offices in bringing the situation here under control.

Your Coimbatore statement was positive and helpful in the sense that (1) you made it clear that you cannot countenance any movement which has a communal and casteist complexion. (2) You also made it clear that any issue that is in dispute in Kerala, as anywhere else in the World, should be settled by peaceful means. (3) You expressed your willingness to visit Kerala if that will

help the solution of our difficulties.

I, however, felt, and still feel, that your Coimbatore statement did not show a full awareness of the seriousness of the situation. Your reference to the existence of an "upsurge of the people of Kerala" against the Government was an example of this. For, in this, you totally missed the fact that the core of the present movement in Kerala is that very communal and casteist movement against which you had expressed yourself in general terms.

I take it that the basis for your conclusion that there is a great upsurge of the people of Kerala against the Government is the fact that the reception meetings in honour of Shri Mannathu Padmanabhan have attracted big crowds. These big crowds, however, were all brought out by the Catholic Church and the NSS, both of whom did so on avowedly communal and casteist slogans. If only this single factor of the combination of the communal and casteist forces of the Catholic Church and the NSS were removed from the scene, there will not be any movement at all.

There are, of course, other facts which go to show that, as against the Catholic Church-NSS sponsored movement which you called "a big upsurge of the people", there is a far bigger upsurge in favour of the Government. (Eg. Far bigger rallies have been held in connection with the Taluk and District Conferences of the Communist Party all over Kerala). I am, however, not referring to those facts here; I want only to point out now that what you called in the Coimbatore statement a big upsurge of the people was an essentially communal and casteist onslaught against a legally constituted Government.

These short-comings of your Coimbatore statement were fully utilized by the opposition here. I am herewith sending you a brief note on how your Coimbatore statement was distorted in the opposition press which includes the paper edited by Shri R. Sankar, the President of the KPCC. You will see from that note that Shri Sankar's paper omitted that portion of your statement in which you had appealed to Congressmen to work positively for a peaceful approach and method. Most papers supporting the viewpoint of the opposition parties published your statement in such a way as to give the impression that you had given your unqualified support not only to the "charge sheet" agitation of the KPCC but all forms of agitation in Kerala, including the school closure movement of the Catholic-Church-NSS combine.

It was in such a situation that the report of your Delhi Press Conference came. The statements made by you at that Press Conference were far more forthright and clear. Not only did you criticize communalism and casteism in general, as you had done at Coimbatore, but you made the specific criticism of the communal and casteist campaign organized by the Catholic Church and the NSS. You made it further clear that the Congress as an organization can have



and has nothing to do with this Catholic Church-NSS-sponsored movement. You left it beyond doubt that you cannot imagine a legally-constituted Government (like ours) being sought to be removed by any unconstitutional means.

It would require limitless boldness on the part of anybody to distort these statements of yours as support to the Catholic Church-NSS-sponsored movement. Unfortunately, however, the leaders of the KPCC are trying to distort even these clear statements. I do not want here to give the quotations from the columns of the newspapers which reported your press conference. I would point out a far more significant instance of how the leaders of the KPCC take your statements against communalism, casteism, and unconstitutional methods. A few hours after the reports of your Press Conference were received, a meeting of the Joint Action Council of the KPCC, the Kerala PSP, and the Muslim League was held in the presence of Shri Mannathu Padmanabhan and other leaders of the Catholic Church-NSS-sponsored school closure movement. At this joint meeting of the 2 Joint Councils of Action, it was decided that, beginning with the 13th of this month, *direct action* will be launched; it will begin with the picketing of Government offices and will later on take other forms of direct action. Here is, therefore, the authoritative organisation of the Congress in this State breaking the two most important aspects of your statements at the Press Conference – complete dissociation of the Congress from the Catholic Church-NSS-inspired school closure movement, and strict adherence to constitutional means in carrying on the political agitation against the Government.

It was just because I had a presentiment of such developments taking place that, when a press correspondent asked me in Bombay whether your visit to Kerala as envisaged in your Coimbatore statement would be helpful, I answered that I do not think that even your visit will help bringing about any change of attitude on the part of the Catholic clergy. I also added that I am rather sceptical of the possibility of any improvement taking place in the attitude of the leaders of the KPCC. I am extremely sorry that my assessment of the situation proved correct. I wanted the people, and you yourself, to realise that the situation is far more serious than can be improved by a mere visit by you. You and the other leaders can certainly do a lot in helping the people of Kerala out of the present situation; and your visit to Kerala (not the usual whirlwind tour, but taking sufficient time to get in touch with the various points of view here and try to bring them together) will be the biggest single factor helping this process. I, however, felt, and still feel, that any effort in this direction to be successful should be made with the full awareness of the depth of the danger of communalism and casteism.

I, therefore, wholeheartedly welcome your idea of coming here after your

return from Nepal. (I understand that you will be back by about the 15th or so; the sooner after your return you can come, the better). But your visit should, I believe, be carefully planned. You should have enough time to meet and talk to various sections of the people and try to understand the full implications of the proposals and suggestions made by various sections of the people. At the end of such informal talks with various sections of the people, you may possibly have to call a sort of joint meeting of two or more groups at which efforts are made to settle the points of dispute. If the making of such a preparation for your visit will be helped by my coming over to Delhi before you start, I shall do so. On the other hand, if you have any definite ideas as to how the visit should be planned, you may just let me know what are your ideas and I will have the necessary arrangements made.

**23. (a) N. Khrushchev to Nehru<sup>26</sup>**

*[Refer to items 168 & 319]*

**Unofficial translation**

15 June 1959

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

It gave me pleasure to receive your kind letter of May 13 transmitted by the Ministers of your Government Mr. Swaran Singh and Mr. Manubhai Shah. I thank you cordially for the greetings and kind wishes and for the congratulations on the successful beginning of the realization of the Seven-Year Plan for the development of national economy of the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately your Ministers and the persons accompanying them spent a very short time in the USSR but we hope that their visit to the Soviet Union proved to be fruitful and they acquainted themselves with the work of industrial enterprises, collective farms as well as with some achievements in the field of science and technology they were interested in.

We have no doubt that the visit of your Ministers to the Soviet Union will contribute to the further consolidation of friendship and the broadening of cooperation between our countries.

In the conversations with the leaders of the Soviet Government and Soviet organisations the Indian delegation presented the viewpoint of your Government concerning the major trends of the draft of the Third Five-Year Plan which will lay the foundations for further economic development of your country, and

26. File No. 17(214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

they also acquainted us with the problems facing the Government of the Republic of India in the implementation of this plan. During these conversations there was also an exchange of opinions on the questions of further expansion of trade between our countries.

The Soviet Government rejoices at the successes achieved by the people of India in the creation of an independent national economy and it is ready on its part to render possible assistance in the fulfilment of the plan of your country's economic development.

Your Ministers Mr. S. Singh and Mr. M. Shah and India's Ambassador in Moscow K.P.S. Menon in our talks put forward your Government's request to grant a new credit to India for the implementation of the Third Five-Year Plan.

Entertaining best feelings toward India and valuing highly the friendship that exists between our countries the Soviet Government, considering its own possibilities, agrees to grant India during the implementation of her Third Five-Year Plan a new credit of 1.5 thousand million roubles (Rs. 1.8 thousand million) to pay for the equipment and materials which are delivered from the Soviet Union and for rendering technical cooperation of other kinds. In accordance with the request of your Government conveyed by your Ambassador Mr. Menon the credit can be granted on terms similar to those of the Indo-Soviet Agreement on the construction of the Bhilai metallurgical plant.

Apart from this in the years of the implementation of India's Third Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union will render her technical aid in the construction of a number of industrial enterprises on account of the credits under the agreements already concluded between our countries for approximately 500 million roubles (Rs.600 million).

Thus the total sum of the Soviet Union's credits to India in the years of the implementation of the Third Five-Year Plan will amount to about 2 thousand million roubles (Rs.2.4 thousand million).

The Soviet Government is ready to open negotiations at a time and place convenient to the Government of India on technical aid in the construction of projects which you will find possible to implement under the mentioned sum of the credit.

I would like to express my confidence that the Government of India and the industrious and gifted Indian people will fulfil the task of their country's economic development and to wish them all successes toward that end.

I welcome your sincere wishes for success in the work of the conference of Foreign Ministers in Geneva. In the opinion of the Soviet Government a number of important issues are ripe now on which there is an urgent necessity to reach agreement. We stand for a meeting of the Heads of Government of the Great Powers and for agreement with them on a reasonable basis. I fully share your

opinion that the nations of the whole world will not welcome anything with such a joy as they would welcome the confidence in a stable peace so that they could devote themselves to the social and economic progress.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I am forwarding this letter to you through the newly appointed Ambassador I.A. Bendiktov, who is known to you, and I am sending through him my best wishes for good health and success in your activities. I express the hope that the cooperation between our countries will continue to develop successfully in all fields.

Sincerely Yours,  
N. Khrushchev

**23. (b) Nehru to G B. Pant, Morarji Desai  
and Swaran Singh**

*[Refer to item 319]*

This afternoon the new Soviet Ambassador, Mr. I.A. Benediktov, came to see me and handed to me a letter from Mr. Khrushchev a copy of which I am sending you for your information. This letter refers to the financial credit, etc. that the Soviet Government are prepared to give us for our Third Five Year Plan. I have not quite grasped the figures fully yet.

After we have considered this letter fully, I shall send a reply to Mr. Khrushchev.

Jawaharlal Nehru  
27.6.59

The Minister of Home Affairs

The Minister of Finance

The Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel

**24. Sundarlal to Nehru<sup>27</sup>***[Refer to item 313]*

16 June 1959

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have been thinking of writing to you for some weeks. I strongly feel I must seek your advice and guidance on some important matters.

The first of these is the Tibetan affair. Unfortunately I have not been able to see quite eye to eye with some of my colleagues in this matter. In the very beginning, when news from Tibet began to come in, I gave a brief interview to a foreign press representative which was published even by the *New York Times*. I so much appreciated your long statement in the Parliament that I could not help congratulating you. I hope you got my letter. I found that some of my friends were rather upset by that statement of yours. I re-read the statement carefully and again found myself in complete agreement with all that you had said. I had a three hour's talk with the Chinese Ambassador on that question. I explained to him how fair, how just and how friendly your entire approach to the Tibetan question was.

Sometime before the Tibetan affair, the China India Friendship Association of Peking had written to the India China Friendship Association to send a small Indian delegation to China in or about the month of May 1959. The Executive Committee of the India China Friendship Association met to consider the matter. I strongly advised that it was not proper to send a delegation as such a juncture. I advised that Uma Bhabi, as Chairman of our Executive Committee, should see you personally and we should all act according to your advice in the matter. I think she saw you and there the matter rests.

In May last I had the occasion to go to Stockholm to participate in the tenth anniversary of the World Peace Council. There I had long talks with Kuo Mo-jo and other Chinese friends concerning India and the Tibetan affair. I may not go into the details of those talks in this letter. I tried to impress upon them the correctness of India's position which meant the position of India's Prime Minister. I told them that there was no such being in India as an "Indian expansionist", that even those parties or individuals who had used harsh or even improper language towards China in this connection, were, at the worst, only exploiting an unfortunate situation for their internal party ends. I told them that their "hitting back" had only worsened the situation and not helped China's true friends, and that there was no greater friend of China in India than you. I told them frankly that I could not appreciate or agree with their language

27. File No. 40(168)/59-70-PMS.

when they used phrases like “rebel bandits”, “mopping off” etc. I told them that their approach to the solution of the whole problem was political and military rather than human and psychological, and so on. The talks were all very cordial, frank and friendly.

The World Peace Council was, I think, very wise in maintaining absolute silence on the Tibetan affair.

From Stockholm I went to Moscow to take part in the meeting at which the International Lenin Peace Prize was presented to Khrushchev. At Moscow too I had some friendly personal talk with some soviet friends on the Tibetan affair.

On my return to Delhi I read your second long statement in Parliament on the Tibetan affair, in which you had referred to some of the attacks on India by our Chinese friends. I liked your statement, if possible, even more than the previous one. I am full of admiration for it.

Any how, I shall be very happy to have the benefit of your advice on some aspects of this matter, mainly for my personal guidance.

The other question on which I would seek your advice is more personal. I talked to you some time back on the Hindustani Culture Society's preparing a Standard English-Hindi Dictionary for the Government. Later I received a letter from the Education Ministry telling me that they had some objections to our accounts. I showed to you that letter. A detailed explanation for all objections was sent, to the Ministry, a copy of which I sent to you also. Since then I heard absolutely nothing from the Ministry for several long months. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of May Dr. Shrimali invited Dr. Tara Chand and me to sit with him and some other officials of the Education Ministry to find out, if possible, a way to solve the one-year-old dead-lock with regard to the Dictionary work. At this meeting I was told of some fresh objections against our accounts. I again sent a detailed letter of explanation for each of the objections raised. I am sending you a copy of that letter in separate cover.

Yours sincerely,  
Sundarlal

**25. (a) N. D. Gulhati's Note on Indus Water discussion<sup>28</sup>**  
*[Refer to item 279]*

MINISTRY OF IRRIGATION & POWER  
 Indus Water Discussion.

Mr. Iliff's letter of June 16, in reply to my letter of June 2, 1959, may kindly be perused.

**A. Mangla Dam**

2. With regard to the construction by Pakistan of the Mangla Dam in Pakistan-held Kashmir territory, Mr. Iliff has stated that the general principle underlying the Bank's approach to this problem has been as follows:-

"Neither party should, on the one hand, seek to gain, in or from the Water Treaty, any support for its own general position on the Kashmir issue or, on the other hand, should seek to erode the general position of the other party."

This general principle is in keeping with the earlier understanding between India, Pakistan and the Bank that a solution of the water dispute should be found "independently of political issues"

Mr. Iliff has further stated that the general principle mentioned above was accepted by Pakistan during Mr. Black's discussions in Karachi, and that Pakistan has agreed that at the August meeting in London, "we should try and work out a formula (through an exchange of letters of otherwise) that would conform to the general principle" enunciated above.

It would thus appear that the position is not as unsatisfactory as it seemed earlier from Mr. Iliff's telegrams of May 27 and June 1, 1959.

3. Pakistan's objection to Secretary, C.R.'s draft (which was given to Mr. Iliff in Delhi) seems to be that it requires Pakistan to understand and agree that the construction of the Mangla Dam would not amount to "waiver of India's sovereign rights" etc. over Pakistan-held Kashmir territory. This implies, in the first place, acceptance by Pakistan of our sovereign rights in an area now under its own control. According to Mr. Iliff, Pakistan might be prepared to acknowledge that we have "claims to sovereign rights" in that area.

28. File No. 38(1)-CWD/51, Vol. XXIII, Ministry of Irrigation (I. T. Section) 1959. 23 June 1959.

4. In paragraph 6 of his letter, Mr. Iliff has suggested a new formula which he considers "less provocative". While this formula might be suitable for any point or points relating to matters specifically covered by the Water Treaty, it would not meet our requirements regarding the Mangla Dam which, it was decided, should not be mentioned in the Treaty. As such, Mr. Iliff's formula would not cover the question of the Mangla Dam.

5. In the course of further discussion, it has to be brought home to the Bank that the construction of the Mangla Dam by Pakistan (not to be mentioned in the Treaty) would "erode the general position" of India on the Kashmir issue and that a formula has, therefore, to be devised just to protect this position; this does not call for corresponding protection of any Pakistan position.

Within the framework of the general principle mentioned in paragraph 4 of Mr. Iliff's letter (reproduced in paragraph 2 above) which has been accepted by Pakistan, it should, in my opinion, be possible to work out a satisfactory formula safeguarding our position. The best arrangement would be that the formula to be evolved, when conveyed to Pakistan in a letter, should not require from Pakistan any reply other than an acknowledgement.

## **B. INDIAN USES ON THE WESTERN RIVERS**

6. Mr. Iliff has now confirmed that Pakistan accepts the general principle that we are entitled to reserve on the Western rivers (a) common uses, (b) historic irrigation uses and some additional irrigation uses, and (c) hydel uses not involving consumptive use of water. This represents a climb-down from Pakistan's earlier position and is satisfactory in so far as it goes. At the London meeting, however, there would have to be some fairly involved discussions before specific Indian rights on the Western rivers would be agreed upon. While it would be in our interest to set out our rights in as wide and as general terms as possible (somewhat on the lines of the note I have already given to Mr. Iliff) Pakistan would naturally like these Indian rights on the Western rivers to be stated in restrictive and well-defined terms. A suitable via-media would have to be found as the basis of agreement, since by the very nature of things, it is not possible for us to define, in explicit terms, our requirements, future or even existing, in the upper reaches of the Western rivers.

## **C. PROGRAMME OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS**

7. In my letter of June 2, I had suggested to Mr. Iliff that he and I should meet about the 22nd of July and discuss various matters in advance of the joint meeting in London beginning from the first week of August. While Mr. Iliff



considers that it would be quite useful if he and I could meet about the 22nd of July to discuss some of the issues mentioned above, he has stated that it would not be convenient for him to come to London just at that time. He has suggested instead that I should go to Washington.

8. I believe that even though it would mean one more journey across the Atlantic, it would be in our interests that I should avail of this invitation and have some discussions with Mr. Iliff in advance of the formal meeting in London. It would not be necessary for any other officer to accompany me on this visit to Washington; the necessary secretarial assistance for about ten days could be furnished by our Embassy.

9. The London meeting with Pakistan and the Bank would commence about the 3rd August, 1959. Mr. Iliff has stated that at this meeting, we should try to do as much work as possible on the following items :-

- (a) Mangla formula.
- (b) Indian uses on Western rivers.
- (c) Transitional arrangements.
- (d) Heads of Agreement.

It will not be possible to dispose of all these items in the space of two to three weeks. Mr. Iliff, however, consider that we should make a preliminary attack on all of them, then recess for a few weeks and then resume.

10. If the meeting in August lasts till, say, that the 20th of August, then, in view of the Annual Meeting of the Bank's Board of Directors in September, the discussions would be resumed in October, perhaps in Washington. This meeting should, I hope, be the final meeting leading to the text to the Water Treaty and may extend over a few months.

#### **D. RECOMMENDATIONS**

11. In view of the above, the following action is recommended :-

- (a) I may reply to Mr. Iliff as in D.F.A.
- (b) In the light of paragraphs 2-5 above, a few alternative drafts may be prepared of a formula, which would safeguard our position vis-a-vis Mangla Dam. This would serve as basis of discussion with Mr. Iliff.
- (c) A Summary for the Cabinet may be submitted to cover my deputation to U.S.A. for a period of about ten days as well as the deputation of a delegation to the August meeting in London.

12. Secretary-General may kindly see and advise before the file is put up to Deputy Minister and Minister; he saw Mr. Iliff's letter on June 20.

(N.D. Gulhati)

23. 6.1959

**25. (b) N. R. Pillai's Note to N. D. Gulhati**

*[Refer to item 279]*

Ministry of External Affairs

I think we can now form a fair idea of what happened in Karachi in regard to the Mangla Dam formula. The Bank's representatives, when discussing this question, showed the Pakistan authorities the text of our reservation and propounded at the same time the principle stated in paragraph 4 of Mr. Iliff's letter, that is to say, that neither party should use the present opportunity to advance its own position on the Kashmir issue, or detract from the position of the other. The Pakistan authorities accepted this principle, and went on to suggest that our draft committed them to an acknowledgement of our sovereign rights in Jammu and Kashmir – a proposition which they were unable to accept. This seems to imply that in Pakistan's opinion our formula does not conform to the principle stated by Mr. Iliff.

2. This shows how careful we should be in agreeing to general propositions. The principle enunciated by Mr. Iliff may be unexceptionable. But our acceptance of any particular formulation of this or some other principle would be attended with grave risk, for discussion would then tend to be shifted from the question actually in issue to the interpretation of the principle in its accepted formulation and to the most suitable method of its application to the matter in issue. This is a risk we should not take on any account.

3. I suggest, therefore, that there should be no further discussion with Mr. Iliff, either orally or by correspondence, on this question. Paragraph 5 of his letter makes it clear that he himself does not think it necessary to discuss this matter further before the London meeting in August.

4. It seems to me important that we should wait till the Commonwealth Secretary, who has dealt with the subject for years, returns from leave and has an opportunity of examining the matter further. We can then consider whether our draft should be revised in such a way that, while securing our position fully, it is unlikely to evoke a rejoinder from Pakistan, or evoke a rejoinder which would not affect our position. I also think that it would be desirable for Shri M.J. Desai himself to go to London to participate in the discussions on this particular issue.

5. Shri Gulhati has said that it would be desirable for him to visit Washington for preliminary discussions with Mr. Iliff. This is a matter to be considered by the I & P Ministry. If he goes, it will be understood that the Mangla formula will be kept out of the discussions.

6. Before, recording my views, I have discussed them with Shri Gulhati.

(N. R. Pillai )  
Secretary-General  
26.6.59.

## 26. Dalai Lama to Nehru<sup>29</sup>

*[Refer to item 312]*

23 June 1959

The Government of India have been kind enough to give every possible help to the Tibetan refugees and I have expressed my heartfelt thanks recently through Shri Mehta and Shri P.N. Menon. I am thanking the Government of India once again for the kindness. But, I could not help giving you the following trouble and hope that you will not mind.

1. Younger members of the Tibetan refugees, during their stay in India, may kindly be given education and other possible training by the Government as soon as possible. If they are favoured with this opportunity, it will not only be helpful to them, but it will be of great help to the Government of Tibet in future.

2. As discussed during our recent meeting, I am thinking of sending some of my representatives to the Eastern and Western countries in order to establish religious links. Lists of the names of the representatives will be sent to you later. It is requested the Government of India may be kind enough to give them facilities such as the grant of passports to visit foreign countries and also permission to return to India on completion of their work, and foreign exchange to meet their required expenses.

3. I am thinking of removing the gold and silver bullion that I have deposited in Gangtok to Calcutta for sale. Permission may please be granted to do so and also customs duty on them may kindly be exempted.

4. In order to maintain my Government and staff, for a period of one year, I may kindly be granted a loan of Rs. 47,36,000.00 (fortyseven lakhs and thirtysix thousand only).

5. I wish to send some young Tibetans to have foreign education. If this proposal comes through, I will submit their names and hope they will be granted passports to go to foreign countries. They may also be permitted re-entry into India on completion of their education.

29. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, p. 77.

I fervently hope that the above five points will meet with favourable consideration as soon as possible.

## 27. Manubhai Shah to Nehru<sup>30</sup>

[Refer to item 170]

June 25, 1959.

My dear Panditji,

I have already sent you my notes on my visit to Czechoslovakia and Japan. As I mentioned in my first covering letter, I wanted to bring to your kind notice a few points also regarding our visit to the U.S.S.R on which a detailed report has already been submitted by Sardar Swaran Singh.

2. In the U.S.S.R our general line of approach was to bring to the notice of the Soviet authorities the broad pattern of our Third Five Year Plan and in what manner, a wider scope for technical and economic collaboration could be developed between India and the U.S.S.R. That approach will no doubt form a part of the whole approach which the Department of Economic Affairs and Shri B.K. Nehru are following up on a global basis.

3. In this note I only want to seek your valuable guidance on the fact that during discussions with the Soviet Planning Commission and the Soviet State Committee on Foreign Economic Cooperation and discussions with Ministers and top officials of the U.S.S.R Government, we found their readiness to discuss with us and proceed ahead with some of the projects on which their collaboration could be forthcoming along with the necessary credits during this interim period of Second Plan, while the negotiations on the question of long term credits for the Third Plan may continue to be carried on.

4. There are certain projects, which have an undisputed priority in our Planning and for which Soviet collaboration would from every point of view seem to be the best. The projects which I have in mind and which the Soviet organisations also seem prepared to consider and discuss are:-

- (i) Doubling up the capacity of the Heavy Machine Building Plant to 80 thousand tons as per the full integrated plant as recommended by the Soviet Team.
- (ii) Doubling up the capacity of the Coal Mining Plant by including, as Mr. Mikoyan suggested, not only coal mining and other mining equipment but also mineral oil rigs and drills and other equipment for oil exploration.

30. File No. 17(214)/56-66-PMS.

- (iii) A plant for making certain heavy electrical items not covered by our project in Bhopal, particularly steam turbines and diesel generators.
- (iv) A plant for making precision instruments of all kinds including electronic instruments for industrial undertakings: in this field, Soviet experts would be in the best position to help us with planning as well as execution and we should invite a team of Soviet experts who will help us to assess future demands and to formulate a project or projects.
- (v) One fertiliser plant.

5. I have not referred to the expansion of the Bhilai Steel Plant as I am confining myself to projects of concern to the Commerce & Industry Ministry. In proposing these projects, I am influenced by the trend of conversations which we had in Russia with Ministers and top officials which indicated their readiness to help us in these fields and in particular with the expansion of projects which they had helped in initiating.

6. My main anxiety at the moment is to ensure that the remaining years of the Second Plan are utilised in concluding all preliminary work and finalising agreements so that the actual construction work gets underway with the least possible delay. Moreover, for the Heavy Machine Building Plant it would save a great deal of time if contracts for Phases I and II could be compressed into one. If you approve of this broad approach, then in consultation with the Planning Commission, the Ministry of External Affairs and the Department of Economic Affairs, we shall take necessary steps in the matter.

7. I am also enclosing herewith for your kind consideration a note that I have prepared on the utilisation of long-term credits. We are today in the somewhat paradoxical position of having large unutilised credits on the one hand, and projects which cannot make a start for lack of foreign exchange on the other. We must resolve this deadlock and I have set down my views on the subject in the enclosed note. I hope you will kindly spare time to go through this note at your convenience. I have already sent a copy of it to the Finance Minister and to the Planning Commission.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Manubhai Shah

## 28. Subimal Dutt's Note to Nehru<sup>31</sup>

*[Refer to item 69]*

Prime Minister will recall the serious clash which took place at Imphal between the Assam Rifles and the Manipur Civil Police on the 9th May last. As directed by the Prime Minister, the Chief Commissioner of Manipur made an enquiry into the incidents. The Chief Commissioner's Report is flagged 'J'. This Report has been examined and summarized in the note of Shri Sahgal, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, flagged 'A'. The Home Minister has expressed himself in agreement with Shri Sahgal's recommendations.

2. I have discussed the Chief Commissioner's Report in detail with Shri Sahgal and Shri K.L. Mehta. We are in general agreement as regards the facts of the case and the suggestions which have been made by the Home Ministry for action against the persons concerned. The only point which we, in the Ministry of External Affairs, feel should be given some further consideration is whether the Fourth Assam Rifles Battalion should be entirely moved out from Imphal.

3. There is much to be said in favour of this move. The unfortunate incidents which formed the subject of an enquiry represent the culmination of estranged feelings over a long period of time. Whatever action we may take against individual officers and men of the Assam Rifles Battalion, a legacy of ill-feelings is bound to remain. At the same time, certain facts in regard to the functioning of the Assam Rifles Battalion have to be borne in mind. These Battalions are not similar to Army Battalions. An Army Battalion has no fixed mooring at any one place. It is liable to transfer at short notice from one station to another. An Assam Rifles Battalion is, on the contrary, a self-contained organisation with its Battalion Headquarters, Training Units, Archives etc. In fact, people who retire from the Battalions make their homes near the Battalion Headquarters and their children join the Battalions as recruits in course of time. To transfer the Fourth Assam Rifles Battalion from Manipur would, therefore, mean that the entire Battalion, with its Headquarters and Stationery Units, will have to be moved out from Manipur. This, I am told, would be an unprecedented step in the entire history of Assam Rifles and would have a painful effect on the other battalions elsewhere also. Before we take such a drastic action, we, therefore, propose to write to the Governor of Assam as in the draft flagged. We may consider further action in regard to the transfer of the battalion on receipt of the Governor's advice.

31. File No. 10/5/59-Poll. II., pp. 16-17, MHA.

S. Dutt  
25-6-1959

I agree that the Governor should be consulted and his advice taken before we proceed further in this matter.

J. Nehru  
25-6-1959

## 29. (a) E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Nehru

*[Refer to item 59]*

Trivandrum  
27 June 1959

I had sent you yesterday the copy of the letter which I have addressed to the Bishops, NSS and other Corporate Managers as well, requesting them to come and see me and have discussions with us on the Education Act. In the meanwhile, Shri Manathu Padmanabhan has issued a statement making it a condition for any discussion with us the withdrawal of the entire Education Act as well as several executive orders issued in the course of the last two years. This would mean that direct payment of teachers' salaries, which was in existence in the Malabar area even before our Ministry's assumption of office but which was applied to the whole of Kerala, should be stopped and salaries should be paid through the Managers. There are several other executive orders giving benefits to the teachers which too would have to be scrapped if Shri Padmanabhan's conditions were to be fulfilled. It is, therefore, obvious that we cannot accept this condition. I, therefore, had to issue a statement regretting this negative attitude of Shri Padmanabhan and hoping that, on reconsideration, he himself would see the reasonableness of the proposal made in my statement and accept the same.

I mention this just in order to draw your attention to the difficulties that we have to face in carrying on the negotiations with the school managers. I can only hope that, when the actual discussions start, a better atmosphere will prevail and all parties and interests concerned will be prepared to make adjustments in their attitude.

I am sorry to have to inform you that the picketing of schools, offices, and above all, of transport buses, is still continuing. The picketing of transport buses on certain routes is getting more and more violent in character; it is making it extremely inconvenient for passengers who have to go along these routes. I am enclosing herewith a few typical cases of such instances of transport picketing. These particular cases are, of course, those which happened before your

Trivandrum press conference where you made unequivocal declaration against such picketing. But the reports that are coming now show that even after that declaration by you, the position has not improved. Picketing on this scale took place yesterday too.

The first reaction that is available from the opposition party leaders and newspapers to the suggestions made by you and our attitude to them is rather negative. Even the manner of the opposition featuring of your press conference is as if you have given your blessing to all that has been done by the opposition. They have tried their utmost to play down your categorical declarations against the methods of direct action while playing up your statements regarding people's upsurge and the right of the opposition parties to agitate and even to resort to direct action. I hope that, on a calm consideration of the entire situation, they too will see that the campaign of 'direct action' with a view to 'paralysing the administration' has to be given up.

## **29. (b) Enclosure sent to Nehru by E.M.S. Namboodripad**

*[Refer to item 59]*

### Incidents

At 12.10 noon on 24-6-1959 a State transport bus proceeding from Tellicherry escorted by the Police was stopped on the road in front of the BMP Primary School, Tellicherry by about 1,500 strong shouting slogans and carrying black flags. Two persons among the crowd lay down in front of the Police pilot van. By the time the Policemen got out of the vehicle the crowd surged forward and came so close to the vehicle that the police had to push them back for making way. This resulted in some confusion among the crowd and most of it, including the picketers disappeared. The bus resumed its journey. Later, information was received from the Medical Officer, Government Hospital, Tellicherry, that 10 persons were treated as out-patients in the hospital for minor injuries said to have been sustained by them in a lathi charge which never occurred.

2. A state transport bus proceeding from Kozhikode was damaged by stone throwing in the morning of 24-6-59 at Tellicherry. The Police have registered a case in this connection.

3. Today (24-6-59) the Kozhikode Collectorate was picketed by 33 volunteers. There was picketing also at Taluk offices, Badagara (3) Tirur (10) and Quilandy (13). Sales tax office, Badagara (6) and Sub-Registrar's office, Veliapalli (19). There was picketing at BEM HS Parappanangadi (3) and Govt. H.S., Quilandy (5), and Govt. H.S. Beypore (9). Four students picketed a transport bus at Tamarasseri on 24-6-59.



4. At about 2.30 p.m. on 24-6-59 students and some others numbering about 400 formed themselves into an unlawful assembly on the public road in front of the Malabar X-ian College, Kozhikode and physically obstructed a State Transport bus proceeding from Kalapatta to Calicut. When the Police tried to arrest the students lying in front of the bus they (students) offered resistance. The crowd pelted stones and umbrellas on the police party and the S.I. declared the assembly as unlawful. The crowd was ordered to disperse and on their refusal a mild cane charge was resorted to after due warning, to disperse the mob. Nine students lying in front of the bus and two others who were trying to escape were arrested by the Police. A case has been registered by the Calicut Town Police in this connection.

5. A transport bus proceeding to Ernakulam was picketed at Panamkuttichira (Cherpu) on 24-6-59 and the headlight of the vehicle was broken and salt etc. put into the petrol tank. The police have registered a case in this connection.



## GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

Abyssinia	Ethiopia
ADM	Additional District Magistrate
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
Alleppey	Alappuzha
Bangalore	Bengaluru
BDO	Block Development Officer
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
Bombay city	Mumbai
BPPC	Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee
British Guiana	Guyana
BSS	Bharat Sewak Samaj
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
Cambodia	Kampuchia
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Parliamentary Party
CPWD	Central Public Works Department
CS	Cabinet Secretary
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
CWC	Congress Working Committee

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Devicolam	Devikulam
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
East Bengal	Bangladesh
East Pakistan	Bangladesh
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FLN	Front de Liberation Nationale
FS	Foreign Secretary
Gauhati	Guwahati
GOC	General Officer Commanding
GOI	Government of India
Gram sevak	a person appointed for village welfare work
IAF	Indian Air Force
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
ICCR	Indian Council of Cultural Relations
ICSC	International Commission for Supervision and Control
ICWA	Indian Council of World Affairs
IFS	Indian Foreign Service
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INC	Indian National Congress
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
IPC	Indian Penal Code
J&K State	Jammu and Kashmir State
JS	Joint Secretary
KPCC	Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation of India
Madras (city)	Chennai
Madras (State)	Tamil Nadu
Mahant	the chief priest of a temple, the head of a monastery
Manapatra	an address of welcome
<i>Math</i>	religious establishment akin to a monastery
Maund	unit of weight, about 38 kilograms
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs

MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member of Legislative Council
MP	Member of Parliament
Mysore (State)	Karnataka
NAI	National Archives of India
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
Naye Paise	plural of naya paisa, on hundredth of a rupee, introduced in 1957
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NDC	National Development Council
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NES	National Extension Service
NHTA	Naga Hills Tuensang Division
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NPL	National Physical Laboratory
NSS	National Service Scheme
Orissa	Odisha
PAC	Provincial Armed Constabulary
panch	one of the elected representatives of panchayat
Peking	Beijing
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
POK	Pakistan Occupied Kashmir
Pondicherry	Puducherry
Poona	Pune
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PRC	People's Republic of China
PS	Private Secretary/Personal Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PWD	Public Works Department
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SC	scheduled castes
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary General, MEA
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Simla	Shimla
SP	Socialist Party
ST	scheduled tribes
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series</i>
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series</i>
Tinneveli/Tinnevelly	Tirunelveli
Trichinopoly	Tiruchirapalli
Trivandrum	Thiruvananthapuram
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations/United Nations Organisation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UP	Uttar Pradesh
Upacharya	Vice Chancellor
UPPCC	Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
US/USA	United States of America
usar land	bad/saline/alkali land
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VIP	Very Important Persons
WAY	World Assembly of Youth
WH&S	Works, Housing and Supply Ministry

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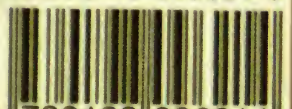
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*Some vignettes from this volume:*

- “The bungalow type houses, which are a gift of the British to India, are also not very commendable. They are positively ugly and not well suited to Indian conditions.”
- Nehru noted that the Director of the Pasteur Institute at Coonoor “said that the more dog-bites there were, the more the Institute profited.”
- Nehru considered Dr Raghu Vira's ideas “rather airy.”
- Namboodiripad asked Nehru to visit Kerala during the crisis, “not the usual whirlwind tour, but taking sufficient time to get in touch with the various points of view here...”
- Nehru told Lieutenant General Nathu Singh: “For you to suggest that I should reserve a few hours for you is something quite new as I never had such a request from any one before. Anything that takes a few hours to explain cannot be very important.”
- Nehru suggested a possible explanation for wearing a rose: “For the last forty years or so, I have been wearing hand-spun and hand-woven clothes. In summer, these are invariably white. Although I like them, the complete lack of colour sometimes was a little depressing. I found a rose gave that touch of colour and beauty and thus supplied some kind of inner want.”
- Humayun Kabir complained to Nehru that Hiren Mukherjee “remains a Guruvadi as always, only his Gurus are no longer the ancient Rishis of India but the new commissars of the Soviet Union.”
- D. F. Karaka declared that *Lolita* was “quite disgusting”; the Collector of Customs decided “that the book cannot be called grossly indecent or obscene”; Morarji Desai noted: “I do not know what can be called obscene if this cannot be”; but Nehru objected to censorship, minuted that Customs and the Police were not trained for such functions, and found that “it was a serious book and in its own line rather outstanding.”

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